

ENCYCLOPEDIA  
OF  
LITERATURE

# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF LITERATURE

*Edited by*  
JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY

VOLUME TWO

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*An asterisk (\*) after a name indicates that it is included in the brief biographies at the end of this volume.*

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## VOLUME TWO

### IRISH, SCOTTISH GAELIC, AND MANX

LATIN LEARNING came to Ireland with Christianity in the 5th c., not as a discipline imposed by conquerors, but as the medium of a new religion of peace and holiness. The Irish had already a long tradition of native learning, which had grown up in the druidic schools and was preserved by the *filid* by oral transmission as in the brahmanic schools of India. They practised writing in a cryptographic script called Ogam which is preserved in many inscriptions on stones, and is based on the Latin alphabet; but there is no evidence that the Latin alphabet itself was used in pre-Christian times, nor that there was any writing on parchment. With the coming of Christianity, however, the use of the Latin alphabet was applied to the native language, and religious and secular learning flourished side by side. Thus it is that we have in Irish the oldest vernacular literature in western Europe. The manuscript tradition of the Irish language goes back to the 6th c., within a hundred years or so of the death of St. Patrick, although the earliest surviving manuscript containing Irish material, the Würzburg codex, is not earlier than 700 A.D. The oldest Irish documents, apart from the Ogam inscriptions, are in verse, and are largely encomiastic or satirical poems. Apart from their linguistic importance they sometimes contain fragments of historical tradition of considerable value, for example the stanzas attributed

to Lugair Lánfili,\* whom Meyer placed in the 6th c., and those of Colmán mac Lénéni, edited by Thurneysen, ZCP 19, 193. The most remarkable of those early poems is the famous *Anra Choluim Chille*, preserved in the *Liber Hymnorum*, which is said to have been composed by Dallán mac Forgaill\* at the Assembly of Druim Cett (575 A.D.) where St. Colmcille successfully defended the order of *filid* against their accusers. It may be that the rhythmical texts in the great legal compilation known as the *Senchas Már* go back also to this early date (ZCP 18, 102), and we should then have a considerable amount of material; but the detailed study of these texts from the linguistic point of view has yet to be made. The written tradition has lasted for almost fourteen centuries, and the material is of great extent. We shall confine ourselves to an account of the imaginative literature in prose and verse, to the exclusion of history, grammar, law and other learned writings. Hagiography and purely devotional literature will also be disregarded.

*The Heroic Literature.* Epic and romance go hand in hand in Irish literature, for the two great cycles of heroic tales express sometimes one mood, sometimes the other. The association of sorrow with beauty is the motif of one of the oldest stories, and it has indeed been shown that the legend of Tristan and Isolde derives from Irish originals. The classi-

fication into cycles is modern. The native tradition classified the stories by types, and we have two old lists of sagas so arranged. The types there recognized are Destructions, Cattle-raids, Courtships, Battles, Cave Stories, Voyages, Tragedies, Banquets, Sieges, Adventures, Elopements, Eruptions, Visions, Lovestories, Plunderings, Hostings, and Invasions. A story was just a story, whether the matter was legend or history; the boundary between these two was of less interest in medieval times than it is today. The title of a story about Gormflaith, a well known historical person of the 10th c., appears beside that of the love of the Hag of Beare for Fothad Canainne. These two cycles are known as the Ulster and Fenian cycles respectively.

*The Ulster Cycle* is so called because its heroes belong to the Ulaid, a people of north-eastern Ireland, whose name was later given to the modern province of Ulster. Their king in the 1st c. B.C. when the events narrated are supposed to have taken place, was Conchobor; his palace was at Emain Macha, close to the city of Armagh. Its site is marked by the remains now called Navan Fort, about two miles west of the city. The central figure of the cycle is Cú Chulainn, an Irish Achilles, whose father, according to one tradition, was the god Lug of the Long Arm; many of the stories celebrate his valour and his might. One long story describes a conflict between Connacht and Ulster, and forms the central theme, so that many of the others are presented as prefatory tales (*remscéla*) to *Táin Bó Cúailnge* (*The Cattle-Raid of Cooley*). The form of the stories is prose, with occasional use of verse to mark a climax of emotion or for descriptive passages; and some of this early verse reaches a high level of poetry. It is the form that was later perfected in the

Icelandic sagas, and it is generally believed the Norsemen acquired it in Ireland. But it is found also in the Vedic literature of India, and Oldenburg suggested that it derived from ancient Indo-European.

In the earliest form in which we have it, the great *Táin* is far from perfect in form. The LU-YBL text is a conflation of two recensions dating perhaps from the 9th c., and preserved in mss. one of which, *Lebor na hUidre* (*The Book of the Dun Cow*), was written c. 1100 A.D., while the other, *The Yellow Book of Lecan*, is of the late 14th c. It is believed that the story was committed to writing in the middle of the 7th c. by a *fili* who was acquainted with the Latin learning of the monasteries, and wished to record the native heroic tradition in a worthy form. There are signs which show that he knew the *Aeneid*. In the 12th c., however, an unknown author composed, from the mangled version preserved in LU, in which interpolations from a third recension had been introduced, a fresh recension of the great epic, preserved in the *Book of Leinster* (ca. 1160 A.D.), and in a 16th c. ms. in the Royal Irish Academy. The sterner form of the oldest tales has given way to a more flowing style, and there is a free use of alliterative epithet, well suited to the oral recitation for which these stories were intended. It is a fine achievement, and if the style of the Composer, as he is called, later gave rise to excesses of bombast and turgid repetition, that takes nothing from the merit of his work.

The story begins with a "pillow-conversation" between Medb, queen of Connacht, and her husband, Ailill, in which they dispute as to who is the greater. Ailill possesses a bull, Whitehorn, finer than any beast in the queen's herd, and Medb resolves to get the Brown

Bull of Cooley from the Ulstermen. Having failed to get it peacefully, she assembles an army to invade Ulster, and the great cattle-raid begins. Like the Greeks in Aulis, Medb consults a prophetess for an auspicious sign. She hears only warnings of doom. The army sets out at a time when the Ulstermen are stricken by a mysterious sickness, the result of a curse that has been laid upon them all, save only the boy Cú Chulainn. Alone Cú Chulainn goes out to meet the enemy. The Connacht army is led by an Ulsterman, Fergus, once king of the Ulaid, now in exile because of the betrayal of the sons of Uisnech. He is foster-father to Cú Chulainn, and helps him in various ways. But the great bull is captured and driven off, and Cú Chulainn can only delay the army's return until the men of Ulster shall arise from their sickness. With his sling he kills so many of the warriors each night that Ailill makes a compact with him to send a single champion against him every day, and promises that the army will not advance till Cú Chulainn is defeated. There follows a series of single combats at a ford, with Cú Chulainn always the victor. Medb sometimes breaks faith and sends many warriors instead of one. Once she sends five and he kills them, once she sends a hundred, but he overcomes them all. Now the god Lug visits Cú Chulainn and causes him to sleep for three nights and three days. While he sleeps the boys of Ulster come out to oppose the army, and they hold it for three days, but all are slain. Cú Chulainn awakes refreshed and avenges the heroic boys with mighty deeds. Fer Díad, Cú Chulainn's foster-brother, who is also in exile with the Connacht men, is persuaded to oppose him, and the famous fight of Fer Díad and Cú Chulainn takes place. This is the emotional climax of the

epic. For three days they fight, and each evening they send leeches and cures to heal each other's wounds, until Fer Díad is slain by the mysterious weapon called *gáe bolga* which only Cú Chulainn can use. He had learnt its use from a woman-warrior in the east. Cú Chulainn laments the death of his friend in a long poem, and is himself prostrate from his wounds.

The Ulstermen at last set out to fight the army of Connacht. Conchobor advances before the others, and returns with 160 heads and 160 women whom he has freed. Meanwhile Ailill sends a messenger to see whether the enemy is entering the plain of Meath. If so, he will stand and fight. And now we are given a description of the approaching enemy in the manner beloved of these sagas.

Conchobor and Ailill make a truce till the following morning. During the night the she-demons, Badb, Bé Néit and Nemais, sound their cry over the Connacht host, so that 100 men die of terror in Gairech and Irgairech. And the story says that that was not their most peaceful night.

Next day the great battle is fought at Gairech and Irgairech. It is told as Lóeg describes it to Cú Chulainn. At first the line moves east against the Ulstermen, and then west against Connacht. Medb and Ailill prevail on Fergus to enter the fight. With his sword he clears gaps in the Ulster line that it would take 100 men to fill. Medb, too, enters the field, and three times she drives back the Ulstermen. Now, Conchobor himself comes against Fergus; their duel is described. Fergus' weapon touches the ground behind him, as he draws to smite Conchobor, but, remembering that he is himself an Ulsterman, he turns his anger against the hills, and three hills are shorn of their tops by his sword.

Conchobor has a magic shield, which screams when its master is in danger, and Cú Chulainn has heard the screams of the shield. Though he is lying prostrate from his wounds, he rises now and in heroic frenzy seizes no mere weapons, but his war-chariot, body and wheels, which he wields against the enemy.

Fergus has promised, if ever he and Cú Chulainn should meet in battle, that he will not resist him; now they meet, and Fergus leads his company out of the fight. They are followed by the Leinstermen and the Munstermen, so that only Ailill and Medb and their sons, with nine battalions, remain in the field.

At noon Cú Chulainn came into the field. At sunset he had defeated the last battalion; of his chariot there remained a few ribs of the body and a few spokes of the wheels.

When the battle is lost, Medb laments the disaster to Fergus, who answers that a drove of horses led by a mare can have no luck. Meanwhile, the Bull has been led away and meets the Findbennach (Whitehorn) in Mag Aí (the country around Croghan, Co. Roscommon). All who have fled from the battle of Gairech and Irgairech come to watch the fight of the two bulls. The Brown Bull of Cúailnge kills the Whitehorned Bull of Crúachain, and careers through Ireland with fragments of its flesh clinging to his horns. He dies on the border of the Ulster territory in Uíbh Echach at Druim Tairb ('Bull's Ridge'), which place is named from him.

"Ailill and Medb made peace with the Ulstermen and with Cú Chulainn. For seven years after, there was no wounding of men between them. Findabair stayed with Cú Chulainn, and the Connachtmen went to their country, and the Ulstermen to Emain Macha with their great triumph. *Finit. Amen.*"

The finest of all the Ulster stories is that of the *Tragic Death of the Sons of Usnech*. It is the earliest form of the love-motif which

later became famous in the story of Tristan, apparently a French adaptation of Irish tradition, mediated through Cornish and Breton interpreters. The text as we have it may date from the 8th or 9th c. It is preserved in the *Book of Leinster* and in the *Yellow Book of Lecan*.

The Ulaíd feasted one day in the house of Fedlimid, the chronicler of King Conchobor, and as the feast came to an end, a girl-child was born to the wife of Fedlimid; and a druid prophesied about her future. The prophecy is pronounced in two long poems, parts of which have not yet been satisfactorily explained. Most of the text is clear. Her name is to be Derdriu. The child will grow to be a woman of wonderful beauty, and will cause enmity and trouble, and will depart out of the kingdom. Many will die on account of her.

The Ulaíd propose to kill the child at once, and so avoid the curse. But Conchobor orders that she be spared and reared apart, hidden from men's eyes; and that he himself will take her for his wife. So Derdriu is entrusted to foster-parents, and reared in a dwelling apart. A wise woman Leborcham is the only other person allowed to see her.

'Once the girl's foster-father was flaying a calf outside in the snow in Winter to cook it for her; and she saw a raven drinking the blood in the snow. Then she said to Leborcham: "Fair would be a man upon whom those three colours should be: his hair like the raven, and his cheek like the blood, and his body like the snow." "Grace and prosperity to you!" said Leborcham. "He is not far from you, inside close by: Nóisi the son of Usnech." "I shall not be well," said she, "until I see him."

Once that same Nóisi was on the rampart of the fort sounding his cry. And sweet was the cry of the sons of Usnech.

Every cow and every beast that would hear it used to give two thirds excess of milk. For every man who heard it, it was enough of peace and entertainment. Good was their valour too. Though the whole province of the Ulaidd should be around them in one place, if the three of them stood back to back, they would not overcome them, for the excellence of their defense. They were as swift as hounds at the hunt. They used to kill deer by their speed.

When Noísi was there outside, she soon went out to him as though to go past him, and he did not recognize her. "Fair is the heifer that goes past me," said he. "Heifers must grow big where there are no bulls," said she. "You have the bull of the province," said he, "the king of the Ulaidd." "I would choose between you," said she, "and I would take a young bull like you." "No!" said he. Then she sprang towards him and caught his ears. "Here are two ears of shame (?) and mockery," said she, "unless you take me with you."

Noísi sounded his cry, and the Ulstermen sprang up as they heard it, and the sons of Usnech; his two brothers, went out to restrain and warn him. But his honour was challenged. "We shall go into another country," said he. "There is not a king in Ireland that will not make us welcome." That night they set out with 150 warriors and 150 women and 150 hounds, and Derdriu was with them.

Conchobor pursued them with plots and treachery; they fled to Scotland. And they took service with the king of Scotland and built a house around Derdriu, so that they should not be killed on account of her. One day the steward saw her, and told the king of her beauty, so that he demanded her for wife; and the sons of Usnech had to flee again, and take refuge on an island in the sea.

Now Conchobor invited them back, and sent Fergus as a surety; but when they came to Emain, Noísi and his followers were killed, and Derdriu was brought to Conchobor, and her hands were bound behind her back.

When Fergus and Cormac heard of this treachery they came and did great deeds: three hundred of the Ulaidd were killed, and women were killed, and Emain was burnt by Fergus. And Fergus and Cormac went to the court of Ailill and Medb, and for sixteen years the Ulaidd had no peace.

But Derdriu was for a year with Conchobor, and she never smiled nor raised her head from her knee.

'And when the musicians came to her, she used to say:

"Though you think the fierce warriors fair, who march proudly over Emain, more proudly used they to march to their house, the brave sons of Usnech. . . .

Sweet to Conchobor, your king, are the pipers and hornblowers. Sweeter to me the cry of the sons of Uisnech. . . .

Dear was the grey eye which women loved. It was fierce against an enemy. After a visit to the woods, noble course, delightful was his cry through the black forest.

I do not sleep, and I put no purple on my nails. Joy comes not into my mind, since the sons of Uisnech do not come. . . .

Joy is not for me in the assembly of Emain which nobles fill, nor peace nor happiness nor comfort, nor a big house nor fair ornament."

And when Conchobor was comforting her, she used to say:

"Conchobor, what are you doing? You have caused me sorrow and tears. As long as I live, I shall not love you.

What was dearest to me under heaven, and what was most beloved, you have taken him from me,—a great wrong—so that I shall not see him till I die. . . .

Two bright cheeks, red lips, eyebrows black as a chafer, pearly teeth bright with the noble colour of snow. . . .

Do not break my heart. Soon I shall die. Grief is stronger than the sea, if thou didst know it, Conchobor."

"What do you hate most of what you see?" said Conchobor. "You," she said, "and Éogan son of Durthacht." "You will be a year with Éogan," said Conchobor. He gave her to Éogan. They went next day to the assembly of Macha. She was behind Éogan in the chariot. She had prophesied that she would not see two husbands on earth together. "Well, Derdriu," said Conchobor. "You look like a sheep between two rams, between Éogan and me." There was a big rock in front of her. She thrust her head against the rock, so that it shattered her head, and she died.

That is the exile of the Sons of Usnech, and the exile of Fergus, and the Tragic Death of the Sons of Usnech and of Derdriu. Finit. Amen. Finit.'

This story is preserved in a modern version, composed perhaps in the 15th c., which has great merit. It has been the victim of rather fastidious censure by scholars who had acquired a taste for the Cistercian bareness of the early sagas, and could not appreciate the baroque in literature. But people of literary taste have seen better, and it is this second version which is the source of Lady Gregory's

modernization, and so of the works of Yeats, A. E. and James Stephens. Synge, too, probably used this adaptation, but his great play is very much his own creation.

Another story excels in its restrained emotion. When Cú Chulainn was in the east learning feats of arms from Scáthach so that he might win the hand of Emer, he fought against another woman warrior, Aífe, an enemy of Scáthach, and he overcame her and had a son by her. All this is told in a long saga called *The Wooing of Emer*. The boy is to come to Ireland when he grows to manhood, and he is not to tell his name on the demand of a single warrior. *The Tragic Death of Aífe's Only Son* tells of the boy's coming to Ireland, and of his death by the hand of his own father. It is the story of Sohrab and Rustum, the theme also of the Hildebrandslied. The Irish text is very short, so short that we may ask whether the ms. versions of these stories may have served sometimes merely as an outline which the reciter could develop as he went along. (Thurneysen considered this possibility and rejected it, *Heldensage* p. 60.)

The men of Ulster were assembled at Trácht Éisi when they saw a boy coming on the sea in a boat of bronze with gilded oars. He was performing strange feats, bringing down birds alive with his sling, and then releasing them. He would scatter them out of sight by a trick of his hands, and then sing to them so that they flew back to him. The Ulstermen were alarmed, and sent a champion to meet him and prevent his landing, or discover his name. Condere goes first, but the boy defies him. Then the mighty Conall Cernach goes down. The boy hurls a stone from his sling, and Conall falls. The boy binds his arms with the strap of his own shield. 'Let someone else oppose him!' says Conall Cernach.

Cú Chulainn was practising his feats as

he approached the youth, and the arm of Emer daughter of Forgall was around his neck. "Do not go down!" said she. "It is a son of thine that is down there. Do not murder thy only son! Refrain, O eager son of Soalite. It is not brave nor wise to oppose thy valiant son. . . . Turn towards me. Listen. My advice is good. Let Cú Chulainn hear! I know what name he will tell, if the boy down there is Conla, Aife's only son."

Then Cú Chulainn said: "Forbear, woman! I heed not a woman's advice. . . . Make not thy womanish talk of gentle conduct. . . . The good spear drinks good liquor. Though it were he, indeed, woman," said he, "I would kill him for the honour of Ulster."

Then he went down himself. "Thou playest well, boy," said he. "But your play is cruel," said the little boy, "that two of you do not come so that I might tell my name to them." "Should I then have taken a child along with me?" said Cú Chulainn. "Thou shalt die, if thou dost not tell thy name." "Be it so," said the lad.

The boy comes towards him. They smite each other. The boy shaves his head with his sword by a measured stroke. "This is enough of insolence," said Cú Chulainn. "Let us wrestle then!" "I shall not reach up to thy belt," said the boy. The boy got upon two stones, and he threw Cú Chulainn between the stones three times. And the boy did not move either of his feet from the stones, and his feet went into the stones up to his ankles. The track of his feet is still there. Hence is named *Trácht Éisi* ('The Strand of the Track') in Ulster.

Then they went into the sea to drown each other, and the boy put him under twice. He went against the boy in shallow water and played him false with the *gáe bolga*. For Scáthach had taught the use of that weapon to none but Cú Chulainn alone. He cast it at the boy through the

water so that his entrails were about his feet. "That is what Scáthach did not teach me!" said he. "Woe to thee who hast wounded me!"

"It is true," said Cú Chulainn. He took the boy in his arms and bore him away, and he carried him up and cast him before the Ulstermen. "Here is my son for you, men of Ulster!" said he.

Two other stories of this cycle deserve special mention: *The Feast of Bricriu* and *The Story of Mac Da Thó's Pig*. The first is, after the great Táin, the longest and perhaps the most finished of the Ulster sagas. There is a quality of humour and a variety of episode that are unequalled. The central motif is that of the Hero's Portion (*curad-mír*) at a feast, an echo of what Posidonius tells about the ancient Gauls. Here too occurs the Champion's Ordeal, in which the hero is invited to cut off a giant's head on condition that he will lay his own head on the block at the end of a year. Kittredge has shown that it is the source of the similar episode in *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*. The second is motivated also by competition for the Hero's Portion, and is notable for its lively dialogue. Both of these tales are pure comedy, and provide a contrast to the noble tragedy of Deirdre and the story of Conla's death, the purely heroic temper of the Táin, and the gentle romance of *Táin Bó Fraích* or *Serglige Con Culainn*.

There is a story about the fairy Étaín and Conaire the Great, king of Ireland, which became associated with the Ulster cycle and may be noticed here, namely, *The Destruction of Úa Derga's Hostel*.

Étaín was the wife of the fairy king Midir. She was reborn as a mortal, and became the wife of Eochaid Airem, king of Tara; but she returned to Midir. Her daughter's daughter, another Étaín, was a mortal and became the mother of Conaire, son of Etarscéil. In a well



known passage at the beginning of the story of Úa Derga's Hostel, Étaín is described:

'He saw a woman at the edge of a well, and she had a silver comb with gold ornament. She was washing in a silver basin on which were four birds of gold, and bright little gems of purple carbuncle on the chasing of the basin. She wore a purple cloak of good fleece, held with silver brooches chased with gold, and a smock of green silk with gold embroidery. There were wonderful ornaments of animal design in gold and silver on her breast and shoulders. The sun shone upon her, so that the men saw the gold gleaming in the sunshine against the green silk. There were two golden tresses on her head, plaited in four, with a ball at the end of every lock. The colour of her hair was like the flower of the iris in summer, or like pure gold after it has been polished. She was undoing her hair to wash it, so that her arms were out from beneath her dress. White as the snow of one night were her hands, and her lovely cheeks were soft and even, red as the mountain foxglove. Her eyebrows were as black as a beetle's back. Her teeth were like a shower of pearls. Her eyes were as blue as the hyacinth, her lips as red as Parthian leather. High, smooth, soft and white were her shoulders, clear white her long fingers. Her hands were long. White as the foam of a wave was her side, long and slender, yielding, smooth, soft as wool. Her thighs were warm and smooth and white, her knees small and round and hard and bright. Her shins were short and bright and straight. Her heels were even and lovely. If a rule had been laid upon her feet it would hardly have shown any imperfection in them, unless it should crease the flesh or the skin. The blushing light of the moon was in her noble face, a lofty pride in her smooth brow. The radiance of love was in

her eyes, the flush of pleasure on her cheeks, now red as a calf's blood and changing again to snowy whiteness. There was gentle dignity in her voice. Her step was firm and graceful. She had the walk of a queen. She was the fairest, loveliest, finest that men's eyes had seen of all the women of the world. They thought she was of the fairies. Of her it was said: "All are lovely till compared with Étaín. All are fair till compared with Étaín."

The dominant theme in this story of the death of Conaire is that of the prohibitions called *gessa* which attach to certain persons, or may be imposed upon them. Conaire was subject to many *gessa*, and the tragedy here is that he is caught between conflicting tabus and is therefore doomed. As the plot develops he cries out: 'All my *gessa* have overtaken me tonight.'

*The Fenian Cycle.* The second heroic cycle takes its name from the *fiana* whose adventures it relates. The word *fian* means 'a band of warriors,' and we know that there were such bands of adventurers in Ireland as early as the 6th c. A troop of them went to Britain in 603 A.D. to help the Irish king of Scotland, Áedán mac Gabráin, against the Angles.

In the literature three leaders of *fiana* are mentioned as contemporary, Find Mac Cumall, Fothad Canainne and Ailill Flánd Bec; but only Find and his companions became famous.

Find's company comprised two factions, Clanna Báiscni to which he himself belonged, and Clanna Mórna, whose champion, Goll Mac Mórna, had slain Find's father, Cumall, at the battle of Cnucha (Castlenock, near Dublin). The chief heroes of the former, besides Find, were his son Oisín (MacPherson's Ossian), Oscar son of Oisín, Cailte son of Ronán, and Díarmaid (the prototype of Tristan) whose beauty no woman could resist. Conán the Bald, the buffoon of the

sagas, was a brother of Goll, and belonged to Clanna Móma.

The predominance of the Fenian Cycle in the literature begins with the composition ca. 1200 A.D. of a long story called *Acallam na Senórech* (*The Colloquy of the Old Men*), which is second only to the Táin in length. The early recension, which breaks off unfinished in the ms., makes some 8,000 lines in Stokes' edition. In form it is a frame-story, like the *Arabian Nights* or the *Decameron*, the framing story here being an account of the meeting of the survivors of the Fenians with St. Patrick. Caílte wanders over Ireland with the saint, and tells him the legends of the hills and woods and lakes to which they come, in the manner of the *Dindshenchas*. Sometimes they separate, and Caílte travels alone, or with Conall Mac Néill, king of Ulster. He meets with kings and saints and warriors, and even encounters some of the ancient gods. Some of the tales he tells to his various hosts belong to the mythological cycle, but most of them are of the high deeds of Finn and the Fenians.

(Summary:) The *Acallam* begins with a time when the last survivors of the Fenians, Oisín and Caílte with a few companions, are wandering in desolation. Oisín soon retires to join his mother in a fairy mound, and Caílte goes on alone. He comes to Inber Bic Loingsig 'which is now called The Monastery of Drogheda' (this gives us a superior date, for Drogheda was founded in 1142 A.D.), and south across the Boyne to where St. Patrick was. Their conversation begins well:

"Was he not a good lord with whom ye were, Find Mac Cumaill that is to say?" Upon which Caílte uttered this little tribute of praise: "Were but the brown leaf which the wood sheds from it gold—were but the white wave silver—Find would have given it all away." "Who or what was

it that maintained you so in your life?" Patrick enquired. And Caílte answered: "Truth that was in our hearts, and strength in our arms, and fulfillment in our tongues."

Caílte tells that when the Fenians were on their way to fight the battle of Ventry against the Foreigners, they met Cael, a young warrior of Find's people, who had seen a beautiful girl named Créde in a dream, and set out in quest of her. The Fenians turn aside from their expedition and join him on his quest. Créde is the daughter of the king of Kerry, and can be won only by a man who is poet enough to praise her treasures worthily in verse. Cael wins her, for his fairy nurse has given him a poem, and Créde joins the Fenians on their journey. On the last day of the battle Cael is slain, and his body is washed up from the sea 'so that Cael's Strand is the name of that shore ever since.' The beasts whose life-span was joined to his died at his death. And Créde came and lay beside his body, and here is Créde's lament for Cael:

'The haven roars over the angry surf of Rinn Dá Bárc: the wave against the shore laments the drowning of the warrior of Loch Dá Chonn.

Plaintful is the crane from the marsh of Druim Dá Thrén: she cannot protect her loved ones, the fox of Dá Lí pursues her nestlings.

Sad is the note of the thrush in Dromkeen, and sad the music of the blackbird in Letterlee.

Sad is the cry of the stag in Druim Dá Léis: the doe of Druim Síleann is dead, and the stag of Díleann laments her.

Sorrowful for me was the death of the warrior who used to lie beside me: the son

of the woman from Doire Dá Dos who lies  
today with a cross at his head.

Sorrowful for me that Cael lies dead beside  
me: the wave washes his white side; it is  
his beauty that has left me senseless.

Sad is the voice of the ebbing wave against  
the strand, for it has drowned a noble  
comely man; alas that he went to meet it!

Sad is the sound of the wave against the  
beach to the north, breaking over a white  
rock, weeping for Cael that he is gone.

Sad is the fighting of the wave against the  
beach to the south: as for me, my day is  
done, I have lost my beauty.

The strong wave of Tulach Léis makes a  
heavy spray: as for me, I have nothing,  
since it proclaimed the tidings that it tells.

Patrick said again: "Well, Caílte, my  
soul, what was the best hunting that the  
Fenians ever had in Ireland or in Scot-  
land?" "The hunting of Arran," said Caílte.  
"Where is that?" said Patrick. "Between  
Scotland and Pictland," said Caílte, "and  
we used to go there with three companies  
of the *fiána* on Lammas Day, and we would  
get plenty of hunting there until the cuckoo  
called from the tree-tops in Ireland. And  
sweeter it was than any music to hear the  
cry of the birds there, as they rose from the  
waves and coasts of the Island. Thrice fifty  
flocks of birds frequented it, of every col-  
our; blue and green and grey and yellow."  
And Caílte sang a lay:

"Arran of the many stags,  
The sea strikes against its shoulder  
Isle where companies are fed,  
Ridge on which blue spears are reddened.

Skittish deer are on her peaks,  
Delicious berries on her manes,

Cool water in her rivers,  
Mast upon her dun oaks.

Greyhounds are there and beagles,  
Blackberries and sloes of the dark black-  
thorn,

Her dwellings close against the woods,  
Deer scattered about her oak-woods.

Gleaming of purple upon her rocks,  
Faultless grass upon her slopes,  
Over her fair shapely crags  
Noise of dappled fawns a-skipping.

Smooth is her level land, fat are her swine,  
Bright are her fields,  
Her nuts upon the tops of her hazel-wood,  
Long galleys sailing past her.

Delightful it is when the fair season comes:  
Trout under the brinks of her rivers,  
Seagulls answer each other round her white  
cliff,  
Delightful at all times is Arran!"

(MEYER).

Sometimes the narrative has an Arthurian  
flavour as in the repeated mention of gen-  
erosity as a quality of the Fenians, the *largesce*  
which for Chrétien de Troies was the chief  
of knightly excellences, or when Caílte dis-  
covers two women in distress because their  
husbands have abandoned them, and he pro-  
vides them with a love-charm (SG 125=AS  
954), or when he delivers Éogan Flaith-  
brugaid from the reaver (SG 149=AS 1896).  
Sometimes we are reminded of the voyage  
tales, as in the story of Clidna (SG 198=AS  
3726) or of the Visits to the Otherworld, as in  
those of Sliab na mBan (SG 222=AS 5001)  
and Assarroe (AS 6789=p. 254). It is entirely  
Christianized, and we are told repeatedly that  
Find foretold the coming of St. Patrick and  
made an act of Faith before his death. This is  
introduced rather absurdly for the edification

of the fairies (SG 147=AS 1825). There is a great deal of legend not found elsewhere, and the compiler seems to have used the opportunity to record whatever he could find of the old tradition. The *Acallam* is undoubtedly a deliberate compilation by a single author unknown, from sources now probably in great part lost. But the question of its sources has not been investigated; it is closely related to the *Dindshenchas*.

The temper of the *Acallam* is cheerful, in spite of Caílte's loneliness and decrepitude, and his regret for the heroic past. St. Patrick and the kings enjoy his stories, and heaven is promised him for himself and Find and the other warriors whom he praises. But in the later ballad literature, both saint and hero become caricatures, and a different sort of humour appears. These ballads are the characteristic form of Fenian literature. Of the modern Irish period, perhaps not earlier than the 14th and 15th c., they amount to some 25,000 lines now published. Here Patrick is often a bigoted cleric, pronouncing the doom of hell upon the Fenians, and Caílte or Oisín the defiant pagan. If Find is in hell, they say, then God is a poor judge of men. Find would not have treated God so harshly. Better to be in hell with Find than in heaven with pale and flimsy angels; and, as for the devil and his torments, the Fenians can take care of themselves. There is something here of the anti-clerical humour which inspires the fantastic *Vision of Mac Con Glinne*, which Meyer attributed, indeed, to the 12th c., and Brian Merriman's amazing *Midnight Court*, written toward the end of the 18th c. But I prefer to quote the ballad of *The Blackbird of Derrycarn*:

Sweet is that, Blackbird of Derrycarn,  
I have never heard in any place  
music that was sweeter than your voice  
as you sit at the bottom of your nest.

The sweetest music in the world,  
wretched is he who does not listen to it.  
O son of Calprann of the sweet bells—  
and you may sing your psalms later on!

If you knew as I do  
the story of the bird  
you would weep bitterly,  
you would pay no heed to God for a while.

In Norway of the blue streams  
the Son of Cumall, whose cups were of  
gold,  
found the bird you see now:  
that is its story surely.

Derrycarn is that wood in the west  
where the Fenians used to stay:  
the blackbird was placed there  
because of the beauty and pleasantness of  
its trees.

The song of the blackbird of Derrycarn,  
the lowing of cattle from Faill na cCáer  
is the music to which Finn slept at sunrise,  
and the call of the wild duck from the Lake  
of Three Fords.

Grouse around the hill of Crúachain,  
the whistling of the badger of Druim Dá  
Loch,  
the voice of the eagle of Gleann na fFuath,  
the cry of the cuckoo of Cnoc na Scoth;

The baying of the dogs of Gleann Caoin,  
and the scream of the blind eagle of the  
chase,  
the cry of the hounds in the morning  
returning from the beach of red stones.

When Finn and the Fenians lived  
they held dearer the mountains than the  
church:  
sweet to them were the blackbird's notes,  
the ringing of bells was not sweet.

The great prose tale of the Fenian Cycle is the *Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne*. A version of this story must have existed as early as the 10th c., for it is mentioned in a document of that time; but the surviving version is Modern Irish, and the earliest manuscript is of the 17th c. Gráinne, the daughter of Cormac Mac Airt, king of Ireland, was wooed by Finn; but, like Deirdre in the Ulster story, she fled from the old man with Diarmaid, and she too caused the death of her lover.

Not all the ballads are in the form of a dialogue with St. Patrick. Many of them tell merely the adventures of the Fenians; and there is one connected with this story which may be quoted here. It is a sleepsong sung by Gráinne for Diarmaid during their flight:

Sleep a little, just a little, for you need  
not fear a little,  
boy to whom I have given my love, Diar-  
maid, son of Ó Duibhne.

Sleep soundly here, noble Diarmaid.  
I shall keep watch for you, beautiful son of  
Ó Duibhne.

(She remembers others who slept soundly  
when in danger, and then thinks of their  
being themselves perhaps separated:)

To separate us is to separate two children  
of one home,  
to separate body and soul, warrior from the  
lake of Carman.

The hound Caoinche will be loosed upon  
your tracks; Caoilte will run well.  
May neither death nor evil overtake you,  
to send you to sleep for ever!

(The animals around them sense danger.  
They do not sleep.)

The stag in the east does not sleep; he does  
not cease to call:  
even though he is in the forest, he has no  
thought of sleep.

The lively music does not cease in the  
twisted branches of the trees;  
they are noisy there: even the thrush is not  
asleep.

Tonight the grouse does not sleep, in the  
deep rough heather;  
sweet is the note of his clear voice: amongst  
the streams he does not sleep.

Geographically the Fenian Cycle is situated mainly in Leinster and Munster, whereas Ulster and Connacht are the scene of the other. Chronologically it pretends to narrate events of the reign of Cormac Mac Airt who lived in the 3d c. A.D. It contrasts with the Ulster Cycle also in its characteristic form, which is the ballad. We have thousands of lines of verse in which one or other of the warriors recounts the joys and sorrows and heroic deeds of Finn and his companions. Moreover there is a different temper here. We are not brought face to face with the actors in the stories. It is the fierce joy of a past remembered in a rather melancholy Christian present. There is then something of the difference between epic and romance in the point of view, although the matter of the sagas and ballads is simple heroic, not essentially different from that of the Ulster stories. Finally there is a contrast in the actual manuscript tradition. While the *Book of Leinster* contains a few Fenian poems, it is in mss. of the 15th c. and later that the Fenian Cycle becomes prominent. In Ireland it later ousted the Ulster Cycle almost altogether, and alone survives in the modern folklore. It is perhaps characteristic of the Scottish tradition that ballads were recited about the heroes of the Ulster Cycle as well. There are ballads in

*The Book of the Dean of Lismore* about Fráech, Conláech and Cú Chulainn which are the same in form and spirit as the Fenian ballads; and, while two of these are also found in Irish mss., they seem to have been more widely known in Scotland. The folklore of the Highlands has preserved much of the Ulster Cycle beside the other.

The Fenian Cycle represents southern and eastern tradition, and its gradual spreading may well be connected with the rise of the Dalcassians of Munster, who were closely associated with the kingdom of Leinster, and the decline of the ancient dynasty of Uí Néill which had held the high kingship of Ireland for six hundred years until the usurpation of Brian in 1002 A.D. But the claim has been made that the general resemblance between Fenian and Arthurian tradition is due to the fact that both enshrine very ancient Celtic traditions of protective magic, which would have been a dominant feature of Celtic religion. The Fenian Cycle would then be of greater importance for Celtic mythology than the Ulster Cycle. M.L. Sjoestedt saw the contrast in a quite different light, suggesting that the Ulster Cycle celebrated the hero of the tribe, while the Fenian Cycle celebrated the hero outside the tribe.

*The Mythological Cycle.* The mythological cycle is not well preserved in the literature. In the sagas of the Ulster and Fenian cycles there are references to supernatural beings who are imagined as dwelling in fairy mounds. Some of these sites are actually prehistoric burial mounds, notably the famous Brug na Bóinne, now known as New Grange, in County Louth: others are natural formations. The beings themselves are called *síde* (pl.), while *síd* (sg.) is the word for a fairy mound. King of these fairies is the Dagda ('The Good God'). Óengus Mac Ind Óc is a son of the Dagda, and dwells in Brug na Bóinne. Another son, Bodb, lives in Síd al Femen in Munster (County Tipperary). Midir, hus-

band of the beautiful Étaín, lives in Brí Léith ('Mound of the Grey Man') near the village of Ardagh (County Longford). Mannanán Mac Lir ('Son of the Sea') reigns in the Isle of Man. (He appears in Welsh tradition as Manawyddan fab Llyr.) Núadu Airgetlám ('Silver Arm') is apparently a patron of fishing, Díancécht a patron of healing. Lug Mac Ethnenn ('Son of Ethniu'), also called Lug Lámfada ('Long Arm'), is the god whose name is widely known over Celtic speaking territory in the place-name Lugdunum. He is the father of Cú Chulainn. Besides Étaín, the wife of Midir, may be mentioned Fand ('The Gentle One') the wife of Mannanán, and daughter of Aed Abrat ('Fire of the Brow'), Lí Ban ('Beauty of Women'), wife of Labraid Lúath Lám ar Claideb ('Swift Hand on Sword'). Dond is the god of the dead, and dwells in Tech Duind ('Dond's House'), an island off the coast of Kerry. Bres Mac Elathan, Echaid fuil, Éogan Inbir, Failbe Find, Ríangabur, whose son Lóeg is Cú Chulainn's charioteer, and Senach Síaborthe are among other fairy beings whose names occur. Cú Roí is not of this company, but a sort of wizard, lord of Cathair Con Roí, the mighty stone fortress now known as Cahirconree on the Dingle peninsula in County Kerry. Van Hamel has well pointed out that these beings do not appear as gods in the accepted sense. They are not adored, or served by sacrifice or otherwise. They are supernatural beings with magic powers, who sometimes interfere in the affairs of men.

In the pseudo-history of the monasteries, and in the later sagas, these gods or fairies are called *Tíatha Dee Danann* ('peoples of Dee Danann'). Thurneysen suggests that the name Dee Danann first belonged to three mythical beings, the brothers Brían, Iuchar and Iucharba. How the others came to be called their 'people' remains obscure. In the sagas they are sometimes called *Fir trí nDea*, 'Men of the Three Gods' (RC 12, 76 § 60).

and the 'Three gods of Danu' are mentioned (82 § 83). The historians taught that Ireland was inhabited by the *Túatha Dee Danann* before the Irish came. There was a race of giants, the *Fomoiré*, who were enemies of the gods. They lived on islands and came in ships over the sea.

Much of this tradition is recorded in the *Dindshenchas* (*History of Places*), and the *Cóir Anmann* (*Fitness of Names*), learned compilations of the Middle Irish period, which are not part of the imaginative literature; it also provides the account of the *Túatha Dee Danann* and Fomorians in the *Lebor Gabála* (*Book of Invasions*). This is a fictitious history of Ireland from the earliest times down to the twelfth century, which Thurneysen has declared to be, in its earliest form, mainly a prose redaction of the 'historical' poems of Gilla Cáemáin (d. 1072). It makes tedious reading, but is important because it was regarded as authoritative by native historians down to the 17th c. It will not be further considered here. Only the sagas of the cycle concern us, and they are not many.

The ancient list of tales in the *Book of Leinster* preserves a few titles of mythological stories now lost. Of those which have come down to us, four are early in their extant form: *The Taking of the Fairy Mound* (*De Gabáil in tSída*); *The Dream of Óengus* (*Aislinge Óenguso*); *The Wooing of Étaín* (*Tochmarc Étaíne*), and *The Battle of Moytura* (*Cath Maige Tured*). Four others have been preserved only in late Middle Irish or Modern Irish recensions: *The Battle of Moytura at Cong*; *The Nourishment of the Houses of the Two Cups* (*Altram Tige Dá Medar*); *The Fate of the Children of Tuirenn* (*Oidheadh Clainne Tuirinn*), and *The Fate of the Children of Lir* (*Oidheadh Clainne Lir*), of which the last seems to be a comparatively modern invention.

*The Taking of the Fairy Mound* is a mere anecdote, too brief in its extant form for

recitation before an audience, which tells how Óengus, son of the Dagda, persuaded his father to bestow his dwelling at Brug na Bóinne upon him for a day and a night. When the Dagda claimed it back, Óengus explained that 'day and night' means 'for ever'; and so Óengus remained lord of the place. It is described as a wonderful country. Three fruit trees are always in fruit. There is a roast pig and also a vat of fine liquor, which never diminish. This description corresponds to those of the Otherworld beyond the sea to be considered later. Beyond the sea or beneath the fairy mounds, it was apparently the same.

*The Dream of Óengus* tells of a mysterious sickness of Óengus, which can be cured only by the love of a girl whom he has seen in a dream. This is the motif of some of the best of the early sagas, *Echtrae Conli*, *Echtrae Cormaic*, *Imram Brain*, *Serglige Con Culainn*, but in all of these the lover is human. Here Óengus himself is smitten. At the request of the Dagda, Bodb discovers the girl. She spends one year in human form and the next in the form of a swan. For some reason not stated, Óengus waits to approach her till she has become a swan. He then goes in human form to the lake where he has been told to find her, and calls her to him. She will come only if he promises to allow her to return to the lake. Óengus agrees. He puts his arms around her, and changes into a swan himself. They fly round the lake together three times, so that his promise is not broken, and she stays with him.

The story of Óengus and the Brug occurs in a different form in *The Wooing of Étaín*, which is one of the two principal surviving tales of the cycle, the other being *The Battle of Moytura*. There are indeed three stories about Étaín, but they form a sequence, and appear so in the two mss. that contain them. She is the mother of the Étaín whom Étarscél saw washing at the well, and who became the mother of Conaire. In this tale she is at first

the wife of Midir, and the dearest, gentlest, loveliest in Ireland, and then after a thousand years she is re-born as a human, and becomes the wife of Echaid Airem, king of Ireland, but she returns with Midir to fairyland. There is a strange beauty here which perhaps no other Irish story shares. The temper of love is there, and the power of magic—this is a pure fairy tale—and a happy ending. And the form is unique, for it is one story in three episodes, a comedy in three acts.

The chief saga of the mythological cycle, however, is *The Battle of Moytura*, for it tells with much circumstance of the victory of the *Tíatha Dee Danann* over the Fomorians, and many of the leaders on both sides are introduced. Though it is preserved only in a ms. of the 16th c., the language is early and the matter is genuine pre-Christian tradition. Its value, however, is rather mythological than literary, for the narrative is rambling and formless, and has been used as an occasion for recording lists of names and miscellaneous fragments of mythology. (It has been most recently discussed by Father Gustav Lehmannes, *Anthropos* 26, 435; 1931.)

*The Historical Cycles*. The oldest of these tales, according to the supposed date of the events recorded, tells of the vengeance of Labraid The Exile for the murder of his father Ailill Áne by Cobthach king of Ireland. Labraid built an iron house and invited Cobthach to a feast. When the guests were feasting the doors were fastened and fire was set to the house, so that all within perished. The motif of the Iron House recurs in the Welsh story of Branwen. A separate anecdote about Labraid presents the Midas motif. He had the ears of a horse, and every barber that shaved him was slain on the spot, until one was spared who told the secret to a tree. From its wood a harp was made, and the harp revealed the secret. A similar legend is told about King Echaid, and the tradition is also attested in Brittany.

The next great story is *The Battle of Mag Mucrama*, which introduces Lugaid Mac Con. He was the foster-brother and rival of Éogan Mór. Banished to Britain by Éogan's father, Ailill Ólom, Lugaid returned with a powerful army, defeated Éogan and took his kingdom. But he was an unjust king and was deposed in favour of the famous Cormac son of Art, who reigned at Tara, according to the Annals, from 227 to 266. Lugaid retired to Munster and sought a reconciliation with Ailill, but Ailill thrust a poisonous tooth into his cheek as he kissed him, and then sent Ferchess in pursuit of him, and he was slain. Cormac is the hero of many stories, some of them belonging to other chapters of the literature. He was king in the days of Find and the Fenians, so that the whole Fenian Cycle falls chronologically within his cycle. Perhaps the most charming story about him is *The Melodies of Buchet's House*, which has some resemblance to the Indian story of Śakuntalā.

Niall of The Nine Hostages became king of Ireland in 379 A.D., and we have a saga entitled *The Adventure of the Sons of Eochu Muigmedón*, of which he is the hero. He wins precedence over his brothers by kissing a loathsome hag who is changed by his embrace into a beautiful girl, and reveals herself as the Sovranty of Ireland. One of the finest of the historical tales is *The Death of Máel Fothartaig son of Rónán*, which Meyer compares to the Greek legend of Phaedra and Hippolytus. Rónán was king of Leinster ca. 600 A.D. After his wife had died and his son Máel Fothartaig had grown to manhood, Rónán took a young girl from the north to wife. The young queen fell in love with her stepson, and when he refused her love, she accused him of molesting her, so that his father put him to death. The story is well told, with perhaps more artistry than is common. The tension is never relaxed.

Another good story tells the adventures of Mongán, king of Ulster (d. 625) who for-



feited his wife to Brandub, king of Leinster, and won her back by a ruse. Mongán was begotten by the fairy king Mannanán upon the wife of Fiachna The Fair, and was, according to one tradition, a re-birth of Find son of Cumall. The cycle of Domnall son of Aed son of Ainmire, who was king of Ireland from 628 to 642, is perhaps the greatest of the historical cycles. It comprises three famous tales and centers around a heroic struggle for the high kingship, which is a matter of history. The battle of Moira was fought in 637 between Domnall, king of Ireland, and Domnall Brecc, king of Dál Riada, the Irish kingdom in Scotland, which at this time still included a small territory in north-east Ireland. One result of the battle seems to have been the loss by the Scottish kingdom of its Irish territory. The first story, *The Feast of Dún na nGéad*, leads up to the battle: it is plainly influenced by *The Battle of Mag Mucrama*, for various motifs of that story recur in this. The second story is *The Battle of Moira* itself; the third, *The Frenzy of Suibne*, tells the adventures of the famous madman who lost his wits in the din of battle.

One other cycle deserves mention. Chronologically it follows close upon the last. The cycle of Diarmait son of Aed Sláine and Gúaire Aidne, includes a number of tales. Diarmait and his brother Bláthmac became joint kings of Ireland in 643 and died in 665. Gúaire, famous for his hospitality, was king of Connacht and died in 663. The most important tales are *The Story of Cano son of Gartnán*, which presents an interesting parallel to the saga of Tristan and Isolde, and *The Great Visitation to Gúaire*, which is a satire on the arrogance of the poets, and preserves the tradition that the great Táin was first written down by the *fili* Senchán Torpeist in the 7th c. (Thurneysen has expressed the opinion that this tradition may be authentic.) There is also a story about St. Cellach,

*The Triumph of Cellach*, which contains some good poetry.

*The Echtraí*. There is a group of stories in which the Promised Land is the chief motif. Here is introduced most strongly the Celtic magic, the imaginative quality for which Irish literature is well known. The Otherworld is called the Land of the Living, the Delightful Plain, the Many-Colored Land, the Land of the Young or the Promised Land, the last a translation of *terra repromissionis*, which occurs in the Würzburg Glosses (32b2, 33a23). It seems indeed that a primitive pagan belief, which is expressed in the early stories in its true form, was later validated and sustained by confusion with the Promised Land of the *Old Testament*.

The Irish Otherworld is a country where there is neither sickness nor age nor death, where happiness lasts for ever and there is no satiety, where food and drink do not diminish when consumed, where to wish for something is to possess it, where a hundred years are as a day. It is the Elysium, the Island of the Hesperides of the Greeks, the Odains-Akr, the Jörd Lifanda Manna of the Norse. Alfred Nutt pointed out that it finds its closest analogues in early Greek mythology, suggesting that it represents ancient Indo-European tradition.

This Land of the Living is thought of as in the western sea. A beautiful girl approaches the hero, and sings to him of this happy island. He follows her, and they sail away in a boat of glass and are seen no more. Or else he returns after three days, warned not to set foot upon the soil of Ireland; and when his feet touch the earth he turns into ashes, for he has been away for hundreds of years.

*Echtrae Conli*: Conle was a son of Cond of the Hundred Battles, who was High King of Ireland in the 2d c. A.D., according to the Annals. The story dates perhaps from the 8th c. in the form in which we have it.

'One day Conle the Red, son of Coínd of the Hundred Battles, was beside his father on the hill of Usnech. He saw a woman in wonderful attire approach him. Conle said, "Whence art thou come, woman?"

"I have come," said the woman, "from The Land of the Living, a place in which there is neither death nor sin nor transgression. We enjoy lasting feasts without preparing them, and pleasant company without strife. We live in great peace. From that we are named The People of Peace."

"With whom dost thou speak, boy?" said Cond to his son, for none saw the woman save Conle alone. The woman answered:

1. "He speaks to a beautiful young woman of noble race whom neither death threatens nor old age. I love Conle the Red, I call him to the Plain of Delight where reigns a king victorious and immortal, a king without weeping or sorrow in his land since he became king.

2. Come with me Conle the Red thou of the jewelled neck, red as flame. Thy hair is yellow over the bright noble face of thy royal form. If thou come with me thy beauty will not lose its youth nor its fairness forever."

Cond said to his druid, Corán was his name, for they all heard what the woman said although they did not see her:

"I pray thee, Corán of the many songs and many talents, trouble has come to me which defeats my counsel; which defeats my power, a strength which I have not known since I became king, that I should meet an invisible form which strives against me to steal away my fair son by magic spells. He is being lured away from me, the king, by women's wiles."

Then the druid sang against the woman's voice so that no one heard the voice of the woman, and so that Conle did not see the woman after that; but when the woman

went away at the loud chanting of the druid, she threw an apple to Conle. Conle was for a month without drink, without food. He cared not to eat any other food but his apple, and his apple did not diminish for what he used to eat of it, but was still whole. A longing then came upon Conle for the woman he had seen. A month from that day Conle was beside his father in the plain of Archommin, and he saw the same woman approach him, and she said to him:

"There above sits Conle amongst dead mortals waiting for gloomy death. Living immortals invite thee. Thou art a hero for the people of Tethra who see thee every day in the assemblies of thy fatherland amongst thy dear companions."

When Cond heard the woman's voice he said to his people: "Call me the druid. I see that her tongue has been loosened today."

The woman said then:

"Cond of the Hundred Battles, do not love druidry for it is small. A just man comes to give judgement at the wide strand with many companions, many and wonderful. Soon shall his judgement reach thee, and it will scatter the spells of the druids in the sight of the devil, the Black Magician."

Cond thought it strange that Conle spoke with no one once the woman had come.

"Hast thou understood what the woman says, O Conle?" said Cond.

"It is not easy for me, for I love my people, but a longing for the woman has come upon me."

The woman answered then and said this:

1. "Thou hast a longing greater than all other desires to go from them over the sea, so that we may come in my ship of glass to the dwelling of Boadach, if we can reach it.

2. There is another country where also thou couldst go. I see the sun sets. Though it is far away, we shall reach it before night.

3. It is the country which delights the mind of anyone who goes there. There are no people there save only women and girls."

When the maiden had finished speaking Conle sprang away from them so that he was in the ship of glass, that is in the firm crystal coracle. They looked out further and further, as far as their eyes could see. They rowed then over the sea away from them, and they were not seen since, and it is not known where they went.'

*Echtrae Brain Maic Febail*: The most famous of these Adventures (*echtraí*) is that of Bran, son of Febal, which was edited in a two volume study by Meyer and Nutt in 1895. The text is one of the earliest of all the sagas, and may go back in its written form to the 7th c.

One day Bran was walking alone close to his dwelling when he heard music behind him. He turned about, but the music was still behind him; and soon he fell asleep from the sweetness of the music. When he awoke he found beside him a silver branch with white flowers, and he brought it into the house. When all were assembled in the house they saw a woman in strange attire in the middle of the house, and she sang fifty quatrains to Bran, so that all could hear.

Now comes an astonishing poem (only 28 quatrains are extant, and 3 of these appear to be a Christian interpolation) describing the beauty and the pleasures of the Other-world. It sets the tone for many other such descriptions; unless indeed we should suppose a single author of this genre. There is an island supported by four pillars of gold. On a plain of silver (a silver strand?) games are held. There are chariot races and boat races. Lovely colours shine on every side. Joy is con-

stant. There is no sadness, no fierceness, neither sorrow nor sickness nor death. Music sounds always in the air. The sea washes the wave against the land so that tresses of crystal fall on the shore. The chariots are of gold and silver and bronze, the horses golden chestnut, roan, even blue as the sky. The sun-god is described:

'A fair-haired man comes at sunrise to light up the lovely lands. He rides over the white plain against which the ocean murmurs. He stirs the sea into blood.'

The woman departs and vanishes. As she goes, the silver branch flies from Bran's hand into hers. He cannot hold it. On the next day Bran sets out upon the sea with twenty-seven companions. After various adventures they reach an island on which there is a crowd of persons who laugh and shout. He sends one of his men ashore, and the man at once begins to laugh and shout like the others. He merely laughs at his former companions when they come to him. It is the Island of Merriment.

They leave the place and row on till they come to the Island of Women. The leader of the women calls to Bran to come ashore, but he is afraid to land. She throws a ball of thread in his face and he puts up his hand. The ball sticks to his hand and the woman draws the boat ashore by the thread. (This motif occurs in the story of the Argonauts.) They go into a great hall where there is a bed for every man, twenty-seven beds. The food that is served them does not diminish. They thought they were a year there, but it was many years.

One of the men, Nechtán son of Allfronn, feels a longing to return home, and Bran is persuaded to go. The woman warns them not to set foot on land, and bids them bring along with them the man whom they had left in the Island of Merriment. They arrive at Srub Brain in Ireland, and find people assembled

there who ask who has come from over the sea. Bran replies: 'I am Bran son of Febal.' 'We know him not, but the Voyage of Bran is one of our ancient stories.' The man who longed to return is put ashore, and he turns to ashes at once, as though he had been in the grave for hundreds of years.

Bran told his adventures to the assembled people, and bade them farewell. And from that time forward his adventures are not known.

This story of Bran is mainly an *echtrae*, a visit to the Otherworld; but the account of the voyage with the incident of the Island of Merriment leads over to a distinct class of stories, called *inrama* (voyages), in which the voyage is the principal theme. And indeed the only manuscript which supplies a title (*The Book of Leinster*) calls it *The Voyage of Bran and his Adventure*. It may be that the Adventure of Conle represents the *echtrae* in its simplest and oldest form. In the story of Bran we would then have the germ of a development in which the journey is made the occasion for a narrative of wonderful places visited. This reached its fullest attainment in the famous *Voyage of Máel Dúin*, which is too long for discussion here. It is however of great importance on account of its close relationship to the famous *Navigatio Brendani*. Other Adventures are *Echtrae Airt maic Cuind*; *Echtrae Cormaic*; *Echtrae Láegairi*; and *Serglige Con Culainn*. Two other Voyage Tales have come down to us, *The Voyage of the Uí Chorra* and *The Voyage of the Coracle of Snédgus and Mac Riagla*.

**The Visions:** In the later Voyage Tales visions of Hell and Heaven appear as incidents in the story; there is a separate group of texts which derive from Christian and Jewish originals, and describe such visions as experienced by one or other of the Irish saints. The apocryphal *Book of Enoch*, which dates

from the time of Judas the Maccabee (2d c. B.C.), and enjoyed considerable esteem amongst Christians down to the 3d c., *The Vision of Esdras*, *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, the *Visio Pauli*, and the *Apocalypse* itself, are examples of this tradition. The *Divina Commedia* is its greatest realization as literature. The only attempt to examine the Irish texts from this point of view is by C. S. Boswell, *An Irish Precursor of Dante*, a book that has not received the attention it merits. The author seems to work largely at second hand, but he makes a number of valuable observations and covers a wide field. He cast his net too widely, indeed, to permit of his coming to close quarters with the matter. The Irish visions contain valuable evidence about what was read and studied in Ireland in the 8th, 9th, and 10th c., and there is still room for investigation.

More important, indeed, for the wider question of the influence of Irishmen on the medieval literature of western Europe are the Irish visions composed in Latin, the *Vision of Tundale*, and the *Purgatorium Patricii*, which, with the *Navigatio Brendani*, are considered by D'Ancona as among the works that may have prompted Dante (*I Precursori di Dante* 37, 63, 102). These three can hardly have been unknown to him; but they are beyond the limit here set. The earliest and best of the Visions composed in Irish is the *Vision of Adamnán*.

St. Adamnán,\* author of a beautiful life of St. Colmcille, and of a description of the Holy Land, was abbot of Iona, 679-704, tenth in succession to Colmcille (Colum Cille\*), its founder. Of him it is told that once, on the feast-day of St. John the Baptist, his soul parted from his body and was guided by its guardian angel to heaven and to hell. The text is preserved complete in LU and also in the *Lebor Brecc* (14th c.). The LU version, to judge from the language, cannot be earlier than the 10th c. nor can it be much later.

The possibility of an earlier original, from which the extant text derives, is not excluded.

*The Vision of Adamnán* is an example of smooth and stately prose, not without good imagery and a sort of gladness that rings true. It makes better reading than the *Book of Enoch*, which is perhaps the earliest example of its kind. There is a good analysis by Seymour, *PRIA* xxxvii, Section C, 304 (1927), who calls it 'the finest of all the medieval visions prior to Dante.' It has a claim on our attention, whatever its own merit, for two reasons. First, it is one of the earliest medieval visions, earlier than the *Visio Tnugdali* and the *Purgatorium Patricii*; and secondly it is related to the Voyage tales discussed above. The Voyages borrow from the Visions, and the Visions seem to have been influenced by the pagan traditions about the Otherworld.

(Summary): Many of the saints, and of the apostles and disciples of Christ have been permitted to know the mysteries of heaven, the rewards of the just and the pains of hell and those who suffer them. St. Peter beheld the four-cornered vessel that was let down from heaven. St. Paul was raised to the third heaven and heard unutterable words. On the day of Mary's death, all the apostles saw the sufferings of the damned, when the Lord bade the angels of the west open the earth before them, so that they might behold hell and its torments, as He had foretold long before His passion.

All this was revealed to Adamnán, when his soul went forth from his body and was brought to heaven and to hell. Its guardian angel appeared to it and brought it first to heaven, a bright and happy land, where the saints of the east and west and north and south are ranged in separate choirs, clad in white hooded cassocks. All are equally close to the vessel in which the nine degrees of heaven dwell. All hear the heavenly music. At one time the saints sing, praising God, at another they listen to the music of heaven.

For that music, and the light that they behold, and the fragrance of that country fill them with delight. There is a wonderful prince facing them to the southeast, with a veil of glass between and a golden arch beyond it. Through this arch they perceive the forms and shadows of the heavenly host. A wall of fire surrounds the country, but it harms not those who cross it.

The host of heaven is described; the apostles and the Blessed Virgin are around Christ. On Mary's right hand are the holy virgins, and no great space between them.

'But great and wonderful as are the brightness and light in the land of the saints, as we have said, more wonderful a thousand times is the brilliance of the plain of the heavenly host around the throne of the Lord himself. That throne is a well-wrought chair, supported by four pillars of precious stone. Though one should hear no other music but the fair harmony of those four pillars, it would be enough of happiness. Three stately birds are perched on the chair before the king, their minds ever intent upon their Creator.

And this is their office. They sing the eight Hours praising and glorifying the Lord, and a choir of archangels accompanies them. The chant is begun by the birds and the angels, and the whole host of heaven responds, both saints and virgins. Above the Glorious One seated on his throne there is a great arch like a wrought helmet or a royal crown. If human eyes should see it they would melt away at once. Three zones are around it, between it and the host, and what they are cannot be told. Six thousand thousands in the forms of horses and birds decorate the fiery chair and blaze eternally.

To describe the mighty Lord who is on that throne is not possible for anyone save Him alone, unless He should entrust it to

the heavenly orders. For none shall tell His ardour and energy, His glow and gleam, His dignity and beauty, His constancy and firmness, the number of angels and arch-angels who sing their chant before Him.

... Though one should gaze around east and west and north and south, he will find on every side the noble face seven times as bright as the sun. He will see no human form, neither head nor feet, but a mass of fire blazing throughout the world, and all in fear and trembling in Its presence.

The citadel in which that throne is set is surrounded by seven walls of glass of various colours, each one higher than the next. The ceiling and the floor of the citadel are of glass, bright as the sun, shot with blue and purple and green and every colour.

People gentle and kind, lacking no sort of goodness, are they who dwell in that citadel. For none come there nor dwell there but holy virgins and pilgrims zealous for God. Their order and arrangement is hard to understand, for none has his back or his side towards another, but the inscrutable power of the Lord has appointed them face to face in ranks and equal circles joyful around the throne, all of them face to face with God.

The description of the citadel is completed, and then we are told of those who are outside the gate, awaiting the Last Judgment after which they are destined to go in. A veil of fire and a veil of ice hang in the gateway, and strike against each other with a sound terrible to the ears of sinners. To the host of heaven within, however, it is perceived only as faint music.

Then the approach to the citadel is set forth. For there are seven heavens, and six gates through which the race of men must pass. The first is guarded by the Archangel Michael and two men that are virgins. They scourge sinners with iron rods. The Arch-

angel Ariel with two virgins guards the second, and they have flails of fire. There is a river of fire before the gate in which the Angel Abersetus washes the souls of the just clean of any stain of sin, so that they are as bright as stars. They pass into a cool and fragrant well, and are comforted, but in that same well the souls of sinners are tormented further. The sinners proceed in sorrow, and the just rejoicing, to the gate of the third heaven; and so on till the sixth gate is passed. Michael then approaches the Angel of the Trinity, and together they lead the soul into the presence of God.

The just soul is received with joy by the heavenly host and by the Lord himself, but the Lord is harsh to the unrighteous. The wretched soul is separated from the kingdom of heaven and the presence of God, and it utters the sigh that is heavier than any other sigh on going into the presence of the devil after having seen the joy of heaven. Twelve fiery dragons swallow it, one after the other, and the last deposits it in the devil's maw.

When the guardian angel had shown the soul of Adamán these visions of heaven, he brought it to hell. From a black and dismal country, where, however, there is no punishment, a bridge leads across a valley of fire into the Land of Torment. Three companies seek to cross it. For one company it is wide and they pass over without fear. They are the chaste, the penitent, and the martyrs. For the second it is narrow at first and then wide so that they pass with peril. These are they that were compelled to do God's will and later consented to it. For the third it is wide at first and then narrow so that they fall into the fire and are devoured by the eight monsters who dwell in that valley. These are the sinners that have heard the word of God and have not kept it.

There follows a description of the various torments suffered by those guilty of particular crimes, as in the *Inferno*. Not all, however,

are doomed to eternal punishment. Finally we are told that beyond the Land of Torment there is a wall of fire seven times more horrible. But no souls shall suffer there until after the Last Judgment. Only demons dwell there. The soul of Adamnán was brought then in the twinkling of an eye, through the golden arch and the veil of glass, into the Land of Saints again; but when it thought to abide there, it heard the voice of the angel from beyond the veil bidding it return into the body whence it had come, and tell in assemblies of laity and clergy the rewards of heaven and the pains of hell as the guardian angel had revealed them to it.

The text concludes with a passage confirming the authenticity of the vision, and it is said that Silvester, 'abbot of Rome,' told Constantine the doctrine of heaven and hell at the assembly before which Constantine 'bestowed Rome upon Paul and Peter.' This last sentence has been used to provide a superior date for the composition of the vision, since it appears that the legend of the Donation of Constantine is not earlier than the late 8th c. But the point is hardly important, since that date is uncertain, and the whole concluding passage is not an integral part of the Vision, and may be a later addition. There is, however, no evidence that the Vision is much earlier than the extant text (10th c), and none other to the contrary.

One paragraph from this final passage deserves attention, for it appears indeed to be a later addition, and to present a conflicting eschatology. Elijah and Enoch are represented in Paradise, where the souls of the faithful dwell in the form of white birds. This latter notion occurs in the Voyage tales, while the reference to Elijah and Enoch derives from a well-established tradition. The immediate source is a text entitled *The Two Sorrows of the Kingdom of Heaven* (*Dá Brón Flatha Nime*) which seems to derive from a Greek apocryphon.

This is the story that Elijah tells to the souls of the righteous under the Tree of Life in Paradise. When Elijah opens the book to instruct the souls, the souls of the righteous in the form of white birds come to him from every quarter. He tells them first the rewards of the righteous, the joy and the delights of the kingdom of heaven, and they are exceeding glad the while. Then he tells them the pains and torments of hell and the decrees of Doomsday. And a look of sorrow is manifest upon him and upon Enoch, so that those are the two sorrows of the kingdom of heaven. Then Elijah closes the book, and the birds utter a mournful cry and strike their wings against their bodies for fear of the pains of hell and the day of Judgment, so that streams of blood flow from them.'

*The Vision of Mac Con Glinne:* Just as the hymns and sequences of the Church were parodied by the troubadours, so the Irish Visions are the occasion for an extraordinary outburst of fancy and malice in the *Vision of Mac Con Glinne*, composed in the 12th c., but apparently constructed upon an earlier original from which the anti-clerical motive was perhaps absent. So at least it seems from the study by Wollner prefixed to Meyer's edition. The text as we have it in LB is, however, the work of a wandering scholar with a grudge against the Church, and he gives full play to his humour.

*Irish Poetry:* In Irish, as in Sanskrit, the distinction between verse and poetry is important. Verse was used in recording law, history, genealogy, lists of kings, and the feast-days of the Church, without any intention other than that of composing a text suitable for memorization. I do not doubt that the Irish recognized the distinction observed in Sanskrit between *kāvya* (poetry) and *smṛti* (tradition), though I cannot cite any author-

ity. And it may prove difficult to maintain it in particular cases. The *filid*, who graduated through a training of twelve years, were the great national poets, and enjoyed special privileges in society. One of their duties was to record the historical traditions, and many of their 'historical' poems have come down to us. But most of these are hardly poetry. However, they also preserved the heroic sagas, in which there are some lovely poems, composed no doubt by *filid*.

The bards, who were an inferior class, wrote poems in praise of their patrons and satires upon their patrons' enemies. But after the Norman invasion, which caused the decline of the great national festivals, the *filid* accepted the duty of praising individual patrons in the bardic manner and these later poems must be judged as poetry. The *filid* were now often attached as court poets to one of the noble houses, and many poems are in honour of members of the family. Many others are the expression of joy or grief or piety or pride. They are always occasional, not written for the purpose of mere instruction, and often lyric in temper.

We shall consider first the early lyric poetry, all of it anonymous or piously ascribed to fictitious authors, and then the bardic poetry: then the late lyrics which O'Rahilly and Flower have made known.

Ireland has produced no great epic poem. The poetry of the sagas, which has already been considered, is epic in theme, but the effort is not sustained. It is an artistic device used with great effect to increase the emotional power of the prose narrative. The nearest approach to epic form in the early period is the account in the great *Táin* of the fight between Cú Chulainn and Fer Díad, in which the verse passages make up almost half the text. There are indeed two poems of epic stature. *Saltair na Rann* (*The Psalter of Quatrains*), written ca. 987 A.D., tells in verse the story of the *Old Testament* and the life of Christ, but

it is rather to be classed with the verse histories and festologies than with the imaginative work of poets. *The Voyage of the Coracle of Snédgus and Mac Ríagla*, which has already been mentioned, is the single example of an old tale that was first composed in verse alone, the prose narrative deriving from it. But it is not of epic length, and is a modest performance. These two attempts at epic poetry remain landmarks on a journey that was never completed. The Fenian ballads which first appear in the Modern Irish period are indeed the stuff of epic poetry; but the age of greatness was then long past in Ireland. The time was out of joint, and there was no Dante or Milton to give them epic form. In the 18th c. Michael Comyn composed his *Laoi Oisín i dTír na nÓg* (*Lay of Oisín in the Land of Youth*), in the tradition and form of the ballads. Brian Merriman's astonishing *Cúirt An Mheadhán Oidhche* (*The Mid-Night Court*), written in 1780, is the work of a man capable of epic poetry, but he did not attempt an epic theme.

The history of Irish poetry has not been written. The forms of the prosody are fairly well known, but the development from the earliest alliterative form through forms with rhythm and rhyme to the syllabic rhymed quatrain without regular rhythm which remained the established form for a thousand years—this matter has not been fully investigated. Nothing of its kind has been added to Thurneysen's article in the *Revue Celtique* 6, 326–47, written in 1884, although the great mass of the material has been edited since that date, much of it by Thurneysen himself, much by Kuno Meyer. The metrical tracts edited by Thurneysen are of great interest, and Meyer sought to establish a chronological sequence of forms. According to him the earliest form knew neither rhythm nor rhyme, depending solely on a link (*Bindung*) connecting small groups of words, and consisting in alliteration. Then an irregular rhythm was



introduced, and later rhyme came into Irish from the Latin hymns. An intermediate state with regular rhythm and a seven syllable line, but no rhyme, is well established. Thurneysen has since shown that the third state, quasi-rhythmical verse, with rhyme but no fixed number of stresses or syllables, is as early as the 6th c. Bergin has shown that a peculiar rhythmical stanza existed beside the regular metres, in the form called *Brúilingeacht*, and that this later gave rise to the song-metres of the 17th and 18th c. And the suggestion has been made that one common metre is of Welsh origin.

The earliest surviving poems are then mere alliterative groups without rhyme or rhythm, from the 6th c. Then rhyme appears, towards the end of the 6th c., but there is still no fixed number of stresses or of syllables. The fragments that have come down to us in these earliest forms are largely historical or encomiastic and not of great literary value, although there are some lively satires. In the 7th c. irregular rhythm appears combined with rhyme, in many metrical varieties, and a lyric note comes into the poetry. Meanwhile a rhythmical line without rhyme, in the form —u —u —u u is widely used in legal tracts and in rhetorical passages in the sagas. It was apparently a favorite form for the purpose of memorization, and survives in the sagas into the Middle Irish period.

Finally, perhaps in the 8th c., the syllabic count becomes dominant, and there is no regular ictus, the word-accent serving only for alliteration and rhyme; and this system, in many metres, was maintained into the 17th c.

From the first appearance of rhyme, experiments were made in a remarkable variety of patterns, and a study of Meyer's *Bruchstücke der älteren Lyrik Irlands* shows the delight these early poets found in different combinations of rhythm and rhyme. The ultimate sub-

stitution of a purely syllabic system for the earlier rhythmical system is a strange development in a language having a strong stress accent. Thurneysen, in the article already cited, derived the Irish syllabic measures from the trochaic tetrameter catalectic of the Latin hymns, e.g. St. Hilary's *Hymnus in laudem Christi*, beginning: *Ymnum dicat turba fratrum | ymnum cantus personet | Cristo regi concinentes | laudem demus debitam*. Meyer adopts this explanation, *Ancient Irish Poetry* xiii. It does not well fit the facts that the earliest fragments of rhymed poetry in Irish show no resemblance to this Latin model (rhyme is also supposed to be of Latin origin), whereas the later seven and eight syllable lines are non-rhythmical, in contrast to the regular rhythm of the *Hymn* of St. Hilary.

I shall try to illustrate the quality of Irish poetry. To do this by means of translations may seem an almost hopeless undertaking for poetry so rich in ornament of alliteration, assonance, consonance and rhyme. But it has been shown by the translators that the attempt is not vain. Of these Kuno Meyer is easily the chief. In the Introduction to his *Ancient Irish Poetry* he says: 'In Nature poetry the Gaelic muse may vie with that of any other nation. Indeed, these poems occupy a unique position in the literature of the world. To seek out and watch and love Nature, in its tiniest phenomena as in its grandest, was given to no people so early and so fully as to the Celt. Many hundreds of Gaelic and Welsh poems testify to this fact. It is a characteristic of these poems that in none of them do we get an elaborate or sustained description of any scene or scenery, but rather a succession of pictures and images which the poet, like an impressionist, calls up before us by light and skilful touches. Like the Japanese, the Celts were always quick to take an artistic hint; they avoid the obvious and the commonplace; the half-said thing to them is dearest.'

Here are two quatrains which appear on the margin of a 9th c. ms. of Priscian preserved at St. Gall in Switzerland. We can see an Irish monk sitting in the garden at work. He pauses in delight and then writes these lines:

A hedge of trees surrounds me,  
a blackbird's lay makes music—I shall tell it.  
Above my well-ruled book  
the trilling of the birds makes music.

The clear-voiced cuckoo sings me a lovely  
chant  
in her grey cloak from bush to bush.  
God's Doom!—may the lord protect me!—  
happily I write under the shade of trees.

Another is reading a manuscript of Cassiodorus and writes a note: 'Pleasant is the glittering of the sun today upon these margins, because it flickers so!' It is the 'pied beauty' that Gerard Hopkins saw.

The earliest verse has survived only in fragments, and for longer poems we must pass to the period from the 10th to the 12th c., but the temper is the same.

One of the best of these longer poems is put into the mouth of Marbán, a hermit who was brother to Gúaire, a king of Connacht famous for his hospitality. Gúaire reigned in the 7th c., but the poem is much later, perhaps of the 10th. Marbán had retired into hermitage, living simply and alone, and on one occasion, we are told, Gúaire went to persuade his brother to return to his court and to the life of a warrior. Here is Marbán's answer:

I have a shieling in the wood,  
None knows it save my God:  
An ash-tree on the hither side, a hazel-bush  
beyond,  
A huge old tree encompasses it.

The size of my shieling tiny, not too tiny,  
Many are its familiar paths:  
From its gable a sweet strain sings  
A she-bird in her cloak of the ousel's hue.

A hiding mane of green-barked yew  
Supports the sky:  
Beautiful spot! the large green of an oak  
Fronting the storm.

A tree of apples—great its bounty!  
Like a hostel, vast!  
A pretty bush, thick as a fist, of tiny hazelnuts,  
A green mass of branches.

A choice pure spring and princely water  
To drink:  
There spring watercresses, yew-berries,  
Ivy-bushes thick as a man.

Swarms of bees and chafers, the little mus-  
cians of the world,  
A gentle chorus:  
Wild geese and ducks, shortly before summer's  
end,  
The music of the dark torrent.

The voice of the wind against the branchy  
wood  
Upon the deep-blue sky:  
Falls of the river, the note of the swan,  
Delicious music!

The bravest band make cheer to me.  
Who have not been hired:  
In the eyes of Christ the ever-young I am no  
worse off  
Than thou art.

(Then the response of Guare)  
I would give my glorious kingship  
With the share of my father's heritage—  
To the hour of my death I would forfeit it  
To be in thy company, my Marvan.

(MEYER).

This poem expresses distinctly religious feeling. The sensitiveness to form and color and sound that is apparent here, the delight in detail, recur in songs of Summer and Winter.

### SUMMER HAS COME

Summer has come, healthy and free,  
Whence the brown wood is aslope;  
The slender nimble deer leap,  
And the path of seals is smooth.

The cuckoo sings sweet music,  
Whence there is smooth restful sleep;  
Gentle birds leap upon the hill,  
And swift grey stags.

Heat has laid hold of the rest of the deer—  
The lovely cry of curly packs!  
The white extent of the strand smiles,  
There the swift sea is.

A sound of playful breezes in the tops  
Of a black oakwood is Drum Daill,  
The noble hornless herd runs,  
To whom Cuan-wood is a shelter.

Green bursts out on every herb,  
The top of the green oakwood is bushy,  
Summer has come, winter has gone,  
Twisted hollies wound the hound.

The blackbird sings a loud strain,  
To him the live wood is a heritage,  
The sad angry sea is fallen asleep,  
The speckled salmon leaps.

The sun smiles over every land,—  
A parting for me from the brood of cares:  
Hounds bark, stags tryst,  
Ravens flourish, summer has come!

(MEYER).

### SUMMER IS GONE

My tidings for you: the stag bells,  
Winter snows, summer is gone.

Wind high and cold, low the sun,  
Short his course, sea running high.

Deep-red the bracken, its shape all gone—  
The wild-goose has raised his wonted cry.

Cold has caught the wings of birds;  
Season of ice—these are my tidings.

(MEYER).

Gerard Murphy has pointed out the tradition of love for nature and for animals in the accounts we have of the early Irish saints and hermits. St. Adamnán's *Vita Sancti Columbae*, of the 7th c., contains incidents that recall the *Fioretti*, and the spirit of the early Franciscans was, in a measure, anticipated in Ireland. It seems that this awareness of the whole of creation as the work of God, a delight in the forms and sounds that are an occasion for praising and thanking the Providence that gave them, is the source of much of the nature poetry. Some of the poems are piously attributed to St. Colmcille.

And there is the other motif, that of the hermitage, solitude that brings one nearer to nature, the sound of the waves, the wind amongst the reeds, the seagull's cry—as in this 12th c. poem:

Delightful to me to be on an island hill, on  
the crest of a rock, that I might often watch  
the quiet sea;

That I might watch the heavy waves above  
the bright water, as they chant music to  
their Father everlastingly;

That I might watch its smooth, bright-bordered  
shore, no gloomy pastime; that I

might hear the cry of the strange birds, a pleasing sound;

That I might hear the murmur of the long waves against the rocks, that I might hear the sound of the sea, like mourning beside a grave;

That I might watch the splendid flocks of birds over the well watered sea, that I might see its mighty whales, the greatest wonder.

That I might watch its ebb and flood in their course, that my name should be—it is a secret that I tell—he who turned his back upon Ireland;

That I might have a contrite heart as I watch, that I might repent my many sins, hard to tell;

That I might bless the Lord who rules all things, heaven with its splendid host, earth, ebb and flood;

That I might scan one of the books to raise up my soul, now kneeling to dear heaven, now chanting the psalms;

Now gathering seaweed from the rocks, now catching fish, now feeding the poor, now in my cell;

Now contemplating heaven, a holy purchase, now a little labour, it would be delightful.

The hermit poetry of Ireland is well discussed by Kenneth Jackson in his *Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry*. Closely associated with it is the poetry of exile, for the same ascetic idea that inspired the hermits led other monks to go into exile for Christ's sake, *peregrinam ducere vitam*.

The motif of exile is first expressed in the

well known *Farewell to Ireland*, attributed to St. Colmcille, which dates from the 12th c.

Delightful to be on the Hill of Howth  
Before going over the white-haired sea:  
The dashing of the wave against its face,  
The bareness of its shores and of its border.

Delightful to be on the Hill of Howth  
After coming over the white-bosomed sea;  
To be rowing one's little coracle,  
Ochone! on the wild-waved shore.

Great is the speed of my coracle,  
And its stern turned upon Derry:  
Grievous is my errand over the main,  
Travelling to Alba of the beetling brows.

My foot in my tuneful coracle,  
My sad heart tearful:  
A man without guidance is weak,  
Blind are all the ignorant.

There is a grey eye  
That will look back upon Erin:  
It shall never see again  
The men of Erin nor her women.

(MEYER).

*Bardic Poetry*: All of the poetry we have considered up to now is anonymous. The nature poetry is evidently the work of the monks, and illustrates the important fact that in Ireland there was no struggle between Latin and the vernacular for the rank of a literary language. On the contrary the native tradition received a new impulse from the coming of Latin learning and the practice of writing. The spirit of Cassiodorus, not that of St. Gregory, animated the Irish monks. Classical and theological learning went hand in hand, and with them the old learning that had been handed down orally by the *filid*. The ms tradition of the sagas is largely the work of the monasteries. The secular poetry

that has been preserved, satire, lovesong, and lament, was probably composed by the professional learned class, *jeux d'esprit* of the *filid* and bards. In their professional capacity they did not remain anonymous; we have the names of poets as early as the 6th c., and fragments of their work, preserved for the most part by quotation in the Annals and genealogical tracts.

From the 13th to the 17th c. the professional poets were perhaps the most powerful secular influence in Irish society, and were accordingly the object of severe repressive measures on the part of the English government. They had special schools, and members of their order were attached to the monastic schools, so that the monks might be instructed in the native literature. In earlier times only the great historical and genealogical poems of the *filid* were thought worthy of preservation, but it is known that bardic poetry of the kind preserved later had been composed by the bards from time immemorial. Fragments preserved in the Annals and genealogical tracts have already been mentioned, and the practice is attested even of the Celts in Gaul.

A good idea of the quantity and quality of the later bardic poetry can be got from O'Grady's *Catalogue*. Quiggin gave a more comprehensive account in his *Prolegomena*, but a great deal has been published since. The most recent survey is by Vendryes, *La Poésie de Cour en Irlande et en Galles* (Paris, 1932). Much of it is mere encomium and would be intolerable were it not for the exquisite polish that the poets were able to give it. But the strict metrical rules they observed did not deaden the spirit, and, when the theme invites it, there is passion as well as dignity and eloquence in many of the poems.

An address to a harp begins with these beautiful stanzas:

O harp of Cnoc f Chosgair that bringest sleep to eyes long wakeful, thou of the

sweet and delicate moan, pleasant, refreshing, grave.

O choice instrument of the smooth, gentle curve, thou that criest under red fingers, musician that hast enchanted us, red harp, high-souled, perfect in melody.

Thou that lurest the bird from the flock, that coolest the heart, brown, sweet-speaking speckled one, fervent, wondrous, passionate.

(BERGIN).

Some of the finest of these bardic poems are some of the latest, cries of sorrow and anger at the downfall of Ireland after the Battle of Kinsale in 1601. The flight of O'Neill and O'Donnell, the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, in 1607, with a great company of nobles of Ireland, was a message of utter despair, and the poets knew, some of them at least, that all was lost. The following lament, written in 1609 and translated by Bergin, is by Fear Flatha Ó Gnínmh:

A blessing upon the soul of Ireland, island of the faltering steps; methinks Brian's Home of the soft voices is pregnant with sorrow.

The same as the death of Fódla is the suppression of her right and her faith, the degradation of her free sons and her scholars, if lays or letters are true.

It were hard for Banbha not to die after that gallant company of champions who went journeying to Italy—alas for the princes of Ulster!

Fear of the foreign law does not permit me to tell her sore plight; this smooth land of royal Niall is being washed with innocent blood.

(BERGIN).

O'Neill and O'Donnell both died in Rome and are buried there in the church of San Pietro in Janicolo. In 1608, Owen Roe Macaward, hereditary bard to O'Donnell, wrote his famous poem, addressed to the earl's sister Nuala, whom he imagines weeping alone beside the grave. Mangan's verse translation is the best interpretation:

*A bhean fuair faill ar an bhfeart  
truaigh lionn a n-aghthaoi d'éisteacht!  
dá mbeath fian Ghaoidheal id' ghar  
do bhiadh 'gut chaoineadh congnamh.*

*Fada go bhfoighthe an fhaill  
dá mbeath thiar a dTír Chonail;  
lámh le sluagh Bhoirche dá mbeath  
ní foighthe an uaigh go h-áigheach.*

*I nDoire, i nDruim Chliabh no gCros,  
i nArd Macha is mór cádhos,  
ní foighthe lá an feart ar faill  
gan mná do theacht fá thuaraim.*

*Do hísleóchthaoi ó ingnibh scor  
an cnoc 'n-ar crochadh Peador,  
nó bhiadh an teach gan gháir nguil  
dá mbeath lámh le Fiadh Fionntuin.*

*Dá mhac rígh don fhréimh sin Chuinn  
atá ar gach taobh d' Ó Dhomhnuill—  
na trí cuirp re síneann sibh  
fir-earr ar n-uile a n-oidhidh.*

O woman of the piercing wail,  
Who mournest o'er yon mound of clay  
With sigh and groan,  
Would God thou wert among the Gael!  
Thou wouldst not then from day to day  
Weep thus alone.

Twere long before, around a grave  
In green Tirconnell, one could find  
This loneliness;

Near where Beann Boirche's banners wave,  
Such grief as thine could ne'er have pined  
Companionless.

On Derry's plains—in rich Drumcliff—  
Throughout Armagh the Great, renowned  
In olden years,  
No day could pass but woman's grief  
Would rain upon the burial-ground  
Fresh floods of tears!

Oh! horses' hoofs would trample down  
The mount whereon the martyr-saint  
Was crucified.  
From glen and hill, from plain and town,  
One loud lament, one thrilling plaint,  
Would echo wide.

Two princes of the line of Conn  
Sleep in their cells of clay beside  
O'Donnell Roe.  
Three royal youths, alas! are gone,  
Who lived for Erin's weal, but died  
For Erin's woe!

These are but a few examples from the great mass of bardic poetry that has been preserved. The names of some of the most famous of the poets may find a place here. Muireadhach Albanach Ó Dálaigh (O'Daly; fl. 1213) was the ancestor of the Scottish bardic family of MacVurichs. Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh\* (d. 1244) was renowned for his religious poetry. Quiggin has suggested that he was influenced by Marbod of Rennes and Hildebert of Tours. Tadhg Óg Ó Huiginn (O'Higgins, d. 1448), Philip Bocht Ó Huiginn (d. 1487) and Aonghus Ó Dálaigh (16th c.) were also famous as religious poets. Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn\* (d. 1591) was one of the greatest of a great line: we have 44 bardic poems by him, amounting to some 6,000 lines, and he is regarded as among the most finished masters of the craft. Giolla Brighde Ó Heoghusa (O'Hussey, 16th-

17th c.), Ferghal Óg Mhac An Bhaird (Macaward, fl. 1609), and Eochaidh Ó Heoghusa (d. 1613) have also left us a large number of fine poems.

The tradition was common to Ireland and Gaelic Scotland, for the two countries were one so far as culture and the literary language are concerned, down to the end of the 16th c. A Scottish poet Giolla Críost Brúilingeach writes a poem in praise of MacDermot of Moylurg (d. 1458) in Connacht, which is purely Irish in form and feeling. The first Irish text to be printed in Ireland was a poem by Philip Bocht Ó Huiginn beginning *Tuar feirge foighide Dé*, published as a single sheet by Séon Uisér (Ussher) of Dublin in 1571, printed in Anglo-Saxon type.

*Later Lyric Poetry.* It was not only by professional bards celebrating the glory of Irish princes or lamenting their deaths, or by monks in praise of Christ and the Blessed Virgin, that bardic poetry was written. Some of the most charming verse of this period was written by laymen, prominent among them Gerald, Earl of Desmond (d. 1397), on lighter themes. The *Book of the Dean of Lismore* contains a number of love poems attributed to Isabella, Countess of Argyle, who lived in the early 16th c. These amateurs did not hold themselves bound strictly by the rules prescribed, and were satisfied to avail themselves of the freedom permitted in *ógláchas* or 'apprentice poetry.'

Here is a poem by a Scottish bard, Niall Mór Mac Muireadhaigh, or MacVurich.\* It has the unforgettable quality of good poetry, and brings us close to humanity. It is preserved in the *Red Book of Clanranald* (Cameron, *Reliquiae Celticae* II 290):

Farewell to last night! The memory will not fade. Though I were to die for it, I wish that it were beginning now.

There are two in this house tonight whose eyes cannot hide their secret; though they are not mouth to mouth, each looks with longing at the other.

Silence gives meaning to the language of the eyes; and silence of the lips cannot keep the secret that a glance betrays.

Ah, gentle eyes, the slanderers of love have sealed my lips. Watch what my eyes are saying, as you sit over there:

'Keep night around us! Would that we could stay like this for ever! Do not let morning in! Arise and put out the light of day!'

Ah, Mary, gracious mother, queen of scholars, come and take me by the hand—Farewell to last night!

Pierce Ferriter was one of the bravest and noblest of the Irish leaders in the Cromwellian campaign. According to tradition, he was taken treacherously, in violation of a safe-conduct, and hanged together with a bishop and a priest, in 1653. He was a good poet in both styles, the old bardic meters and the later song meters that took their place, and some of his poems belong to the class that we are now considering. Here is one of them:

Lay down your arms, fair maid, unless you wish to wound us all: unless you lay them down, I shall have you bound by law.

If you shall lay them down, then hide your twisting hair, hide your white throat that lets no man go in peace.

You may think that you have never killed a man, north or south: the light from your eyes' glance has slain them, though you wield neither knife nor axe.

You may think that your knee is blunt and that your hand is cold: they have wounded all who have seen them; shield and spear could not serve you better.

Hide your white bosom from me, let me not see your bare side: for the love of Christ let no man see your breast that shines like hawthorn.

If you are satisfied with all this conquest, before I am driven into the grave, you who are robbing me of life, lay down those arms!

This kind of poetry was being written as early as the 14th c. The earliest known poet of the *genre* is the famous Gearóid Iarla, as he is called in Irish, Garrett FitzGerald,\* fourth Earl of Desmond, who was Lord Justiciar in 1367. Many of his poems are still unpublished, but here is one that is well known in which he defends women:

He that blames women is a rogue! It is unseemly to slander them. So far as I can see they do not merit all this reproach.

Their words are fair, their voices gentle, and I like them well. Only a wretch will call them cruel. He that blames women is a rogue!

They do no murder nor deceit, nor any horrid wrong; they harm no monk or friar. He that blames women is a rogue!

How else but through a woman's care came bishop or king into the world, or the great prophets who knew no sin? He that blames women is a rogue!

I was in bondage to love, for they like a man sound and slender: they would not tire of me. He that blames women is a rogue!

A man that is old and grey and fat is not their choice for making love: they like him young and sturdy, even if he is poor. He that blames women is a rogue!

Cúchonnacht Ó Cléirigh, one of a great family of poets and scholars, makes fun of those who say they are dying of love:

Love is no painful sickness; what they say of it is false: no man was ever healthy that was not in love with a woman.

I shed no tears for love of her who holds me captive: I have no thought of death; love rather keeps me alive.

Through my love for the swan-like maid, I am stout and well: I eat plenty and sleep in peace; music still gives me pleasure.

I can distinguish night from day, I can tell a boat from a ship, and black from white, in spite of all my love.

I know that a horse is not a deer, and that the mountain is not the sea, and I know



great from small, and that a seal is not a fly.

The dearest woman under the sun—I shall conceal it no longer—my love for her has not left me senseless. I swear I am not in pain.

The originals of these translations and many other love poems will be found in O'Rahilly's *Dánta Grádha* to which Flower supplied an introduction, and he says of them: 'It is not the direct passion of the folksingers or the high passion of the great poets, but the learned and fantastic love of European tradition, the *amour courtois* which was first shaped into art for modern Europe in Provence, and found a home in all the languages of Christendom, wherever a refined society and the practice of poetry met together.'

In the course of the 17th c. the Irish and Scottish traditions became distinct. With the collapse in Ireland of the bardic schools, which resulted from the disappearance of the patrons upon whom the poets depended, and to some extent perhaps from direct action on the part of the government, the classical language common to Ireland and Scotland for three hundred years was cultivated no longer. The break was not immediate. In Ireland the prose writers and the poets of the 17th c. maintained the tradition for a while. Indeed Geoffrey Keating,\* writing in the early part of the 17th c., did for the Irish language what St. Jerome in his day had done for Latin. His firm and graceful prose is perhaps the simplest and most flexible and eloquent in all the history of Irish, unless it be that of his contemporary Florence Conry. But Conry's achievement is more limited than that of Keating. His *History of Ireland (Foras Feasa ar Éirinn)* tells of the story of Ireland from the earliest times down to the coming of the Normans; his three other prose works are all devotional, so that it is only as a poet that

Keating falls within the scope of this survey. As a poet he is not negligible. He had been trained in the bardic tradition and is one of those that wrote in both styles, *Dán Díreach* and *Amhrán*. Others of his time that deserve mention are Pádraigín Haicéad and Dáibhí Ó Bruadair.\* A little later came Egan O'Rahilly\* (d. 1726), the last considerable name, it seems to me, if we take quantity and quality together. For there are three others whose single poems deserve a place of honour in any record, Brian Merriman (d. 1805) who wrote *The Midnight Court*, Michael Comyn (d. 1760) author of *The Lay of Oisín in the Land of the Young*, and Eileen O'Leary whose passionate lament for her husband Art O'Leary, killed by Government troops in 1773, has a human quality that is rare in Modern Irish poetry. But in the 18th c. Ireland was prostrate and without hope, and the poets that could still find heart to write were so limited in their opportunity and experience that they could do little more than join rhymes together; yet they did this with fluency and skill that compel admiration. The lovable rascal Owen Roe O'Sullivan\* (d. 1784) is deservedly the best known of them. Some of his finest poems are in the form known as *aisling*, a vision in which the poet sees a maiden in distress. She is Ireland, waiting for her spouse, Prince Charles, to return and deliver her. Gerard Murphy has shown that this allegorical form appears in a Latin poem of the 13th c., so that a sub-literary tradition seems here to come to the surface. Carolan (d. 1738) was a remarkable musician, but his poetry is poor stuff. The last of his kind was Raftery (d. 1835), who was illiterate, for he was blind from childhood. There is wit and gaiety in his songs, but no more. Meanwhile the nameless authors of the folk songs were making the beautiful songs that have come down from mouth to mouth, *Róisín Dubh* from which Mangan made his *Dark Rosaleen*; *Donnchadh Bán* which Yeats

has used in *Cathleen Ni Houlihan*; *Maidin Luain Cingcise*, *An Chruilfhionn*, *An Droighneán Donn*, *Máirín de Barra*, *Una Bhán* and many another; and the story tellers were reciting the folk tales that still delight us.

*The Scottish Gaelic Period.* In Scotland, too, the literary tradition of the bards persisted for a while, longer indeed than in Ireland. Niall Mór MacVurich,\* hereditary bard to the MacDonalds, composed an elegy in strict bardic form on Donald of Moydart who died in 1686, and another, perhaps the last of its kind, on Allan of Clanranald who was killed at Sherrifmuir in 1715 (Cameron, *Reliquiae Celticae* ii 244-59). Many of the poems in *The Book of the Dean of Lismore*, which was written early in the 16th c., apparently from oral tradition, by Sir James MacGregor,\* Dean of Lismore, and his brother, Duncan, are in *ógláchas*; some of them, composed by Scottish poets, seem to show traces of the local dialect, so that here for the first time Scottish Gaelic appears in the literature. But Carswell's translation of *The Book of Common Order*, which was printed in Edinburgh on the 24th April 1567, the first book ever printed in Irish, shows no such influence. The *Fernaig Manuscript*, written by Duncan Macrae\* between 1688 and 1693, is the earliest document to preserve remains of any considerable extent of Scottish Gaelic; its literary value is negligible. Besides a few poems in the literary dialect, this manuscript contains for the most part poems in the vernacular, some of them as early as the late 16th c., others composed by Macrae himself, and here we find the song-meters that in Scotland as in Ireland gradually took the place of *Dán Díreach*. But the Scottish Gaelic peasant poets of the 17th and 18th c. did not achieve the same perfection of form as Egan O'Rahilly or Owen Roe O'Sullivan or many others of the Munster school.

The first appearance of the song-meters in

Scotland is associated with the names of Ian Lom (John MacDonald, d. ca. 1710) and Mary MacLeod (ca. 1615-1705). John MacCodrum (d. 1779) is another whose poetry has attracted attention in Scotland. Sir James MacDonald of Sleat made him his family bard, thus reviving an old custom, and granted him certain allowances by right of office, although MacCodrum was illiterate and had no bardic training. The anecdotes about him that survive suggest a wit comparable to that of Owen Roe O'Sullivan. Dugald Buchanan (d. 1768) was more privileged so far as schooling goes. His religious poetry became popular and has had considerable influence. He assisted in the publication of Stewart's translation of the *New Testament* into Gaelic (1767). It is, however, in the Jacobite poetry inspired by the struggle in 1745 that Scottish Gaelic poets were most effective, and of the Jacobite poets the chief is Alexander MacDonald\* (fl. 1751), Mac Mhaighister Alasdair as he is known in Scotland. The most considerable poet in Scottish Gaelic literature, he did not limit himself to the patriotic theme, but wrote also love poems and poems in praise of the Highland scene. The most admired is *The Birlinn of Clanranald*, which describes a voyage from South Uist to the mainland. Of the Jacobite songs the finest is the *Mòrag*, which is addressed to Prince Charles, who is imagined as a beautiful girl. After the Forty-five there was a period of increased literary activity. Alexander MacDonald remains the leading figure, but Duncan Bán Macintyre (d. 1812) and Rob Donn (d. 1778) deserve mention.

The folk songs, with their fine music, and the folklore of Scotland, of which many volumes have been collected by J. F. Campbell, Alexander Carmichael and others, are perhaps the greatest treasure of the distinctly Scottish Gaelic period. Campbell's *Leabhar na Féinne* contains some 54,000 lines of ballad poetry from manuscript and oral sources.

Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica*, a collection of religious poetry, proverbs, and occasional prayers, is an important contribution to our knowledge of the language and traditions of contemporary Scotland.

**Manx Literature.** The Manx language also belongs to the Gaelic or Irish family, but the literature of the Isle of Man has perished almost completely. The island became a Norse Kingdom in the 9th c., and the language and traditions of the privileged class were Norse until Alexander III of Scotland conquered the island in 1275. The Isle of Man became, finally, an English possession in 1346. Fragments of the Gaelic tradition have survived. One Ossianic poem is reported from a ms. (in the British Museum) written in 1789. A number of ballads and 'carvels' (Christmas Carols) have been collected. The earliest of the ballads dates from the 18th c., and is known as *The Song of Manannan Mac y Lheir*. It narrates the conversion of the island to Christianity by St. Patrick. Another ballad deserves mention for its sociological interest. The title is *Mylecharaine* (*Maol-chiáráin*); the theme is a reproach addressed to a man who gave a dowry to his daughter, thus violating the ancient custom according to which the husband paid a bride-price for his wife.

**ABBREVIATIONS:** AS: Whitley Stokes, *Accallamh na Senórach* (Irische Texte IV i, Leipzig, 1900); LB: *The Lebor Brecc*, a ms written in the early 15th c., now in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin; LU: *Lebor na hUíde* (*The Book of the Dun Cow*), a ms written ca. 1106, now in the Royal Irish Academy; RC: *Revue Celtique*; SG: S. H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* II, trans. and notes (London, 1892); YBL: *The Yellow Book of Lecan*, a ms written in the late 14th c., now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin; ZCP: *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*.

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*Ancient Irish History* (Dublin), 1878; D. Hyde, *A Literary History of Ireland* (London), 1899; E. Hull, *A Textbook of Irish Literature* (Dublin), 1906-08; P. W. Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances* (London), 1894; A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland* (London), 1905-06; H. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *L'épopée celtique en Irlande* [Cours de littérature celtique V] (Paris), 1892; G. Dottin, *L'épopée irlandaise* (Paris), 1926; T. P. Cross and C. H. Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales* (N. Y.), 1935; E. Hull, *The Poem Book of the Gael* (London), 1912; S. O'Faoláin, *The Silver Branch* (London), 1938; F. O'Connor, *The Fountain of Magic* (London), 1939. **THE ULSTER CYCLE:** R. Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage* (Halle), 1921. **THE FENIAN CYCLE:** K. Meyer, *Fianaigecht* [RIA Todd Lect. Ser. xvi] (Dublin), 1910; E. Mac Neill, *Duanair Finn I* (London), 1908; G. Murphy, *Duanair Finn II* (London), 1933; A. van Hamel, "Aspects of Celtic Mythology," *Proc. Brit. Acad.* xx (London), 1935. **THE MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE:** H. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *The Irish Mythological Cycle* (tr. Best; Dublin), 1903; **ADVENTURES, VOYAGES AND VISION TALES:** K. Meyer and A. Nutt, *The Voyage of Bran* (London), 1895-97; C. S. Boswell, *An Irish Precursor of Dante* (London), 1908; St. J. D. Seymour, *Irish Visions of the Otherworld* (London), 1930; K. Meyer, *The Vision of Mac Conglinne* (London), 1892. **EARLY LYRIC POETRY:** K. Meyer, *Selections from Ancient Irish Poetry* (London), 1911; K. Jackson, *Celtic Nature Poetry* (Cambridge), 1935. **BARDIC POETRY:** E. C. Quiggin, "Prolegomena to the study of the later Irish Bards, 1200-1500," *Proc. Brit. Acad.* v (London), 1913; A. de Blácam, *Gaelic Literature Surveyed* (Dublin), 1933; E. Knott, *An Introduction to Irish Syllabic Poetry* (Cork), 1938; *The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn* (London), 1922, 1926; L. MacKenna, *Philip Bocht Ó Huiginn* (Dublin), 1931. **MODERN LYRIC POETRY:** T. F. O'Rahilly, *Dánta Grádha* (Cork), 1926; *Measgra Dánta* (Cork), 1927; R. Flower, *Love's Bitter Sweet* (Dublin), 1925. **THE SONGS:** D. Corkery, *The Hidden Ireland* (Dublin), 1925; L. C. Stern, *Cúirt An Mheadhóin Oidhche* (Halle), 1904. **THE SCOTTISH GAELIC PERIOD:** J. S. Blackie, *The Language and Literature of the Scottish Highlands* (Edinburgh), 1876; M. MacLean, *The Literature of the Highlands* (London), 1925; J. McKenzie, *The Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*, 1904; M. C. MacLeod, *Modern Gaelic Bards* (Stirling), 1908; J. C. Watson, *Gaelic Songs of Mary MacLeod* (London), 1934; J. L. Campbell, *Highland Songs of the Forty-five* (Edinburgh), 1933; W. J. Watson, *Bardschid Ghàidhlig* (Stirling), 1932; M.-L. Sjoestedt, *Dieux et héros des Celtes* (Paris), 1940; S. H. O'Grady and R. Flower, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London), 1926.

MYLES DILLON.

*Irish Folklore.* Gaelic folklore, though recognized to be amongst the richest in the world, has only recently come to be recorded systematically in Ireland. Scotland, which can claim one of the classic folk-tale collections of the 19th c., Campbell's *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* (1860-62), has not yet begun to apply modern methods to the collection of her traditions. During the 19th c. a few individuals were attracted to Irish folklore for various reasons: Croker and Kennedy influenced by Grimm and Asbjørnsen; Wilde because he was interested in every aspect of native culture; Curtin, the Irish-American, in search of "myths"; Hyde and Larminie because of their love for it as a revelation of the people's mind. In consequence, a few books found their way into print, mainly in English. The Gaelic revival movement (1893 onwards) was responsible for the collection and publication of a considerable amount of folk literature, although the motive was linguistic rather than folkloristic. In 1927 the Folklore of Ireland Society was established and commenced the publication of a journal, *Béalóideas*, devoted to Irish folklore, and in 1930 a state institute with a small state grant was set up. This body was enabled to undertake collection work through a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. In 1935 the Irish Government set up a substantially endowed Commission to collect Irish folklore. The methods employed are an adaptation of those used in the Folklore Archives of Uppsala and Lund in Sweden where the principal officers of the Commission went to receive their training.

In consequence Ireland now possesses a ms. collection of folklore that is one of the greatest in extent and richest in interest in the world—only the great collections of Finland and Estonia might be said to rival it—and has made available for scholarship a field of research as yet untitled. The material has not yet been subjected to comparative studies, but

it is possible to speak of some outstanding characteristics.

Ireland, situated on the periphery of Europe, has even down to modern times tended to preserve archaic forms. This conservatism is allied, perhaps paradoxically, to keen intelligence and imagination and a delight in the power and beauty of words. An acute verbal sensibility shows itself sometimes in the pithiest concision and sometimes in the most extravagant cascades of language, and is an abiding trait of Irish literature and speech. Even today there are in Gaelic-speaking districts storytellers with repertoires of two to three hundred tales and anecdotes. A tale from one of the best of these amounted to 28,000 words.

All the usual forms of folk literature occur, e.g., wonder-tale, romantic tale, religious tale, humorous tale, chain-story, cante-fable, song, ballad, rime, prayer, charm, riddle, and proverb; but there are noticeable predilections for certain forms. The most remarkable is a native form of the wonder-tale, longer and more involved than the European *Märchen*, having long drawn-out marvellous adventures, and embellished with 'runs' (fixed formulae of words recurring in certain contexts, e.g. sea-voyaging and battle-sequences, rides, welcomes, banquets, beginnings and ends of tales), nearer in spirit and form to medieval romance than to the simple and straightforward narratives met in Grimm and other standard European collections. Von Sydow, indeed, remarks on their similarity to the Welsh *Mabinogion* and Arthurian romances. These tales fall into well-defined types, but they have not yet been numbered or added to the international register, and they are still identified by their popular titles. Those interested will find summaries of them in S. Ó Súilleabháin's *Handbook of Irish Folklore*, pp. 589-607.

Of the common stock of Indo-European wonder-tales (von Sydow's *chimerates*, nos.

300-750 in the Aarne-Thompson catalog), Gaelic genius has impressed itself most on nos. 300, 301, 313, 325, 425, 507, 513, and these are usually embellished with 'runs' and other devices of the distinctively Gaelic wonder-tale. Other tale-types of the international register, often as popular, show their external origin by having little in style to distinguish them from similar narratives in other lands. It is noticeable that the native wonder-tale dies with the Gaelic language, but the simpler *chimerates* have been carried over into English and are killed later by modernity rather than by the linguistic change. Some notion of the difference in style may be got by comparing the tales in Curtin's and Larmie's books, collected from Gaelic speakers, with those in Kennedy's *Fireside Stories* and *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, which though recorded earlier were got from a community already English-speaking.

Of peculiar interest are the religious tales. As well as many charming legends, there occur a number of very strange longer tales in which marvellous and pietistic elements are interwoven with an extraordinary naïveté. (See *Handbook of Irish Folklore*, pp. 629-640.)

Animal fables, with a few exceptions based on observation of actual traits, are uncommon. Their paucity is, in fact, remarkable. In comparison with other countries, the humorous tale occupies but a moderate position in Gaelic lore. The broadly humorous situation is not relished as much as the witty retort, mental ingenuity, or play on words. The cante-fable is extremely popular and occurs in a profusion of types. But it, too, is rarely carried over into English, while the much less distinctive humorous tale makes the transition without any difficulty.

Even more dependent on the old Gaelic atmosphere for their survival were the lays of the *Fianna*, long narrative poems dealing

with the deeds of Fionn and his heroes. This popular art-form has not been without influence on the general trend of literature, for it gave MacPherson his inspiration and so had a large part in the birth of the Romantic Movement. Of its nature it belongs to a vanished world when it had the hospitality of greater houses than the cottages of fishermen and crofters, and as a living form of tradition it is now on the point of extinction. Even in 1944, however, it was possible to record one such lay, *Laoi na Mná Móire*, chanted in the old traditional way.

Because of the popularity in former times of the heroic lay, the European ballad made little headway in Gaelic. The few ballads that occur are late immigrants and obvious translations, e.g. there are Gaelic versions of *Lord Randall*. But amongst the English-speaking Irish, the ballad had an extraordinary popularity and development during the 18th, 19th, and, indeed we may add, the 20th c. It was perhaps the only art-form the people had after abandoning Gaelic, and into it they poured all the passion and humor of a crucial period of their history. Anglo-Irish balladry is, therefore, extensive and still holds its own in popular affection.

Irish folk music has been more fortunate in the past than other branches of popular culture, and there are available the printed collections of Bunting, Petrie, Joyce, O'Neill, and the Irish Folk-Song Society. The work of collection has been resumed in recent years by the Irish Folklore Commission, for the musical tradition is still far from dead. Over four hundred airs have been recorded in one small parish in the west of Ireland.

The remaining forms of folk literature, prayers, charms, proverbs, and riddles are mainly enshrined in Gaelic. They hold embalmed the ancient folk mentality of Western Europe enhanced by the peculiar Celtic gifts of subtle phrase and vivid imagery.

The collection of beliefs and customs is already vast and is being constantly added to. The Irish fairy world, for instance, is no longer uncharted territory. Many thousands of tales illustrative of fairy belief, so marked a feature in Gaelic tradition and literature, have been recorded in Ireland in recent years. While the Gaelic-speaking districts are incomparably the richest in ancient lore, the whole country is being surveyed for the survivals of rural culture. To name but a few subjects, the Irish folklore archives contain copious data on the main festivals of the year, the old summer-pasture custom, harvest customs, folk medicine.

A remarkable development of the interest in folk life has been the publication of biographies of Gaelic-speaking peasants. The first and classic of its kind was by a fisherman of a small island off the Kerry coast. It has been translated into English by Dr. Robin Flower of the British Museum under the title *The Islandman*. It was followed by two other biographies from the same island, one of which, *Twenty Years A-growing*, is also available in English, and by personal reminiscences from the Gaelic districts of Cork, Waterford, and Donegal.

In conclusion, it must be emphasized that few of the books of Gaelic folklore available in English versions convey an adequate idea of the Gaelic folk mind. Honorable exceptions are Hyde's superb *Religious Songs of Connacht* and his *Love Songs of Connacht*; Alexander Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica*; for folk tales, Curtin's *Myths and Folklore of*

*Ireland*, *Hero-Tales of Ireland*, and the recently published *Irish Folk-Tales*; and for social life, *The Islandman*.

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MÁIRE MACNEILL.

IROQUOIS—See North American Native.

ISLE OF MAN (MANX)—See Irish.

## ITALIAN

AFTER THE fall of the Roman Empire, the vernacular speech in Italy remained relatively close to Latin, and such literary activities as survived were fragmentary continuations of the Roman cultural tradition, carried on in Latin. Little material written in the vernacular is extant from the period before 1200, and that, little has scant artistic value. Among extant compositions dating from this period are a few 10th c. phrases in Latin documents, a few doggerel verses, and some 12th c. sermons partly in language showing mixed North Italian and French features. A curious 12th c. verse sermon, the *Ritmo cassinese* or rhymed sequence from Cassino, has survived only in fragmentary condition and has not been fully interpreted.

The three main drives of the rising West European civilization—sex, adventure, war—had already found their first expression, in South French. (Provençal) literature, in the themes of courtly love, chivalry, and the Crusades. The civil war of the Albigensian "crusade" (1209-29) destroyed the aristocratic Provençal civilization and dispersed its poets to other regions, among them Sicily and the rising communes of northern Italy. In this latter region, the Provençal poets were directly imitated, in Provençal, by such Italian troubadours as Sordello di Goito and Lanfranc Cigala (first half of the 13th c.). The first poetic imitation in an Italian vernacular, however, was made in Sicily at the court of Frederick II (1225-50). Here, themes of courtly love and the Crusades were treated by the poets of the "Sicilian school," e.g. Jacopo da Lentino, Giacomino of Apulia, Rinaldo d'Aquino, and Frederick II, in a language based on contemporary Sicilian, but containing many Latin and Provençal borrowings. These poets followed Provençal poetic patterns and theories of the physiology and

nature of love, but their work has a definitely primitive flavor; their grasp of subject-matter and technique was as yet imperfect, and its foreign provenience is clearly apparent.

In northern Italy of this period, Provençal lyric poetry was not imitated in the local vernaculars, although certain other genres were, e.g. the *emueg* or "gripe-poem" in the *Noie* (*Irritations*) of Girolamo Pateg of Cremona. Most North Italian poetry of this period was written in the local dialects of its authors and based on traditional moralistic themes, treated in a rather unsophisticated and elementary way, as in the writings of Pateg, Bonvesin da Riva, Giacomino da Verona, Uguçon da Laodho (Uguccione of Lodi) and Pietro da Barsegapè.

Northern France's main literary type, the epic, however, was imported wholesale into northern Italy during the 13th c. Among the poems composed on French models in a variously hybrid Gallo-Italian dialect are the *Buovo d'Antona* and versions of the *Entrée d'Espagne* (*Invasion of Spain*) and the *Prise de Pampelune* (*Capture of Pampelune*) as well as of classical or pseudo-classical subjects. Prose versions of these and other French poems, e.g. the Tristan legend, were also made, and an omnibus compilation of this material, made in the 14th c. and known as the *Reali di Francia*, has retained its popularity to the present day among the Italian lower classes.

In central Italy, an indigenous literary movement followed in the wake of the mystical religious reawakening in Umbria headed by St. Francis of Assisi and his followers. Francis wrote, in his native Umbrian, a series of *Laudes creaturarum* (*Praises of All Creatures*), naïve but fresh and spontaneous outpourings of love for all God's creatures, in a kind of prose poetry. In Umbria there devel-

oped also a number of lay religious groups devoted to self-discipline and to dramatic representations of religious subjects, or *sacre rappresentazioni*. The outstanding writer of *sacre rappresentazioni* was Iacopone da Todi (1230-1304), whose works show strong emotion and the rudiments of dramatic handling, but rough and undeveloped technique. But the *sacre rappresentazioni* were never admitted to the church proper and never received official support, and were carried on wholly by small groups of enthusiasts; in the Middle Ages they never passed beyond the embryonic stage.

After the middle of the 13th c., however, these indigenous manifestations were overshadowed by a new literary movement that arose in Tuscany, out of a fusion of two main currents: the Provençal doctrine of courtly love (as borrowed both through the "Sicilian school" and directly) and the idealization of woman and adoration of the Virgin Mary ("Mariolatry") of northern French mysticism and scholasticism. The Provençal concept of love as an all-powerful force that conquers the lover and places him at his mistress' mercy, with all the accompanying pleasurable and painful manifestations, is kept, but at the same time re-interpreted into a symbol of human love for the diviné, as manifested in the beloved lady. The latter is also re-interpreted as an angel or symbol of divine grace granted to the world, and to the lover in particular, with miraculous purifying effect. The language used for such poetry was carefully chosen and refined, containing a high percentage of abstract terms of Latin and Provençal origin, often re-defined and given special meaning. This type of poetry came to be known, from the term applied to it on its first appearance, as the *dolce stil nuovo* or "sweet new style."

Guittone d'Arezzo (ca. 1225-93), the first Tuscan poet of note, was not a follower of the *dolce stil nuovo*, although he was an imi-

tator of Provençal poetry who later turned to philosophical and religious subjects. The true initiator of the *dolce stil nuovo* was Guido Guinizelli (1240-76), a Bolognese, whose poetry far surpassed that of the Sicilian school and of Guittone in beauty of style and content. Toward the close of the century, Guinizelli's poetic manner was imitated and perfected by a group of followers, centered in Florence, whose chief members were Dante Alighieri\*, Guido Cavalcanti (ca. 1260-1300), Dino Frescobaldi (d. 1317), Cino da Pistoia (1270-1336) and Lapo Gianni. Of these, the most thorough-going in his synthesis of love and religion and the greatest in command of poetic style was, of course, Dante. The others (of whom Cavalcanti and Cino were the most outstanding), in addition to having a less nearly perfect poetical technique, were somewhat less mystically inclined, and less intense in the emotion manifested in their poetry.

The *dolce stil nuovo* dominated lyric poetry of the late 13th and early 14th c. to such an extent that other poets of the period are, if not negligible, definitely minor by contrast. A few less serious poets, like the bourgeois humorist Rustico di Filippo (ca. 1230/40-ca. 1300), the epicurean *bon vivant* Folgore da San Gimignano (fl. ca. 1300), and the embittered wastrel Cecco Angiolieri of Siena (ca. 1250-before 1312), a somewhat Villon-like figure without Villon's profundity or intensity, are almost the only representatives of a more indigenous vein of lyricism.

Didactic and allegorical poetry flourished in this period, mostly under the influence of France and the classics. Dante's teacher Brunetto Latini (ca. 1230-95) wrote his chief work, an encyclopedic compilation named *Li livres dou Trésor* (*The Book of the Treasure*) in French prose, and a shorter didactic work in Italian verse, *Il Tesoretto* (*The Little Treasure*). A certain Ser Durante of Florence made a version of the *Roman de la Rose* in a



long Italian sonnet sequence, *Il Fiore* (*The Flower*; ca. 1290). A brief anonymous allegorical poem, *L'Intelligenza* (*The Intelligence*; ca. 1290-1300), often ascribed to Dino Compagni, shows strong influence from French sources, especially the *Roman de la Rose*, and interweaving of the classical, Celtic, and French motifs common in French literature of the time. Francesco da Barberino (1264-1348) is remembered for his two allegorical, moralizing poems, *Documenti d'Amore* (*The Instructions of Love*; ca. 1310) and *Del Reggimento e Costume di Donna* (*On Woman's Manners and Behavior*; ca. 1318-20). But Dante's *Commedia* (ca. 1300-21), later called *Divine*, overshadows all these works, combining the pre-existent genres of the encyclopedia, the vision, the journey, and the allegory, and rising far above any previous examples of any one of these genres.

Of the various prose works of this period may be mentioned the numerous collections of legends, fables, and stories, such as the *Novellino* and the *Libro de' Sette Savi* (*Book of the Seven Sages*), and various translations of Latin and French works. Most of the historical writing of this period does not rise above the annalistic level; a notable exception is the vivid personal narrative of the *Crònaca* (*Chronicle*; 1310-12) of Dino Compagni (ca. 1260-1324), recounting his part in the events leading up to the factional strife of 1300. A work that has commanded widespread attention for its personal interest and documentary value is the *Viaggi* (*Travels*, 1298) of Marco Polo (ca. 1254-1324), first dictated in French and then translated into Italian by Rusticiano da Pisa.

In the 14th c., Tuscany (particularly Florence) was definitely established as the literary center, and the Tuscan dialect as the standard literary and interregional language, of Italy. Tuscan began to supplant the local dialects in elegant literary usage, first in lyric and then in other poetry, and later in prose.

This was due in large measure to economic factors: Florence became, during the period from 1259 to 1348, the leading industrial and banking center of the new mercantile economy, and its language and literature accompanied its trade. Its specifically literary prestige was established by the artistic merits of the work of the "Big Three" (Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio).

The *dolce stil nuovo* left a permanent residue in Italian poetic tradition, in the quasi-religious interpretation of love and in refinement of sentiment and vocabulary; but after Dante and his contemporaries, it had no direct continuators of note and died out as a school. The somewhat narrowly formalized scholastic philosophy and abstract theory of emotion on which it was founded was replaced by a more subtle psychological analysis, based on more direct observation. Petrarch,\* in his lyric poetry, was the chief originator of this newer style, whose content was the result of searching introspection-coupled with more attention to features of the external world (e.g. Laura's physical appearance). At the same time, in the formal aspect of his poetry Petrarch returned, to a certain extent, to a direct development of tendencies present in his Provençal models, especially to emphasis on formal polish and perfection—which tended, even in Petrarch's own works, to degenerate into mere verbal virtuosity and rhetorical exaggeration. From this time on, Petrarch took the place of Dante as a model for lyric poetry; but, of his immediate successors, Boccaccio is the only one of major interest to modern readers.

The allegorical poems of the mid 14th c., however, were either positively or negatively influenced by Dante's *Commedia*, though none even approaches it in interest or merit. The *Dittamondo* of Fazio degli Uberti (ca. 1300-ca. 1367) and the *Quadriregio* (*Four Kingdoms*; 1394-1403) of Federigo Frezzi (d. 1416), arid encyclopedic compilations though they be, are the outstanding examples of the

genre. An aberrant specimen is the encyclopedic poem *L'Acerba* (title about equivalent to "the unripe or bitter poem") of Francesco Stabili, called Cecco ("Frank") d'Ascoli, interesting only because of its author's violent hostility to Dante.

The outstanding prose writer of the 14th c. is Giovanni Boccaccio.\* In Boccaccio's prose style, previous efforts at imitating, in the vernacular, Latin prose order and periodic construction came to a head. The resultant manner, which to modern readers seems top-heavy with inversions and over-complex in sentence structure, had value in the eyes of Boccaccio's imitators because of the prestige of Latin style and the merit of the content, and came to be a model for classicists of later centuries. Other 14th c. prose is considerably simpler, and to modern readers more attractive; most Trecento prose reflects the spontaneity and freshness of everyday speech of the period, so that the 14th c. came to be known as *il buon secolo della lingua* ("the best century of the language"). The anonymous *Fioretti di S. Francesco* (*Little Flowers of St. Francis*), a collection of narratives of his actions, are especially pleasing in their naïve charm. Other outstanding prose works are the moralizing and religious writings of Domenico Cavalca (ca. 1270-1342), the various 14th c. translations of Latin writers (Ovid, Sallust, Livy), the *Specchio di vera penitenza* (*Mirror of True Penitence*, 1354) of Iacopo Passavanti (1300-57), and the *Chronicle* of Giovanni Villani (d. 1348), continued by his brother Matteo (d. 1363). The last-mentioned work is less intensely personal than Compagni's *Chronicle*, but more truly historical, and gives a colorful picture of Villani's own times, in easy-flowing, almost conversational Italian.

After 1348, the year of the great plague, literature in the vernacular declined. To a certain extent, this was a reflection of the decline in vitality of the peninsula's economy,

and also of the shift of dominance from the democratically or oligarchically controlled communes of the late Middle Ages to the dictatorships (*signorie*) of the early Renaissance. The chief literary writers of the latter 14th c. are two bourgeois writers, Franco Sacchetti\* and Antonio Pucci. The latter (ca. 1310-1388) was a fertile producer of verses, some-sonnets, *sirventesi*, *capitoli*, etc. — giving a lively, spontaneous picture of everyday life, from which satire was not absent, particularly in his *Noie* (*Irritations*); and others dealing with romantic and legendary subjects, as in his *Gismirante* and *la Reina d'Oriente* (*The Queen of the Orient*); or with historical matter, as in his set of songs on the Pisan war (1362-64) and in the *Centiloquio*, a long versified abstract of Villani's *Chronicle*. Prose writing of this period is likewise primarily on the bourgeois level, as in the *novelle* of Sacchetti and of lesser writers, e.g. a certain Ser Giovanni of Florence, author of a collection entitled *Il Pecorone* (*The Simpleton*, 1378), and Giovanni Sercambi (1347-1424). In literary merit, these last-mentioned writers are not equal to St. Catherine of Siena (Caterina Benincasa, 1347-80), the author of mystical and religious *Letters*.

In the first half of the 15th c., intellectual activity was very great in Italy, all the more so because Italy was at that time in a state of relative stability as contrasted with France, Spain, or England. At first, however, Italian literature did not share in the benefits of this activity. The leading minds of the period were primarily concerned with re-investigating and re-introducing into modern culture as much of ancient culture as they could discover. The Renaissance re-discovery of the ancient world eventually provided another source for cultural borrowing, which differed from the purely relic features of classical culture that had survived into the Middle Ages (e.g. the study of Virgil) in that many of the features introduced at the time of the Renaissance

(c.g. knowledge of Plato) were indeed new to the modern world. This change in emphasis fixed the attention of most scholars and men of letters so firmly on classical languages and literatures that Italian fell into relative neglect; indeed, it was the object of contempt or hostility from a number of humanists. When L. B. Alberti,\* the only 15th c. humanist seriously interested in Italian literature, held the *Certame coronario* or prize contest in 1440, for the best literary work in Italian, no work was submitted worthy of the prize. The highest that the first half of the 15th c. could produce in literary lyric poetry was the insipid Petrarchizing of such men as Buonaccorso da Montemagno (d. 1429) and Giusto de' Conti (d. 1449). Superior in interest to the Petrarchesque lyric is the lighter poetry in more popular vein of Leonardo Giustinian (1388-1446), which drew its inspiration from Venetian popular songs, and the satirical but deliberately confused and obscure poetry of the barber Domenico di Giovanni, called Il Burchiello (The Wherry, 1404-49). The long narrative poem *La Città di Vita* (*The City of Life*) of Matteo Palmieri (1406-75) combines imitation of Dante with exposition of Neo-Platonic doctrines.

During the second half of the 15th c., such Italian literature as remained free of humanistic tendencies remained at about the same level, especially at Naples. The Neapolitan writers, like other non-Tuscans, used standard Italian and imitated Tuscan models of the Trecento, but not without considerable local flavor in linguistic forms and in subject-matter, as in the *Novellino* of Masuccio of Salerno (1476). Of the Neapolitan poets of this period, by far the most original and gifted was Iacopo Sannazaro.\* A group of imitators of Petrarch, best known of whom was Benedetto Gareth, called Il Cariteo (1450-1514), exaggerated the worst defects and mannerisms of Petrarch's style, anticipating the tendencies of Marinism, and from this

fact have been termed *I Seicentisti del Quattrocento* ("The Marinists of the 15th c."). Other followers of this tendency elsewhere in Italy were the poets Serafino Ciminelli dall'Aquila (1466-1500) and Antonio Tebaldi, called Il Tebaldeo (1463-1537).

But the most notable trend of Italian literature from 1450 to 1550 was toward the absorption of the new knowledge and fresh outlook on the classics developed by Renaissance humanism. This involved the use of a considerably extended range of ancient, particularly Greek, sources, as contrasted with the limited and almost exclusively Latin material known to earlier generations; a new philosophical attitude, including greater attention than before to *human* interests and values, and a strong current of Neo-Platonic idealism; and emphasis on the formal aspect of artistic creation, with absolutist critical standards and insistence on imitation of models as one of the most effective methods of attaining perfection.

From 1450 to 1500, Italian literature assimilated above all the new philosophical currents of humanism. Florence continued to be the literary center of Italy, characterized by a brilliant group surrounding Lorenzo de' Medici.\* The Florentine school of Neo-Platonists, including Cristoforo Landino (1424-1504) and Marsilio Ficino (1433-99) had revived the study and appreciation of Plato, attempting a reconciliation of Neo-Platonic doctrine with Christianity. Their outlook served as philosophical background for the writings of Lorenzo's group, which included Angelo Poliziano,\* the brothers Pulci (Luca, 1431-70; Luigi, 1432-84; and Bernardo, 1438-88), and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-94). This group as a whole showed remarkable versatility and intellectual ability, extensive humanistic training, and innate poetic genius. In addition, they were in continued contact with popular sources of inspiration, especially in the dance lyric and

the narrative poem, whose spirit they assimilated with sympathetic understanding, though not without a certain touch of aristocratic condescension and humorous detachment. Lorenzo's poetry attains the best fusion of the various elements; Poliziano's writing is weighted somewhat on the humanistic side, and Pico della Mirandola is remembered primarily as an expositor of Ficinian Neo-Platonism, in his unfinished commentary on the *Canzone d'Amore* (*Song of Love*) of an obscure poet, Girolamo Benivieni.

The chivalric romance had, since its introduction from France, become one of the most popular of literary forms, and its material had become the common property of *cantimbanchi*, or popular minstrels, who treated and maltreated it in innumerable refashionings, such as the anonymous *Orlando* (*Roland*, ca. 1380). Luigi Pulci, the best known of the three Pulci brothers, following the tendency of the Medicean group to imitate popular genres, used this poem as the basis for his narrative poem, the *Morgante Maggiore* (main portion 1460-70; later additions until 1483). Pulci's epic continues directly the folk tradition of the chivalric romance, with added humorous episodes and characters (e.g. the giant Morgante, the rascal Margutte, and Astarotte, the demon versed in theology). Pulci attains comic effect by conscious imitation and burlesque of the popular singers' mannerisms, and by intentional antitheses between heroic subject-matter and bourgeois style and attitude. Also deriving from the popular versions of the chivalric romances, but showing a sympathetic and understanding approach very different from Pulci's comic exaggerations, is the unfinished *Orlando Innamorato* (*Roland in Love*) of Matteo Maria Boiardo.\* Through this latter work and its later re-workings (such as that by Francesco Berni) and continuations, the subject-matter and style of the chivalric romance, in its Italian adaptations, became fash-

ionable in the courts of Italy in the early Cinquecento.

Another indigenous genre, the *sacra rappresentazione*, began to be cultivated in literature in the works of Feo Belcari (1410-80) and others, including the Magnifico (Lorenzo) himself. The subject-matter of these plays, originally confined to the life of Christ, was extended to other Biblical subjects and popular religious legends, and in Poliziano's *Orfeo* (1480) to completely secular material. Niccolò da Correggio's *Cefalo* (1487) and Galeotto del Carretto's *Sofonisba* (1502) represent further efforts to treat classical themes in the non-regular form of the *sacra rappresentazione*; its ultimate development into the pastoral drama was first foreshadowed in the dramatic eclogue *Tirsi* (1506) of Baldassar Castiglione. As a religious genre, the *sacra rappresentazione* has survived fragmentarily into modern times in rustic and provincial locales; as a vehicle for the presentation of classical subjects, it was replaced in the 16th c. by the "regular" classicizing drama; but applied to pastoral themes, it developed into the "tragi-comedy" of the latter half of the 16th c.

At the beginning of the 16th c. a marked change took place in Italian political and social conditions, with a profound effect on Italian literature. In 1494, with the French invasion of Italy, the balance of power among the states of Italy and the relatively peaceful condition of the preceding half-century was lost, and until 1530, the peninsula was the battleground of contending nations in the struggle between France and the Spanish-Austrian empire. After 1530, most of Italy passed under Spanish control or hegemony, which was fully confirmed by the treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis (1559). As a result of Spanish restrictions on commerce and industry, the economic life of Italy was thrown into confusion and suffered a decline almost amounting to annihilation, from which in-

deed it has never fully recovered. The aristocracy in general lost its contact with the life of the lower classes; life at court became a highly specialized art, requiring a careful training and technique, expounded in idealistic terms by Count Baldassar Castiglione (1478-1529) in his *Cortegiano* (*Book of the Courtier*, ca. 1506 ff.), and in practical terms by many later writers. Sixteenth c. court life became an extremely artificial mode of existence and gave an unrealistic approach to human experience. But most literary men of the 16th c. were attached to courts or influenced by courtly ideals; to just that extent, their relation with normal life and experience was interrupted. From this time on, there were two currents in Italian literature: the learned, aristocratic, academic tradition, dominant in "official" literary circles; and the popular tradition, overshadowed by the other and to a large extent finding its expression in the local dialects of its writers.

It is this background that explains the rapid development, in the first part of the 16th c., of the movement known as *umanesimo volgare*, "humanism in the vernacular." Directed toward the establishment in Italian literature of conditions similar to those prevailing in Latin humanism, it followed two basic principles: perfection of form and imitation of models. As the Augustan age was considered the golden age of Latin literature, so was the 14th c. to be treated as the "classical" period of Italian. As Virgil and Cicero were considered unsurpassable models for Latin poetry and prose, respectively, so were Petrarch and Boccaccio set up as comparable classic writers in Italian. This trend, possibly desirable at the time in moderate degree, reached an extreme of narrow purism by demanding that writers restrict themselves exclusively to imitation of the 14th c. in language, style, and content. It represented a general movement toward purity of language and style, materially furthered by the strong personal influence of

Pietro Bembo,\* by his example in lyric poetry and his precept in other fields. But it also represented the triumph of academicism over spontaneity, of the pleasure derived from recognition of familiar elements over that derived from originality.

The insistence of Bembo's purism on imitation of 14th c. Tuscan usage came into conflict with another linguistic standard, a contemporaneous and not purely Tuscan idiom, which had begun to develop along with the rise of courtly life. The discussions which began at this time on the subject of the Italian language, known as the *Questione della Lingua* ("linguistic question") were widespread in the 16th c., and lasted for over 300 years, faithfully mirroring the problems facing standard Italian in its rise. There were two main problems facing the writers of the Cinquecento: (1) should the language of literature be archaic (14th c.) or contemporary? (2) should it be Tuscan, or non-Tuscan? All four of the possible combinations of these viewpoints were represented in the debates. Bembo, in his *Prose della volgare lingua* (ca. 1502-25), and his followers naturally favored the use of archaic Tuscan; but opponents of the notion that literary Italian was pure Tuscan could on occasion be equally puristic and archaizing, as was the authoritarian and pedantically dogmatic Girolamo Muzio (1496-1576) in his *Battaglie in Difesa dell' Italiana lingua* (*Battles in defense of the Italian language*; 1530-36). A more liberal viewpoint recognized the validity of contemporary as well as 14th c. usage; among those who held this view but also recognized that standard Italian had a Tuscan base were Niccolò Machiavelli in his *Dialogo della Lingua* (*Dialogue on the Language*; ca. 1514); Claudio Tolomei in his dialogue *Il Cesano* (ca. 1535); G. B. Gelli in his *Capricci del Bottai* (*The Cooper's Fancies*; 1546) and *Discorso sopra la Difficoltà di ordinare la lingua di Firenze* (*Discourse on the difficulty of reduc-*

ing the Florentine language to order; 1551); P. E. Giambullari in his dialogue *Il Gello* (1546); and Benedetto Varchi in his long-winded but thorough expository dialogue *L'Ercolano* (before 1565). But, even though it had a Tuscan base, standard Italian was by this time used in literature and among the upper classes throughout Italy; this fact caused many to protest the excessive authority claimed for Tuscany by the purists, and even to exaggerate their counterclaims to the extent of maintaining (erroneously) that standard Italian was based not on Tuscan, but on all the dialects of Italy. Debate over this point began in connection with the "courtly" linguistic standard in the first years of the 16th c. (touched upon in Castiglione's *Cortegiano*) and continued later in 1529 ff. with Gian Giorgio Trissino's publication of a translation of Dante's *De vulgari Eloquentia* and of his own dialogue *Il Castellano* (*The Castellan*) defending his anti-Tuscan position. In strictly literary usage, the archaizing, "Tuscan" viewpoint favored by Bembo and his followers became dominant, although in other fields it was never wholly accepted—a result indicated in the *Dialogo della Lingua* (ca. 1530) of Sperone Speroni (1500–88). The viewpoint of the archaizing purists was crystallized in the theory and practice of the Accademia della Crusca (founded 1546), dedicated to the preservation of the "purity" of the Italian language, and in its *Vocabolario* (first ed. 1604, later eds., 17th–19th c.).

The field in which Bembistic purism was most completely victorious was lyric poetry. An almost numberless group of Bembo's followers imitated his imitation of Petrarch, in polished, elegant verbal exercises almost completely devoid of original or sincere content. Among those remembered at least by name are Francesco Maria Molza (1489–1544), Angelo di Costanza (1507–91), Francesco Coppetta dei Beccuti (1509–53), Bernardino Rota (1509–75), Luigi Tansillo (1510–68),

Galeazzo di Tarsia (1520–53), and the poetesses Veronica Gàmbara (1485–1550) and Vittoria Colonna (1492–1547). Somewhat apart from the others are Giovanni Guidiccioni (1500–1541), noted for his intense patriotism, and Giovanni della Casa (1503–1556), the author of the book of elegant behavior *Il Galateo* (1551–54), and noted for the fluidity and exceptional sonority of his verse. But the only really outstanding lyric poets of the 16th c. are the artist Michaelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564) and the Venetian prostitute (?) Gàspara Stampa (ca. 1523–54). The former gives travailed, tortured expression to his Neo-Platonic idealism, love for Vittoria Colonna, and deep pessimism, in his fortunately crude and imperfect poetry; and the latter, more conventional in style and diction, is saved from the Petrarchists' superficiality by the intense and sincere emotion of her love for Count Collaltino di Collalto.

In most prose writing, likewise, the influence of humanistic purism led to the prevalence of involved syntax, heavy style, and imitation of Latin models in vocabulary and content. Writers of history in "classical" style followed their models, particularly Livy and Sallust, even in the invention of speeches for their personages: among the outstanding examples of this type of historiography are Bembo's *Historia Veneta* (*History of Venice*; pub. 1551), written first in Latin and then in Italian; Giambullari's *Storia dell' Europa* (*History of Europe*; ca. 1547–55); Angelo di Costanza's *Istoria del Regno di Napoli* (*History of the Kingdom of Naples*); the *Congiura de' Baroni* (*Conspiracy of the Barons*, 1565) and *Storia d'Italia* (*History of Italy*, ca. 1568) of Camillo Porzio (ca. 1530–80). Classical influence is also evident, but tempered with individuality of style and outlook, in the historical and political writings of Niccolò Machiavelli,\* and of Francesco Guicciardini: *Ricordi politici e civili* (*Political and civil memoirs*, 1527–30) and *Storia d'Italia* (1537–

40). A closer observer of reality in its details and less inclined to sacrifice facts to abstract systematization than Machiavelli, Guicciardini was both a critic of the Florentine Secretary and his proper pendant in 16th c. historiography.

Of the many biographies written in the 16th c., best are the *Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori* (*Lives of the most outstanding painters, sculptors, and architects*; 1543-51) of Giorgio Vasari (1511-74), a great source of material for the history of art and not lacking in stylistic merit. The latter virtue is most apparent to modern taste in the often careless, always colloquial and spontaneous *Vita* (*Autobiography*; 1558-66) dictated by the artist Benvenuto Cellini (1500-71), which combines a freshness and vigor rare in 16th c. prose with the interest of the Florentine goldsmith's adventurous life. Likewise notable for spontaneity of language and style, together with humor, intelligence and some originality, are the moralizing dialogues *I Capricci del Bottai* (*The Cooper's Fancies*; 1546) and *Circe* (1549) of the Florentine artisan G. B. Gelli (1498-1563).

Prose fiction in the 16th c. consisted largely of *novelle*, written in the Boccaccesque tradition as regards style and content. The most notable collection is that of Matteo Bandello (1485-1561), written from 1505 onwards and published in 1554-73, and, in spite of their licentious content, valuable as a portrayal of 16th c. North Italian court society. Anton Francesco Grazzini (1503-84), called Il Lasca (*The Roach*), a Florentine satirist and writer of comedies, gives in his *Cene* (*Suppers*; 1540-47) a picture of the light-hearted aspects of Florentine life. Other, less interesting and less original collections of *novelle* were the *Ragionamenti d'Amore* (*Discussions of Love*; 1525 ff.) of Agnolo Firenzuola (1493-1543), the *Piacevoli Notti* (*Pleasant Nights*; 1550-53) of Gian Francesco Straparola (ca. 1490-1557), and the *Ecatommitti*

(1565) of Giovanni Battista Giraldi Cinzio (1504-73). Individual *novelle* were also written by various authors, including Luigi da Porto (1486-1519), whose *Romeo e Giulietta* was the source of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, and Machiavelli in his *Novella di Belfagor Arcidiavolo* (*Story of the Archdemon Belphegor*). The general tone of the 16th c. *novella* was one of extreme licentiousness and immorality; certain writers who, like Sebastiano Erizzo, proposed to remedy this defect succeeded only in rendering their work dull and uninteresting.

In the drama, the "regular" genres of tragedy and comedy were revived, or at least exhumed, following the precepts of current literary criticism. Aristotle's *Poetics* and Horace's *Ars Poetica* served as guides, and Aristotle's descriptions of fact or chance-observations were transformed, in accordance with humanistic procedure, into dogmatic prescriptions: the "classical rules" of the unities (time, place, action) were set up, and the principle of decorum restricted subject-matter and style to material, characters, and actions that would be socially acceptable to audiences. For Aristotle's "purgation through fear and pity" was often substituted *ammirazione* (amazement, or wonder) as the emotional aim of tragedy. A long series of 16th c. tragedies written "within the rules," beginning with Trissino's *Sofonisba* (1515), included as its least uninspired examples the *Rosmunda* (1515) of Giovanni Rucellai (1475-1525), the *Orbecche* (1541) of Giraldi, the *Canace* (1542) of Speroni, and the *Orazia* (1546) of Pietro Aretino (1492-1566). Despite its heaviness of style, over-emphasis on strange and horrifying atrocities (designed to awake *ammirazione* in the audience), and lack of character analysis, 16th c. Italian tragedy set the model for later imitators throughout Europe.

Sixteenth century comedy was, in general, equally dependent on classical models; in subject matter and style, it was closer to current

life than was tragedy, and adherence to "the rules" did not crush originality and invention as much as elsewhere. Its two masterpieces are Machiavelli's *Mandràgola* (*The Mandragore*; ca. 1513) and Giordano Bruno's *Il Candelaio* (*The Candle-Maker*; 1580), both typical of the period in their indecency, immorality, keen observation, and effective realism. Other comedies worthy of mention are the *Calandria* (1513) of the court wit Bernardo Dovizi of Bibbiena (1470-1520); the comedies of L. Ariosto, the *Cortigiana* (*Court Life*; 1526) of Aretino; the *Aridosia* (1536) of Lorenzino de' Medici (1514-48); the *Straccioni* (*The Rascals*; 1544) of Annibal Caro (1507-66); the seven comedies (1540-50) of Il Lasca; and those of the Florentine Giovanni Maria Cecchi (1518-87).

Freedom of invention and expression was greater, however, in the less "classical" dramatic types, the tragi-comedy and the farce. The former, developing out of the freer dramatic form of the *sacra rappresentazione*, was used toward the mid c. for pastoral subjects in the tradition of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*; a number of eclogue-like masques followed Castiglione's *Tirsi* (1506), and the first full-fledged pastoral drama was *Il Sacrificio* (*The Sacrifice*; 1554) of Agostino Beccari (d. 1590). The masterpieces of the genre are the *Aminta* (1573) of Torquato Tasso\* and the *Pastor fido* (*The Faithful Shepherd*; 1580-90) of G. B. Guarini (1538-1612). At first simple and delicate in Tasso's hands, the type became more and more complicated in action and affected in sentiment, until it was the artificial, exaggerated expression of aristocracy's escape to unreality from everyday existence.

The farce is considered by at least some scholars to have been a direct survival from Roman times. Broad in humor and uninhibited in morals, it was usually acted in local dialect and often improvised, at least in part, on a fixed scenario. Sannazaro, P. A. Carac-

ciolo, and others wrote farces in Neapolitan; those of Giovanni Giorgio Alione (1460-1521), in Astigiano (Piedmontese), are in a moralizing vein; also worthy of mention are the farces of the Sienese Niccolò Campani, the Paduan Angelo Beolco (1502-42) called Il Ruzzante (*The Prankster*), and the Venetian Andrea Calmo (1510-71). Artisans and members of the lower classes formed clubs for the acting of these popular dramas, such as the *Congrega dei Rozzi* at Siena; these groups were the predecessors of the professional companies of actors, the first of which played at Mantua in 1567, and from whose activities developed the *commedia dell' arte* of the following century.

In the field of the narrative poem, Boiardo's unfinished *Orlando Innamorato* had a number of continuators and revisers; chief among the latter was the brilliant and original satiric poet Francesco Berni (1498-1535), now remembered more for his burlesque poetry than for his once famous revision of the *Innamorato*. The only continuator to achieve lasting fame was Lodovico Ariosto,\* whose *Orlando Furioso* (*Mad Roland*; ca. 1506-16, with revisions until 1532) long overshadowed the work of his predecessor. The success of the *Furioso* called forth a spate of imitations, extensions, developments of single episodes, etc., which lasted for two centuries. Of numerous 16th c. works of this type, the *Girone cortese* (1548) of L. Alamanni and the *Amadigi* (1560) of Bernardo Tasso (1493-1569) are remembered today. Other poets, intending to follow the precept and example of classical epic, wrote lengthy but stillborn poems such as the *Italia Liberata dai Goti* (*Italy Freed from the Goths*; pub. 1547-48) of Trissino, or Alamanni's *Avarechiade*. After considerable critical debate on the merits of the non-classical chivalric romance, a compromise was reached—summed up in Giraldis' *Discourse on the Composition of Chivalric Romances*; 1554—recognizing its legitimacy



but calling for greater unity in subject-matter. Giraldis attempt at a fusion of the romantic and the classical narrative poem, the *Ercole* (*Hercules*; 1557), was unsuccessful, and the realization of the late 16th c. compromise in the field was reached only in Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (*Jerusalem Delivered*, pub. 1581), which combined Christian, epic, and essentially unified subject-matter with considerable variety of episodes, and romantic inspiration.

Parody of the chivalric romance also began early, with the *Orlandino* (*Little Orlando*) of Pietro Aretino and the works of Teofilo Folengo: *Baldus* (1517 ff.) in macaronic Latin and *Orlandino* (1526) in Italian. The latter author was a brilliant but unstable monk, for a time renegade, with Lutheran leanings; his masterly use of macaronic Latin (i.e. Latin mixed with standard Italian and dialectal vernacular elements) combines with satiric portrayal of middle and lower class life and of the clergy to make the *Baldus* one of the three most notable narrative poems of the 16th c., together with Ariosto's *Furioso* and Tasso's *Gerusalemme*.

The development of printing and the increase in reading in the 16th c. brought into being a class of writers, at first directly connected with printers' establishments, who fulfilled the various duties that would today be entrusted to editors, proofreaders, and hack-writers. Among these men-of-all-work, known in the 16th c. as *poligrafi*, may be mentioned Lodovico Dolce, Girolamo Ruscelli, Ortensio Lando (1512-53) and Anton Francesco Doni (1513-74). The most outstanding poligrafo of the 16th c., however, was Pietro Aretino, a brilliant and extremely prolific, but very superficial writer. In addition to a few works of real value, Aretino produced an immense quantity of trash, by which he made a luxurious, if precarious, living—flattering his supporters (for value received) and attacking his detractors in the polemical style traditional

in Italy from 15th c. humanists to 20th c. professors.

Italian literature was the first vernacular literature in Europe to receive the revived influence of ancient Greek and Latin culture; and it became in its turn a model and source of inspiration for literary work in the rest of Europe. Italian men of letters were well received elsewhere, especially at royal courts, e.g. Leonardo da Vinci and L. Alamanni in France, and Castiglione in Spain. From the rest of Europe, men came to Italy in connection with ecclesiastical affairs (Luther, Juan de Valdés, Du Bellay), or intellectual matters (Erasmus, Montaigne). Through these and other channels, works of Italian literature became known and regarded as on almost the same level as the classics of antiquity. Spéroni's *Dialogo della Lingua* furnished the material for Du Bellay's program of renovation and humanization of French language and literature, in his *Deffense et Illustration de la Langue Française* (1548). The classicizing Petrarchism of Bembo and his followers influenced lyric poetry in Spain (Juan Boscán; Garcilaso de la Vega), France (the Lyon school; the Pléiade), and England (the Elizabethan poets). Italian re-working of the chivalric romances, especially as embodied in Ariosto and Tasso, was diffused over Europe in numerous imitations, reaching its height in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1590-1609). The pastoral tradition was continued in many plays and in works of other genres, e.g. Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* (1579) and d'Urfé's novel *Astrée* (1610). Italian critical interpretation of ancient literary theory and practice served as the basis for classicizing criticism, as in the *Querelle du Cid* in France (1637 ff.) and the Abbé d'Aubignac's *Pratique du Théâtre* (1647-58).

But if Italy in the 16th c. was for a time a center of cultural diffusion, it ceased to be so in the following centuries in literature and intellectual matters (although continuing in

that rôle in art and music). Italian literature and thought lost vitality and sank in general to the level of empty, formalizing imitation of ancient and Renaissance predecessors. To the adverse influences of excessive classicism, separation of men of letters from social reality, and economic decline, was added after the middle of the 16th c. the further impediment of the Counter-Reformation. This movement brought the restrictions of the Inquisition, the censorship, and other repressive measures that followed the triumph of ecclesiastical ultra-conservatism, in dogma and practice, at the Council of Trent (1545-63). Hereticism in religion disappeared from Italy, but so did intellectual freedom—boldness and originality in thought, or sincerity and simplicity in literary expression. Those that continued in dissident paths met with persecution and suppression. Giordano Bruno of Nola (1548-1600), the pantheistic philosopher and author of *Il Candeliario* and numerous philosophical works, was burned as a heretic at Rome. Tommaso Campanella (1568-1630), the philosopher-reformer of Calabria, and the author of *La Città del Sole* (*The City of the Sun*; 1602), a description of a Utopia-like ideal community, suffered long imprisonment for civil and religious rebellion. The Florentine astronomer Galileo Galilei (1564-1642) suffered persecution and was forced by the Inquisition to recant his doctrines. Fra Paolo Sarpi (1552-1633) of Venice, an outspoken enemy of the temporal power of the church, earned the hatred of the ecclesiastical powers by his *History of the Council of Trent* (pub. 1619), and was protected from their vengeance only by the power of his native state.

Belles-lettres, narrowly speaking, underwent a serious decline after ca. 1600. Bembo's classicism, which at least included restraint and sobriety among its virtues, was replaced by a search for originality at all costs—an originality that, denied in content, was found in elaboration of description, abuse of rhetori-

cal devices, heaping up of similes, antitheses, puns, conceits, and the like. This disease of literary affectation, which infected all of Europe at the beginning of the 17th c. (Gongorism in Spain, Euphuism in England, *Préciosité* in France, baroque literature in Germany) was known in Italy as Marinism, from the chief Italian focus of contagion, G. B. Marino.\* Marino's followers, including Claudio Achillini (1574-1640), Girolamo Preti (1582-1626, and G. B. Manso (1561-1654), carried his style even further (where possible) in its baroque elaboration.

A few poets followed slightly different lines of development. Gabriello Chiabrera (1552-1638), of Savona, was notable for his choice of unusual models among the classics (Pindar, Anacreon) and contemporaries (the *Pléiade*), for his metrical innovations and imitation of classical meters, and for his choice of Pindaric and gallant subject-matter. Fulvio Testi (1593-1646), of Ferrara, imitated Horace, but with an added element of personal feeling and especially of patriotism rare among the poets of his time. Among satiric poets—of whom there were many, following and degrading the tradition of Berni's satire to the level of scurrilous obscenity—the only one worthy of mention was the Neapolitan painter Salvator Rosa (1615-74).

The 16th c. tradition of epic poetry was continued in the 17th, with a series of uninspired imitations and developments of the chivalric subject-matter, based on the work of Ariosto and Tasso. Markworthy are only the *Croce Racquistata* (*Recovery of the Cross*; 1611) of Francesco Bracciolini (1560-1645) and the *Conquistato di Granata* (*Conquest of Granada*; 1650) of Girolamo Grazi-ani (1604-75), imitations of Tasso's *Gerusalemme*. More vital was the development of the mock-heroic or satirical epic. This genre, which had already begun with Folengo's work in the 16th c., was developed further in Bracciolini's *Scherzo degli Dei* (*Mockery of the*

*Gods*; 1618-24) and in the *Secchia Rapita* (*Rape of the Bucket*; 1622) of Alessandro Tassoni.\* In these and similar poems, such as the *Malmantile Racquistato* (*Malmantile Regained*; pub. 1676) of Lorenzo Lippi (1606-65), the *Asino* (*The Donkey*; 1652) of Carlo Dottori (1618-86), the commonplaces of the epic or the romance—knights errant and their adventures, warrior virgins, mythological episodes—are turned into comedy, either by treating elevated subjects in a ridiculous fashion (Bracciolini) or by handling low material in a solemn tone (Tassoni).

Belletristic prose also showed the effects of the Marinistic vogue, as in the long insipid novels *La Dianea* (1627) of Gianfrancesco Loredano (1607-61), and *Il Calloandro Fedele* (*The Faithful Calloander*; 1640-41; 1652) of Giovanni Ambrogio Marini (ca. 1594-ca. 1650), and many others now forgotten—prose rehashes of epic, romantic, pastoral or melodramatic episodes, in a style alternating between turgid, bombastic description and flat narrative. A few writers of *novelle* may be mentioned, such as Giovanni Sagredo (1617-82), the author of *L'Arcadia in Brenta* (*Arcadia on the Brenta*; 1667), a collection imitated from Boccaccio; and Giambattista Basile (ca. 1575-1632), the writer of *Il Pentamerone* (*The Pentameron*), also known as *Lu Cuntu de li Cunti* (*The Tale of Tales*; pub. 1634-36). The last-mentioned work, told with vivacity and spontaneity in Neapolitan dialect, is based directly on material from popular sources, and is a mine of valuable folkloristic material.

But as often happens in such periods, the best writing is found in prose not consciously literary in aim. Examples already mentioned are the works of Galileo and Sarpi; other prose writers of note were Traiano Boccalini (1556-1613), a literary and political critic of vigor and acumen in his *Ragguagli di Parnaso* (*News from Parnassus*; 1610) and *Pietra del Paragone Politico* (*Political Touchstone*;

1614), notable especially for their violent attacks on Spanish tyranny; the anonymous author (Tassoni?) of the *Filippiche* (*Philippics*; 1615) against the Spaniards; and the preacher Paolo Segneri (1624-94) in his sermons and religious treatises. A number of travelers (such as Pietro della Valle, 1586-1652) and notable personages wrote of their voyages and adventures; among the latter type of writers are especially notable Enrico Caterino Dàvila (1576-1631), author of the *History of the Religious Wars in France* (1630), in which he had taken part; and Guido Bentivoglio (1579-1644), the author of *Relazioni in tempo delle sue nunziature* (1629), a history of the revolutions in the Netherlands against Spanish rule, and of a series of *Memoirs*.

In the theatre, strictly classical tragedy and comedy were cultivated by conservatively-minded authors and critics, but remained lifeless; even the *Aristodemo* (1657) of Carlo Dottori is scarcely remembered. Michelangelo Buonarroti the younger (1568-1640), a student of Tuscan popular and dialectal speech, used the comic genre as a setting for linguistic gems, in his complex of five five-act comedies portraying Florentine market scenes with realistic vivacity, entitled as a unit *La Fiera* (*The Fair*). The influence of Spanish comedy of the Golden Age, with its greater freedom from classical restrictions, began to be felt, especially in the *Convitato di Pietra* (*The Stone Guest*; ca. 1653) of Giacinto Andrea Cicognini (1606-60), a re-working of Tirso de Molina's *Burlador de Sevilla* and the first Italian treatment of the Don Juan legend. The pastoral continued at first as a separate genre, but in a series of unoriginal and uninspired imitations of Tasso's *Aminta* and Guarini's *Pastor Fido*; the only exception to the rule is the *Filli di Sciro* (*Phyllis of Scyros*; 1607) of Guidubaldo Bonarelli (1563-1608). But by the end of the century, the pastoral fused with the newly developed musical opera or

*melodramma*, an invention of the 17th c. Toward the end of the 16th c., a group of Florentine musicians, known as the Camerata, had experimented with the revival of Greek drama, then thought to have been entirely sung, and the poet Ottavio Rinuccini (1564-1621) had collaborated with the composer Iacopo Peri (1561-1633) in the operas *Dafne* (1599) and *Euridice* (1600). The new genre rapidly became immensely popular, and developed into one of Italy's leading art forms, largely due to the genius of the musician Claudio Monteverdi (1567-1643). The original aim of the Florentine Camerata and of Monteverdi had been to effect a perfect union of poetry and music; but, during the course of the century, poetical and musical content and verisimilitude came to be sacrificed to the superficial attractions of fashionable gallantry, romantic episodes, singers' virtuosity, and display of complicated staging. In this form, the Italian opera had spread all over Europe by 1700.

The other living theatrical genre of the 17th c. was the *commedia dell' arte*, or professional improvised comedy. Performed by stock companies, it was mainly based on a set scenario, with the development of each scene left to the spontaneous imagination of the actors, and with fixed characters ("masks"): Pantaloon, Harlequin, Punch (Pulcinella) and Columbine, and a number of more or less variable secondary types: the *miles glori- osus* ("boastful soldier": Capitan Spavento di Valdinferno; Matamoros), the doctor (Grazi- ano), the servant (Pedrolino; Brighella), and more. The actors enlivened their perform- ances by happy inventions on the spur of the moment and by embroidery on the set situa- tions, by the use of *lazzi* or "gags," and by a plentiful admixture of slapstick comedy. At first a lively and efficacious representation of contemporary life, given on such a level as to be accessible to all, the *commedia dell' arte* sank by the end of the century in many cases

to the level of a stereotyped series of fixed buffooneries, often extremely coarse and im- moral. But it was immensely popular through- out Italy, and, like the opera, was carried all over Europe by traveling Italian troupes.

The late 17th and the early 18th c. wit- nessed a kind of codification of the less ex- travagant aspects of baroque literature, under the auspices of the academy known as the Arcadia. The excesses of Marinism passed from fashion about the mid 17th c., and cer- tain later lyric poets are notable for a return to sobriety and measure. Francesco Redi of Arezzo (1628-98), a doctor, scientist, and student of the Aretine dialect, devoted 20 years (1665-85) to the writing and perfect- ing of a long dithyramb, *Bacco in Toscana* (*Bacchus in Tuscany*), a description of the god's increasing drunkenness on Tuscan wine, frivolous in content but lively, varied, and exquisite in form. The Florentine Vincenzo da Filicaia (1642-1707) and the Pavian Ales- sandro Guidi (1650-1712) avoided the ex- cesses of Marinism, but fell somewhat into the opposite extreme of over-solemnity and artificial rhetoricity. Carlo Maria Maggi (1630-99), of Milan, is notable for his patri- otic poems in Italian and his poetry and com- edies in Milanese dialect. The new tendencies were embodied and crystallized in the aims of a new academy, the Arcadia, founded at Rome in 1690. With the intention of purging Italian poetry of bad taste and restoring it to its pristine purity, the members of the Arcadia—including such outstanding literary critics as Gian Vincenzo Gravina (1664-1718) and Giovan Mario Crescimbeni (1663-1728)—dedicated its meetings to recitations of pas- toralizing poetry, by gentlemen and ladies dis- guised as shepherds and shepherdesses, in the tradition of Theocritus, Virgil, and Sannazaro. In the parent academy and branches estab- lished throughout Italy went on, for the next century, the production (almost manufacture) of minor lyrics, delicate in form and devoid of

content, celebrating insignificant daily events, by a host of insignificant minor versifiers. Among the poets of the Arcadia, only Carlo Innocenzo Frugoni (1692-1768) of Genoa is remembered, and that more for his popularity and influence in his century than for the intrinsic merit of his works.

The taste symbolized by the Arcadia was dominant in other fields as well. Men of letters had come to feel that the late 17th c. form of the opera was a state of decadence, and that the opera needed to be brought back to a higher literary level, by a more perfect accord between poetry and music, and by greater verisimilitude and regularity in construction. A learned literary critic, Apostolo Zeno (1668-1750) of Venice, attempted a reform like this, bringing into the opera, in his 70-odd *melodrammi* and *oratorii*, at least some of the unity of action, the decorum of behavior, and the purity of style characteristic of classical tragedy. But Zeno's reforming zeal was not accompanied by inspiration, insight into psychology, or skill in versification. This latter characteristic especially typifies the leading operatic librettist of the 18th c., Pietro Metastasio,\* whose *melodrammi* represent the adaptation to prevailing taste, in a heroico-sentimental style, of the romantic features of 17th c. opera together with at least a modicum of classical restraint.

The best prose was still to be found in non-belletristic writing, especially that of the scientific investigators of the period. Among these, in addition to Redi, may be mentioned the physicist Lorenzo Magalotti (1637-1712), in his *Saggi di naturali esperienze* (*Experiments in the Natural Sciences*) and his anti-atheistic *Familiar Letters*, and the physiologists Marcello Malpighi (1628-94) and Antonio Vallisnieri (1661-1730). A Jesuit of Ferrara, Daniello Bartoli (1608-85) was a liberal classicist in literary and grammatical criticism, in his *The Man of Letters*, *Right and Wrong of Purism*, and *Treatise of*

*Italian Orthography*, and a consummate artist in prose in his skillful, if not always accurate, history of Jesuit missions. The writing of history received a great impulse from the availability of new materials, compiled and published by a number of men with criteria of accuracy and completeness; the most outstanding of these scholars was Lodovico Antonio Muratori (1672-1750), who collected and edited a vast quantity of mediaeval documents and other materials in his *Esté Antiquities* (1717 and 1740) and *Writers on Italian Matters* (28 v.; 1723-51); in his *Antiquities of the Italian Middle Ages* (6 v.; 1738-43) and *Italian Annals*, he interpreted the material thus gathered. The first extensive history of Italian literature, Crescimbeni's *Istoria della volgar poesia* (1698)—more notable for its extent and erudition than for order or critical perception—likewise dates from this period. Slightly later, the Neapolitan Pietro Giannone (1686-1743) recounted the *Istoria civile del regno di Napoli* (1723), a history of Neapolitan laws, customs, and civilization rather than of external events, with a strong anti-ecclesiastical and libertarian bias which brought upon Giannone 11 years of exile, and imprisonment for the last 12 years of his life. Another Neapolitan, G. B. Vico,\* living in relative obscurity, developed the philosophy of history to even more novel and radical conclusions, but was able to avoid persecution.

In the mid and later 18th c., a general reawakening of Italian cultural and political life took place. Spain and its oppressive influence were excluded from Italy by the treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt (1713-14), and the treaties of Vienna (1736) and Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) restored at least nominal independence to the various states of Italy, except Lombardy and Mantua, which were transferred to Austrian rule. Freed from the anti-industrial, anti-commercial restrictions imposed by Spanish rule, Italian economic life began to revive. The top-heavy structure of aristocratic society,

by this time decadent and corrupt in its moral nature, and the excessive domination of Italian life by ecclesiastical powers, came to be the objects of criticism and reform, the latter of which had already begun (to a modest extent) before 1789 in some parts of Italy. Although indigenous in its ultimate origin, the 18th-c. revival of Italian culture was measurably hastened by a strong wave of foreign influence, especially from France, and indirectly from England. The deistic, naturalistic, rationalistic, expansionistic, relativistic, libertarian, equalitarian, and humanitarian theories of the French *philosophes* of the 18th c., especially of the Encyclopedist school, were diffused throughout Italy by reprints of the *Encyclopédie* itself (1758-78) and by numerous followers. What Fontenelle did for France in popularizing the new discoveries in science and other fields, was done for Italy by Francesco Algarotti (1712-64), a friend of Voltaire and Frederick II and a very widely-travelled man with extensive foreign connections, in his *Newtonianism for the Ladies* (1737) and many other works. A notable group of Italian thinkers of Encyclopedist leanings at Naples included the political economist Antonio Genovesi (1712-69); the economist, dialect lexicographer and belletrist Ferdinando Galiani (1728-87); and the jurists Francesco Mario Pagano (1748-99) and Gaetano Filangeri (1752-88). At Milan, Pietro Verri (1728-97) and Cesare Beccaria (1738-94) were the leaders of a group whose literary organ was *Il Caffè* (pub. 1764-66), a journal originally modeled after Addison's *Spectator*, but devoted principally to the divulcation of "enlightenment" in the shape of economic, social, and literary reform. Beccaria was one of the pioneers of modern penal reform in his *On Crime and Punishment* (1764), an argument for closer correlation between the two and for the abolition of torture and capital punishment.

In literary theory, the excessive classicism

and purism of the Bembistic-Arcadian tradition brought about an equally excessive reaction in favor of independence and individualism. This led such destructive critics as Saverio Bettinelli (1718-1808), in his *Virgilian Letters* (1757) and *English Letters* (1766) to attack savagely the greater part of Italian literature from Dante onwards, in the name of reason, clarity, and taste. Giuseppe Baretti (1719-89), in his literary periodical *La Frusta letteraria* (*The Literary Scourge*; 1763-4), was another leader in the condemnation of exaggerated classicism and the broadening of Italian literary horizons to include a knowledge of foreign authors (e.g. Shakespeare, Baretti's lifelong enthusiasm) and a closer contact with modern life. Conservatives of course reacted strongly in defense of Italian literary tradition, as did Gaspare Gozzi (1713-86) in his opuscles in defense of Dante (1758, answering Bettinelli) and his journals *The Venetian Gazette* (1760-61) and *The Venetian Observer* (1761-2). Together with the imitation of foreign authors came a wave of linguistic innovation, especially a great number of loan-words from the French. This wave of Gallicism gave a partially new topic of debate in the perennial *Questione della Lingua*. The problems facing the Italian standard language in the 16th c. had remained unsolved, since economic and social conditions had not permitted a natural spread and wider acceptance such as the standard languages of France, Spain, and England had found; hence the debates on the language had been going on during the 17th and early 18th c. along the lines laid down by Bembo, Trissino, and other 16th c. debaters. In the 18th c., the more progressive thinkers, such as Melchiorre Cesarotti (1730-1808), in his *Essay on the Philosophy of Language* (1785), were not opposed to the innovating currents, at least in moderation, while they recognized the Tuscan origin of modern Italian. Here again,

purists reacted violently, as did e.g. Gian Francesco Galeani Napione, in his anti-Gallic *On the Use and Merits of the Italian Language* (1791).

In belles-lettres, the three chief protagonists of reform were Carlo Goldoni,\* Giuseppe Parini,\* and Vittorio Alfieri.\* None of the three was an originator in literary technique or in intellectual content; Goldoni and Alfieri were, in fact, markedly conservative in dramatic construction, and the novelty of Parini's style consists rather in judicious choice of models than in technical innovation. What aroused the admiration of contemporary and later critics was the lofty moral tone of Parini's satire and Alfieri's tragedy, and the purity of common life and character as portrayed in Goldoni's comedy, as contrasted with the degeneration then current in society and letters. The relation of their work to the national regeneration then beginning has saved it from the oblivion into which have fallen most other belletristic writers of the late Settecento, with the possible exception of Carlo Gozzi (1720-1806), author of the humorous poem *The bizarre Marfisa* and a series of fairy-tale plays, including *L'Amore delle tre melarance* (*The Love of the Three Oranges*; 1761) and *Turandot*; and of G. B. Casti (1724-1803), author of a satire *The Talking Animals* (1802).

The period of the French Revolution (1789-1815) brought to Italy an increased, but soon disillusioned, hope of independence and unification. From the French invaders in 1796, and later from Napoleon Bonaparte (partly because of his Corsican origin), the Italians expected the establishment of a free, united Italy; but when Italy was kept in a disjointed condition and the several states were parcelled out to Napoleon's favorites, Italian admiration and praise for France and Napoleon turned to disgust and hatred. Foreign literatures became better known and more widely imitated: A. Bertola translated

Gessner's idylls, Cesarotti the poems of "Ossian," and Alessandro Verri (1741-1816) Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and *Othello*. Young's *Night Thoughts* were imitated by A. Verri in his prose *Roman Nights* (1792-1804), and Thomas Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard* by Ippolito Pindemonte (1753-1828), the translator of the *Odyssey*, in his unfinished poem *The Cemeteries* (1806). A generation of writers arose whose emotions had been aroused by patriotism and hope, and rendered unstable by revolution, war, and unsatisfied national aspirations. Typical of this disorganized period was the disorganized career of Vincenzo Monti (1754-1828), who followed in his literary work the changing fashions in politics, becoming in turn an Arcadian in his youth; anti-French in his poem *La Bassvilliana* (1793-7); pro-French and imperialistic in a number of occasional poems, including *Prometeo* (*Prometheus*; 1797), *La Mascheroniana* (1800), and *Il Bardo della Selva Nera* (*The Bard of the Black Forest*; 1806); and pro-Austrian in a number of adulatory poems to the Emperor after 1815. Mark-worthy also is the typical combination in Monti's work of classicism (possibly his best work is his translation of the *Iliad*, pub. 1810) and pre-Romantic (Germanic, pseudo-Celtic) elements. The poet Ugo Foscolo\* is also typical of the period, in a more admirable way, in his constant patriotism and unfortunate private life and exile, and also in his fusion of classical and foreign material.

Dialectal literature of this period had two poets of major stature, and many others. Giovanni Meli (1740-1815), writing in Sicilian, started with imitation of the Arcadian manner, but in his later work turned to satire in *Don Chisciotti* (*Don Quixote*) and *The Origin of the World*, and to realistic portrayal of folk life in his dithyramb *Sarudda*. Carlo Porta (1775-1821), of Milan, is one of Italy's greatest realistic poets, in such poems as his *Giovannin Bongee* (1818) and *The Naming*

of the *Chaplain* (1819), and other works of observation of daily life. In Venetian, Pietro Buratti (1772-1832) wrote amusing but morally lax poetry, typical of which is *L'Omo (Man)*, a description of the various ages of man.

The abolition of the old régime created conditions favorable to the development of Italian thought in history and allied sciences, and this period is characterized by the work of a number of serious and profound scholars. Carlo Botta (1766-1837) of Piedmont, a careful but somewhat rhetorical and moralistic historian, was the author of the *History of the American War of Independence* (1809); *Storia d'Italia dal 1789 al 1814* (1824); *Storia d'Italia continuata da quella del Guicciardini fino al 1789* (1832). Two Neapolitans, Pietro Colletta (1775-1831) and Vincenzo Cuoco (1770-1823), recounted periods of the history of Naples: Colletta in his intensely personal, even if inexact and stylistically poor *Storia del reame di Napoli*, covering the period from 1734 to 1825; and Cuoco in his *Saggio storico sulla rivoluzione di Napoli*, one of the major Italian works in the historical field. Cuoco was also the author of an historical novel, *Plato in Italy* (1804-6).

After the fall of Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna (1815) attempted to restore Europe to as exact an approximation as possible of its pre-1789 condition. Italy was re-divided into its component states, and subjected (except for the independent Kingdom of Piedmont) to the hegemony of the Austrian Empire. The following half-century was a period of renewed and desperate struggle against the ultra-reactionary, tyrannical Austrian rule, for the establishment of a free, united Italy, in the movement of national liberation known as *il Risorgimento* (the resurgence). As in other European countries, the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars brought to writers and intellectuals a feeling of frustration, and they turned to a world of fantasy and imagination

in the common European movement of Romanticism. Italian Romanticism shared with that of other countries the characteristics of escapism: from classical rules and literary types into free literary creation; from traditional subject-matter, especially ancient mythology, into the world of the Middle Ages or exotic climes; and from 18th c. intellectualism and skepticism into free emotional expression and renewed religious fervor. But Romanticism in Italy was not purely negative, nor productive of a split between writers and their public as it was in France, England, or Germany. Italian Romantic writers shared their frustration and their fantasy—in the attainment of national independence and unity—with their fellow-citizens, and men of letters desired to use their talents in the service of the national liberation. Hence Romanticism in Italy had a more positive side than elsewhere, and a closer connection with national life and politics. The Italian Romantics desired freedom of expression, portrayed the Middle Ages, returned to religion—but in order to find truth and apply it to problems of ordinary existence and current life, especially those of liberation and unification.

The first manifesto of the new school was given in 1816 by Giovanni Berchet (1783-1851), in his *Half-serious Letter of Chrysostom*, an exposition of Romantic principles of artistic liberty, and inspiration from national and folk sources, prefaced to his translation of Bürger's *Der wilde Jäger* and *Lenore*. Like most of the other Italian Romanticists, Berchet was active on the liberal side in political affairs and suffered exile for his activities; his best original work—his ballads and the poem *The Refugees of Parga* (1824)—was done during his exile. The Italian Romantic movement had its center in Milan, around a group including Berchet, Alessandro Manzoni,\* Federico Confalonieri (1785-1846), Giovanni Torti (1774-1852), and Silvio Pellico (1789-1854). The last-



mentioned was editor of the chief Romantic journal, *Il Conciliatore* (1818-19), and author of a rhetorical and sentimental, but immensely popular tragedy, *Francesca da Rimini* (1815), and of the world-famous *Le mie prigioni* (*My Prisons*; 1832), the narration of his sufferings, endured with Christian humility and forgiveness, under Austrian tyranny and imprisonment from 1820 to 1830. Other Milanese adherents of Romanticism were the dialectal poet Carlo Porta, and Tommaso Grossi (1791-1853), a poet in Milanese and Italian, and the author of sentimental tales in verse and of an epic, *I Lombardi alla Prima Crociata* (*The Lombards on the First Crusade*; 1821-26).

The field in which the Romanticists were most successful was undoubtedly the historical novel. Manzoni's *I Promessi Sposi* (*The Betrothed*; 1828) was the first and best of a series of Romantic novels that included *La Battaglia di Benevento* (*The Battle of Benevento*; 1828) of Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi (1804-73); Grossi's *Marco Visconti* (1831-4); the *Ettore Fieramosca* (1833) of Massimo d'Azeglio (1798-1866); Guerrazzi's *L'Assedio di Firenze* (*The Siege of Florence*; 1836); the *Margherita Pusterla* (1838) of Cesare Cantù (1804-95); and D'Azeglio's *Niccolò de' Lapi* (1841). Of these, some (*La Battaglia di Benevento*, *Marco Visconti*, *Margherita Pusterla*) evoked the heroic past of the Middle Ages; some (*Ettore Fieramosca*, *Niccolò de' Lapi*, *L'Assedio di Firenze*) the period of the Renaissance and the loss of Italian liberty during the foreign invasions; some (*I Promessi Sposi*) the time of national degradation under Spanish rule. The historical novel proved an especially effective device for exciting patriotic pride and resentment of foreign domination, by recalling past periods of national greatness or decline, at the same time evading the Austrian censorship by avoiding direct reference to the present.

In other fields, the ability of the Romantics

was not wholly equal to their ambitions. Romantic drama in general derived material from Italian history, and technique from foreign sources (Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller). The chief Romantic dramas were Manzoni's *Il Conte di Carmagnola* (*The Count of Carmagnola*; 1816) and *Adelchi* (1820), and the heavy but intensely patriotic dramas of G. B. Niccolini (1782-1861), best of which are *Antonio Foscari* (1827), *Giovanni da Procida* (1830), *Lodovico Sforza* (1833) and *Arnaldo da Brescia* (1843). The debate over Romantic infringement of pseudo-classical precepts (the unities, decorum) generated more heat than light, except in Manzoni's defense of his practice in his *Letter on the Unities of Time and Place in Tragedy* (1823). In the lyric, the only outstanding poet of the Romantic school was again Manzoni, especially in his *Inni Sacri* (*Sacred Hymns*; 1812-22). The other great poet of the period, Giacomo Leopardi,\* probably Italy's greatest purely lyric poet, was not a member of the Romantic school, in fact opposed it in theory, but his poetry is essentially romantic in its intensity and expression of personal emotion.

The *Questione della Lingua*, which had continued ever since the Cinquecento, received in this period its final settlement. In the 17th and 18th c., the use of standard Italian (as opposed to local dialect) had not spread beyond the point it had reached in the 16th c.: the upper classes and literature. Hence the problems confronting its further spread had remained unsolved, and the debates still centered around the subjects of archaism and "Tuscanism." The puristic and archaizing tradition was continued in the early 19th c. by such men as Antonio Cesari (1760-1828), Pietro Giordani (1774-1848), and Basilio Puoti (1782-1847). The chief debate of the early 19th c. was touched off by Monti's *Proposal for some corrections and additions to the Crusca Vocabulary* (1817-26) and by his son-in-law Giulio Perticari's

works in defense of Dante's *De vulgari Eloquentia* and against purism *On the Writers of the Trecento and Their Imitators* (1818) and *On Dante's Love for his Country* (1820). Polemic answers to Monti and Perticari were written by the Dalmatian lexicographer Niccolò Tommaseo (1802-74) and by the Modenese Giovanni Galvani. But the changed situation of the 19th c. brought new life to the standard language itself; even before actual political unity was established, the desire for national regeneration led to the spread of education and to wider use of standard Italian. The contemporary speech of upper-class Tuscans was the obvious model for current usage; the action of Manzoni in going to Florence (1827) to study Tuscan speech for the revision of *I Promessi Sposi* was symbolic of the general trend in literary Italian. The adoption of modern Tuscan as the recognized literary standard was termed, from its chief exponent, *la soluzione manzoniana* ("the Manzonian solution") of the *Questione della Lingua*, and was the solution generally adopted; even those who objected to it in theory (e.g. Leopardi, Carducci) followed its essentials in practice. After 1870, the increased interregional communication, the extension of elementary schooling, and the universal military training introduced by the central government continued the work of linguistic unification, and the *Questione della Lingua* became a thing of the past.

Towards the mid century, the crisis of the revolutionary movement in politics became more acute, and the problems of liberation and unification more pressing. After unsuccessful revolutionary outbreaks, especially in 1830 and 1848, the establishment of a united Italy was finally accomplished between 1859 and 1870, by the growth of the kingdom of Piedmont into the constitutional monarchy of Italy, under the astute leadership of Count Camillo Benso di Cavour (1810-61). Literature in this period abandoned, in general, the

exotic and iconoclastic aspects of Romanticism, and was devoted almost wholly to the outspoken service of the Risorgimento. The satirical poems of Giuseppe Giusti (1809-50) were of primarily political import, especially the *Dies Irae* (1836), *Lo Stivale* (*The Boot*; 1836), *La Terra Morta* (*The Land of the Dead*; 1841), *Sant' Ambrogio* (1846) and *Delenda Carthago* (*Carthage must be destroyed*; 1846). The very lack of precision in Giusti's humanitarian, democratic ideals made his poetry all the more effective in arousing patriotic sentiment. The other great satirist of the period, Giuseppe Gioacchino Belli (1791-1863), in his more than 2,000 sonnets in Roman dialect, far surpasses Giusti in satiric force, in the terrific impact of his portrayal of corruption in 19th c. Rome, but was less directly concerned with national affairs and of less influence on the contemporary public. Other nationalistic poets, in an idealistic vein, were Gabriele Rossetti (1783-1859), Pietro Giannone (1792-1872), Angelo Brofferio (1802-66), Alessandro Poerio (1802-48) Luigi Mercantini (1821-72), and Goffredo Mameli (1827-49), most of whom suffered imprisonment, exile, or death for the cause of liberty.

Of the theoretical writings of the revolutionary period, the most widely influential was the *Primato civile e morale degli Italiani* (*The Supremacy of the Italians in Civilization and Ethics*; 1843) of the Catholic philosopher Vincenzo Gioberti (1801-52), an exaltation of the Italians' glorious past and their alleged superiority to other nations, and a utopistic dream of a federated Italy under the leadership of the Pope. Efficacious in the re-creation of national pride and ambition, Gioberti's *Primato* set a dangerous precedent for the combination of inferiority complex, defensive self-glorification and unrealistic utopism that dominated Italian ideals in the 19th and 20th c. and whose ultimate degeneration took the shape of Fascism. Cesare Balbo

(1789-1853), in addition to his historical works—especially the *History of Italy under the Barbarians* (1830), *Vita di Dante* (1839), and *Sommario della Storia d'Italia* (1846)—wrote the almost equally influential strongly anti-Austrian *Le Speranze d'Italia* (*The Hopes of Italy*; 1844). More specifically concerned with contemporary events were the writings of such political figures as the republican Giuseppe Mazzini (1803-72) in his famous journal *La giovine Italia* (*Young Italy*) and elsewhere, and Massimo d'Azeglio in *The recent happenings in Romagna* (1846) and other essays on current events. Many of the political figures of the revolutionary period wrote memoirs, the most notable of which is d'Azeglio's *I Miei Ricordi* (*My Memories*). The best novel of the period is the *Confessioni d'un Ottuagenario* (1857-58) of Ippolito Nievo (1832-61), a somewhat long-winded but psychologically and socially penetrating historical novel of the late 18th and early 19th c. *OK* *116-2*

With the establishment of the united kingdom in the 1860's and 70's, the political aims of the Risorgimento were accomplished, and literature no longer had a direct political mission. With one of its strongest links to contemporary reality thus gone, the literature of the latter 19th c. lost the unity of aim that it had had in the revolutionary period, and developed in several different directions: continuation of Romanticism, return to classicism, and assimilation of currents from other European countries, particularly realism. The work of the "Scapigliatura milanese" or Milanese bohemians, a group of somewhat disorderly writers living in Milan between 1860 and 1880, was in the Romantic tradition, though not without overtones of realism and decadence derived from late French Romantics, especially Baudelaire. The group included the poet Emilio Praga (1839-75); the novelist Giuseppe Rovani (1828-74), author of the historical novel *I Cento Anni* (*The Hundred*

*Years*; 1859-60), a long-winded, anecdotic, cyclopedic "Cavalcade" of Italian life from 1748 to 1848; and the dramatist, opera librettist, and composer Arrigo Boito (1842-1918), best known for his operas *Mefistofele* (1868-75) and *Nerone* (1901). Other poets of primarily Romantic inspiration in this period were Alceardo Alceardi (1812-78), Giovanni Prati (1814-84), and Giacomo Zanella (1820-88), now remembered chiefly for his Longfellow-like poem *The Fossil Conch-Shell*.

But most men of letters of the post-1870 period reacted against the outworn formulas of Romanticism. The establishment of the constitutional monarchy did not bring with it, as many had hoped, an immediate solution for the social and economic problems confronting Italy, and disillusionment with the ideals of the preceding era soon set in. Many intellectuals sought new inspiration and ideals in the warlike greatness and pagan splendor of ancient Rome, regarded by them as the proper models for modern Italy. The leader of the neo-classicists was Giosuè Carducci,\* who sought to re-animate Roman themes and even Latin meters in his sonorous poetry of pagan inspiration. Among Carducci's friends and followers may be mentioned Giuseppe Chiarini (1833-1908), Giovanni Marradi (1852-1920), and Severino Ferrari (1856-1905). Even such an originally more personal and independent poet as Giovanni Pascoli\* was, in his later years, drawn to the imitation of Carducci's themes and style by the force of his personality and influence. Other poets of essentially conservative inspiration in this period were Domenico Gnoli (1838-1915) and Arturo Graf (1848-1913). *25-95-5*

Of the literary currents from foreign sources, especially France, the most important was realism. The initiator and theoretician of this movement (called in Italian *verismo*) was Luigi Capuana (1839-1915), but his novels, from *Giacinta* (1877) to *Il Marchese* (*The Marquis*) di Roccaverdina (1901) show

excessive pseudo-scientific objectivity and lack of life and artistic inspiration. Possibly the most outstanding purely realistic novelist was Alfredo Oriani (1852-1909), in his *Jealousy* (1894) and later novels. But the best work in this field came from the cross-fertilization of realism with the movement of regionalism, the effort to portray life in a given province or city—a particularly rich field of endeavor in a country so diverse in its various regions as Italy. Through this combination there arose a numerous and successful school of novelists, the chief of whom was Giovanni Verga\* of Sicily, and other notable members of which were Renato Fucini (1843-1922) of Tuscany; Matilde Serao (1856-1927), author of an impressive novel of Neapolitan life, *Il Paese di Cuicagna* (*The Land of Cockaigne*; 1891); and Grazia Deledda (1875-1936, whose most powerful novels deal with Sardinia, e.g. *Elias Portolu* (1903), *Cenere* (1904), and *La Madre* (*The Mother*; 1920). The leading novelist of the late 19th c., Antonio Fogazzaro,\* combined the characteristic traits of the period—regionalism, realism, interest in foreign techniques—with a deeper insight into character, a more human sympathy and sense of humor, and a more profound religious and philosophical inclination than most other contemporary authors possessed.

In the drama of the late 19th c., the Romantic tradition was continued by Pietro Cossa (1830-91), in his historical plays, as *Nerone* (1870), *Plauto e il suo secolo* (*Plautus and His Times*; 1874), *Ariosto e gli Estensi* (*Ariosto and the Este Family*; 1874), *Messalina* (1875), *I Napoletani nel 1799* (*The Neapolitans in 1799*; 1880). In this connection may be mentioned also *Romanticismo* (1902), a historical play dealing with the Risorgimento, by Girolamo Rovetta (1854-1910). But most of the dramatists of this period underwent the influence of French and Norwegian realistic drama, and of the social or "problem" play. Thus, Paolo Ferrari

(1822-89), who at first wrote folk comedies such as *La medicina di una ragazza ammalata* (*Medicine for a Sick Girl*; 1848), and then historical comedies of Goldonian type in *Goldoni and His Sixteen New Comedies* (1852) and *Parini and Satire* (1856) passed to the *pièce à thèse* in such plays as *Il Duello* (1872) and *Two Ladies* (1877). Likewise, Giuseppe Giacosa (1847-1906) began as a romantic dramatist in verse, with *Una partita a scacchi* (*A Game of Chess*; 1871) and *Il Trionfo d'Amore* (*The Triumph of Love*; 1875), passed to the historical drama in *Il conte rosso* (1880) and then to the Ibsenian social and psychological play in *Tristi amori* (*Sad Loves*; 1888), *I diritti dell'anima* (*The Rights of the Spirit*; 1894), *Come le foglie* (*As Fall The Leaves*; 1900), and *Il Più Forte* (*The Strongest*; 1905). Roberto Bracco (b. 1862) wrote both realistic plays like *Don Pietro Caruso* (1895) and psychological plays in the manner of Ibsen and Hauptmann, such as *Il Piccolo Santo* (*The Little Saint*; 1911).

The beginning of the 20th c. was dominated by the figure of Gabriele d'Annunzio,\* who summed up most of the trends of the late 19th c., continuing the pagan neo-classical tradition of Carducci, and adding to it the splendor of his *recherché* vocabulary and virtuoso mastery of poetic technique, his fin-de-siècle decadent taste, and his Nietzschean cult of animalistic sensuality, bestiality, and brutality. In his prose fiction, he combined these characteristics with effective realism and regionalistic portrayal of his native Abruzzi. D'Annunzio's work, the vital part of which extended from ca. 1885 to 1910, exerted an immense influence in Italy. Lesser writers imitated his manner and content—as usual, the worst aspects of each—and his anti-Christian, anti-humanitarian, anti-democratic and anti-intellectual outlook so impregnated the youth of his day as to make it the ideally receptive ground for the wholly d'Annunzian philosophy of Fascism.

Of the writers who in the main escaped d'Annunzian influence, some continued along paths of 19th c. tradition. Realistic observation, coupled in varying degrees with psychological analysis, characterizes a number of 20th c. novelists: Italo Svevo (pseudonym of Ettore Schmitz, 1861-1928), in his *Una vita* (*A Life*; 1893), *Senility* (1898) and *The Conscience of Zeno* (1923); Ugo Ojetti (b. 1871) in his *Mio figlio ferroviere* (*My Son the Railroader*; 1922) and *Cose viste* (*Things Seen*; 1923-31); Bruno Cicognani (b. 1879) in his *La Velia* (1923); Giuseppe Antonio Borgese (b. 1882) in his *Rubè* (1921) and *I vivi e i morti* (*The Living and the Dead*; 1923); and Federico Tozzi (1883-1920) in his *Tre croci* (*Three Crosses*; 1920) and *Il Podere* (*The Farm*; 1921). Alfredo Panzini (1863-1939), traditionalist and even classicist in outlook, shows more humor and sympathy than most realists in his essays and novels, among the best of which are *Io cerco moglie* (*I Seek a Wife*; 1920) and *Il padrone sono me* (*The Boss, That's Me*; 1922). Traditional drama continued in the sentimental plays of Dario Niccodemi (1877-1934), such as *Scampolo* (*The Remnant*; 1916) and *La maestrina* (*The Little Schoolmistress*; 1917); the historical drama in the somewhat d'Annunzian plays of Sem Benelli (b. 1877), e.g. *La cena delle beffe* (*The Supper of Jest*; 1909), *L'Amore dei tre re* (*The Love of the Three Kings*; 1910).

Other writers struck out along new paths. A noisy group of ultra-iconoclastic young authors proclaimed a violently anti-traditionalistic school of "futurism," beginning with the manifesto in 1909 of F. T. Marinetti (b. 1878), and continuing in the years before 1914, including such writers as Ardengo Soffici (b. 1879), Aldo Palazzeschi (b. 1885) and Giovanni Papini (b. 1881). The last, the most famous of the group, has passed through a Stravinsky- or Picasso-like series of literary incarnations, going from futurism to polemical

and self-centered negativism in his powerful but unpleasant autobiography *Un uomo finito* (*A Worn-Out Man*; 1912) and his critical essays, and then to a widely advertised but somewhat suspect "conversion" to Catholic Christianity, first announced in his *Storia di Cristo* (*Life of Christ*; 1920). Another school, following in the footsteps of Sergio Corazzini (1887-1907) and led by Guido Gozzano (1883-1916), known as *crepuscolari* ("twilight poets") or *intimisti* ("intimists"), treated ultra-familiar themes with quiet nostalgia and humor, in a vein of childishness and self-indulgence. Fantasy and paradox, which entered the theatre with the comedy *La maschera e il viso* (*The Mask and the Face*; 1916) of Luigi Chiarelli (b. 1886) and the "grotesque" tragedy *Marionette, che passione!* (*The Sufferings of Marionettes*; 1918) of R. M. Rosso di San Secondo (b. 1887), was broadened and deepened into philosophical reflection on the nature of personality, individuality, sanity and existence itself, in the novels and plays of Luigi Pirandello.\*

After the advent of Fascism in 1922, older writers in general continued along the lines of development their careers had already drawn them into (Panzini, Pirandello, Papini). Younger writers of the 1920's and 30's either became active supporters of the regime and produced valueless adulatory eulogies of Mussolini, Balbo, etc.; continued traditional types of literature, without producing any noteworthy new examples, except possibly the decadent novel *Gl' Indifferenti* (*The Indifferent Ones*; 1929) of Alberto Moravia (pseudonym of Alberto Pincherle, b. 1907); or went into exile. Covert and vague satire against Fascism is occasionally found among non-exiles, e.g. in the Roman dialect poems of Trilussa (Carlo Alberto Sallustri, b. 1873). Among the exiles, the best-known has been Ignazio Silone (pseudonym of Secondo Tranquilli, b. 1900), author of several novels depicting Italy under Fascism, e.g. *Fontamara*

(1933) and *Pane e vino* (*Bread and Wine*; 1937). It is not unlikely that Italy's tragic experience in World War II and its aftermath will produce a new resurgence of literature, fresh and vigorous, rich in spirit, freed from the Fascist taint.

When we consider the entire development of Italian literature, we are struck by two things: its late beginning (ca. 1225) and its alternation of great periods (14th, 16th, 19th c.) with periods of utter decline (15th, 17th-18th c.). A marked correlation is to be observed between periods of greatness in literature and those of economic prosperity coupled with strong outside influence: French in the 14th c., classical in the 16th, and cosmopolitan in the 19th. This consideration suggests that the late beginning and the alternation of greatness and decline in Italian literary and cultural history are due to Italy's unique position in relation to modern Western European civilization: a central area of an old culture (Roman classical), which became a relic area on the margin of a new cultural area to the northwest. Alternately brought in contact with the new northwestern culture in periods of prosperity and shut off in periods of decline, Italy received, whenever it came in contact with the outside, cultural borrowings that for the time being fertilized its own cultural life. Thus in the 13th and 14th c., Provençal and French cultural traits (courtly love; scholasticism; Mariolatry) inspired the work of the Sicilian poets, the *Dolce Stil Nuovo* and Petrarch. For a time (in the Renaissance) the ancient Roman culture itself was revived, and Italy became again, for a time, an active center of cultural diffusion, at least in certain aspects (humanistic studies, literature, art, music); even then, however, many of the cultural features that spread outward from Italy (e.g. chivalric romances; polyphonic music) were

traits that Italy had earlier borrowed from northwestern Europe and re-fashioned. With the strangulation of the impulse of the Renaissance by the Counter-Reformation and by economic ruin, Italy again sank to the level of a relic and marginal area (17th-18th c.), and awoke to new life only under the cosmopolitan influences of the "Enlightenment" in the 18th c. and of Romanticism and Realism in the 19th. The conclusion is inescapable that, although indigenous talent and genius have been and still are present in Italy, their activity, brilliant though it may on occasion be, has had to be stimulated by outside influences. In the future likewise, the vitality of Italian literature and culture will probably be in large measure dependent on outside stimulation.

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ROBERT A. HALL, JR.

## JAPANESE

I. *Early Period* (before 700 A.D.)

THE EARLIEST period in Japanese history, as with that of many other countries, is known to us only through cosmogonic and theogonic myths. However, from the various studies that throw light on antiquity, it is possible to make a few statements regarding the characteristics of the early Japanese people and their expression. They seem to have been simple, lighthearted, pleasure-loving, and rather sentimental. Surrounded by mountains and water of great beauty, and engaged in agriculture and fishing as their primary occupations, they were evidently lovers of nature then, as they are still. Out of these conditions developed the indigenous cult, later called Shintō, a simple worship of nature spirits. Primitive Shintō must not be confused with the modern state cult, which was given the same name. State Shintō, however, has much in common with primitive Shintō, making use of its myths as a basis for new nationalistic interpretations.

There was no written language in Japan prior to the introduction of Chinese characters, at the turn of the 5th c. A.D. There was, however, an unwritten literature, in the form of tales, songs, and liturgies transmitted orally from generation to generation. Official narrators were called *kataribe*; it was their duty to preserve the records and tales by memory.

It is difficult to analyze these oldest forms of Japanese literature with any accuracy. However, in the light of *Kojiki*, *Nihonshoki*, and *Engishiki* (discussed below), which were not committed to writing until the later periods, it is possible to make some generalizations. According to these, three general types constituted the literature of the time—tales, songs, and *norito* or Shintō liturgies. In general, these are in verses that are rather prosaic

and in prose that contains certain elements of poetry.

Two events of great importance formed the basis for the later development of Japanese literature. The first was the introduction of the art of writing, which came with Chinese civilization. The second was the propagation of Buddhism. The official date for the former is given as 405 A.D., when a Korean named Wangin (Wani in Japanese) was appointed teacher of Chinese to an imperial prince. The date for the latter is 552 A.D. This statement in no way implies that the strong continental cultural influences began abruptly in the 5th c.; they had in fact been apparent for an indeterminable length of time before.

II. *Nara Period* (700–794)

In strict chronological history, this period begins with the establishment of the capital at Nara in 710 A.D., and ends in 794, when it was moved to Heian-kyō, present Kyōto. However, in literature, 700 is usually considered as the beginning of this period, primarily because the poetical works of Kakinomoto no Hitomaro\*<sup>1</sup> began coming into full flower at about that time.

Up to then the Japanese capitals had been migratory, that is, with each change of ruler, the royal seat was moved. This tradition was probably due to the Shintō idea that everything involving death or the retirement of a person is "impure," and the new rule should have a new and clean beginning. However, the splendor of the Chinese capital and the advanced stage of Chinese culture attained in it by the native scholars and officials finally culminated in the establishment of a permanent capital at Nara. Nara, actually the first

\* Names of persons are written in orthodox Japanese style, i.e., surname first and given name last.

real city in Japan, was designed on the model of the Chinese capital of Hsian, and soon developed into the most splendid seat of government the Japanese nation had ever witnessed. Although life in the country saw few changes, the newly developing Japanese culture based on that of the continent reached its first flowering in this settled community. Buddhism was firmly established, and with the assistance of continental artists, architecture and sculpture underwent revolutionary developments. Although limited to a very small number, the aristocratic *literati* of this period were absorbed in the study of the Chinese language and classics.

When the Japanese were confronted with the problem of expressing their spoken language in a writing derived from Chinese characters, it became apparent that the difficulties were great. Various methods were tried, to express the phonetic and polysyllabic Japanese words by the use of the monosyllabic Chinese ideographs. This has resulted in one of the most complicated written languages ever devised. Sometimes the Chinese ideograph kept its meaning and was pronounced as the equivalent Japanese word. Sometimes it was used merely as a phonetic syllable and combined with others to set down a long Japanese word. Eventually a simplified syllabary, called *kana*, was worked out, by which Japanese words could be phonetically written. These phonetic symbols were not entirely invented by the Japanese scholars as many are led to believe, for many of them had already been applied by the Chinese in the form of an abbreviated cursive style of writing. The actual use of the *kana* system in literature did not come about until the succeeding Heian period. This simplified system, however, has never entirely superseded the use of the Chinese characters, and the written language today remains a mixture of the two—a language very rich and flexible, but cumbersome in form and therefore extremely difficult.

The chief literary expression of the Nara period was in poetry. Poetry had grown from its primitive, crude, and naïve stage into a polished form. It became powerful, refined in language, delicate in observation, skilful in technique. Native literary critics today hold that Japanese poetry has never surpassed that produced in the Nara period.

A brief analysis of the verse most prevalent at that time, the *tanka*, is necessary for a general understanding of its nature as well as the outstanding characteristics of Japanese poetry in general. The most natural rhythm in the structure of Japanese poetry is the combination of five and seven syllable phrases. The *tanka* (also known as *waka*) consists of five phrases of five, seven, five, seven, seven syllables respectively, or a total of thirty-one syllables; it contains from twelve to twenty words. Often, there are one or two more than the standard thirty-one syllables; some contemporary poets belonging to a new school of *tanka* compose without much regard for the number of syllables. No meter or rhyme is necessary in this form of poetry, because not only do almost all Japanese words end in vowels, but every syllable in them ends in a vowel. This makes them musical without recourse to the usual technicalities of prosody. Since it is very short in structure, the important things in *tanka* composition are brevity, ellipsis, pregnancy, and suggestion. It is imperative that only the important points be written. In essence, the poet's work is to present the scene; the reader must use his imagination and create what is not written. As W. G. Aston points out, the poems are more or less confined to lyrics; they are primarily an expression of emotion. The popular subjects are man and nature and such human emotion as love; also elegies and a philosophy of life.

Although it is extremely difficult to retain the atmosphere of the original verse and at the same time to translate into natural English



prosody, two examples have been selected here from the early anthologies:

Yamabe no Akahito (8th c.):

Haru no nu ni  
Sumire tsumini to  
Koshi ware zo  
Nu wo natsukashimi  
Hitoya nerikeru

To the meadow in spring  
I came to pick violets,  
And there through the night I slept—  
The field so enchanted me.

Ono no Komachi (9th c.):

Utatane ni  
Koishiki hito wo  
Miteshi yori  
Yume chō mono wa  
Tanomi someniki

Since in daylight slumber  
I saw for a moment my beloved,  
With a stronger hope  
I have turned to dreaming.

*Manyōshū*<sup>o</sup> (*Collection of a Myriad Leaves*) is the oldest of Japanese anthologies of poetry and the greatest, both in quantity and quality. It was completed probably during the late 8th c., although it is impossible now to ascertain how and when it was compiled in the form in which it has been handed down to us. Some 450 poets, including the two outstanding, Kakinomoto no Hitomaro and Yamabe no Akahito, contributed a total of some 4,500 verses to this anthology. The poems contained in this collection were written in Chinese characters, since *kana* was

still in course of development. They belong chiefly to the latter half of the 7th and the first half of the 8th c. The T'ang period (618-906) was the golden age of poetry in China, and the compilation of this work was undoubtedly stimulated by Chinese anthologies, which were widely read by the Japanese of this period. *Manyō* versification consists in combining several or more lines that are usually made up of five or seven syllables. Although 90% of this anthology are in the *tanka* form, there are many *chōka* or longer poems. It is an interesting fact that this longer type suddenly became unpopular after this period, and never found its place again in Japanese poetry. To a person interested in the study of Japanese poetry it is to be recommended strongly that he begin with a critical analysis of this anthology.

Although the Nara period is marked by its lack of prose literature, a few prose works deserve mention. *Kojiki*<sup>o</sup> (*Records of Ancient Matters*), the first written Japanese chronicle, was completed in 712 A.D. The credit for its recording is given to Ō no Yasumaro. It contains early traditions of the Japanese, beginning with the myths that form the basis of Shintō. It ends with the early 7th c. when they become more or less historical in nature. *Nihonshoki*<sup>o</sup> (*Chronicles of Japan*), completed in 720 A.D. and reputed to be compiled by many writers including Prince Toneri and Yasumaro, is a series of official histories written in Chinese. It is a collection of myths, legends, poetry, and history down to the end of the 7th c. The earlier work is more biographical, more subjective, more selective; the latter, more chronological, more objective, more historical. Although the literary value of both is negligible, they are valuable texts for the study of mythology, legends, language, and the estimation of other aspects of early Japanese life. *Izumo Fūdoki* (*Records of the Geography of Izumo*), compiled by Miyake no Omi Kanatari and Izumo no Omi Hiro-

<sup>o</sup> Circle is placed after each work available either in complete or in fragmentary English translation.

shima in 733, was probably the first book of a geographical nature attempted in Japan.

### III. Heian Period (794-1192)

The Heian period covers the era beginning with the establishment of the capital at Heiankyō in 794, and lasting until the founding of the Kamakura military government in 1192. During these centuries, this city was the center of all cultural life, but with the court and court nobles its only participants. Outside, the people continued the simple, primitive way of life they had always followed.

This was the classical age of Japanese literature. In the early decades of Heian, the court was still busy modeling itself as much as possible on Chinese lines. Later, however, the language attained its full development in native *belles lettres*. The Chinese language was not well assimilated and was presumably too heavy and dignified for the light sentimentalities of the era. However, it was studied by the Japanese in the form of "Japanized Chinese," which helped Japanese literature to attain a higher level than would have been possible without it. In 894, a scholar-statesman named Sugawara no Michizane advised the court not to send any more embassies to China; his petition was granted. Although some contact continued, the country turned away from direct intercourse with China, and began a period of remolding the imported continental culture on Japanese lines.

Starting with the Nara period, actual political power had been taken from the hands of the Emperor and vested in the powerful Fujiwara family. Its head was the regent and actual ruler; its branch members held virtually all the positions of influence in the court. Practically all the literature of this period is the product of this family. Outstanding among them was a group of court ladies, one of whom, Murasaki Shikibu, produced the story that is considered by many the outstanding work in all Japanese literature, the *Tale of*

*Genji*. The status of women in this and the earlier periods was quite different from what it became later. Their freedom was not limited to the expression of their emotions and fancies in literary works, but they often took part, directly or indirectly, in the government.

Reflected in the Heian literature are the characteristics of the people that produced it, a high degree of refinement, a love of luxury and pleasure, and a certain laxity of morals. Their approach to life, although extremely artificial in many respects, was almost entirely aesthetic, and the appreciation of art in all its forms was, perhaps, their paramount occupation. Students of Japanese culture should bear this in mind, as this aesthetic strain seems to run deeply throughout the successive periods in the nation's history. Handwriting was elevated to a cult, and the production of verse to express any and every situation or emotion was universal.

*Genji Monogatari*° (*Tale of Genji*), by Murasaki Shikibu,\* is believed to have been written sometime in the early 11th c. It is a novel depicting the love-life of Prince Genji, his son, and his grandson. This prose epic, written in *kana*, is the first realistic novel in Japanese literature; it gives a most graphic and exact picture of Heian court life. It is not only a great literary work in Japanese, but has been pronounced one of the outstanding novels of the world, although comparison of works in different languages is hazardous, for reasons too obvious to mention. At the same time, it is singularly interesting to note that this tale antedates the modern psychological school of novel writing by many centuries. Some native literary critics comment unfavorably on its involved and long sentence structure, but that in no way impairs the charm of Murasaki's flowing style. Remarkable is her refined and delicate language, even in her descriptions of the moral laxities of the time. In fact, she handles her material with such supremely artistic and emotional skill that the

result creates a warm and sympathetic reaction. This novel takes in elements of almost all types of literature that preceded it, and has profoundly influenced numerous great literary works that have followed. It may not be an overstatement to say that *Genji* meets all the criteria of the highest form of literature. Readers will find in Arthur Waley's English translation an excellent interpretation of Lady Murasaki's work.

There were numerous other narratives written during this period, including *Taketori Monogatari*° (*Tale of a Bamboo Hearer*), thought to be the first novel in Japanese, and *Ise Monogatari* (*Tales of Ise*), but they do not go beyond the scope of fairy tales.

Sei Shōnagon,\* contemporary of Lady Murasaki, was another great woman writer of this era. Her *Makura no Sōshi*° (*Pillow Sketches*), a work written in the second half of the 10th c., is a collection of rambling notes and essays on the life at court. This was the first attempt at a type of desultory essay known as *zuihitsu*. The title alludes to the authoress' habit of keeping a manuscript by her pillow to jot down her thoughts when going to bed or getting up.

*Kokinshū*° (*Poems Ancient and Modern*), an anthology published about 922, was edited by four of the greatest of the Heian poets, Ki no Tsurayuki, Ki no Tomonari, Ochikochi no Mitsune, and Mibu no Tadamine. Tsurayuki, the chief compiler, is credited with the preface to *Kokinshū*, which later literature alludes to as a model of the critical essay on poetry. The work is considered the best anthology of poetry since *Manyōshū*. It consists of 1,000 poems, entirely in the *tanka* form, with the exception of five longer poems. These were selected from verses composed during the 200 years beginning with the Nara period. Compared to those in *Manyōshū*, the poems in this collection are somewhat artificial, although perfected in form. Tsurayuki was also the author of *Tosa Nikki*° (*Tosa Diary*,

935 A.D.). He wrote this on a journey back to Kyōto after having completed his term as prefectural administrator of Tosa, on the island of Shikoku. It describes in simple, humorous language the life of a traveler of this period.

*Engishiki* (*Institutes of Engi*, 905-27) is a compilation in Chinese of rules and ceremonies practiced by the imperial court. The first portion of this work is devoted to the gods and goddesses and to Shintō shrines. The remainder covers a discussion of the functions of various governmental departments. This work is considered the best repository of early Japanese ideas and practices, more even than *Kojiki* or *Nihonshoki* of the Nara period.

#### IV. Kamakura Period (1192-1332)

There came a time when the governing power, which had been so long held by the court nobles of Kyōto, was seized by one of the military families that had served them in carrying out the actual military duties of their position. A second clan, jealous of the position achieved by their rivals, attacked the first and civil war followed. The second clan, the Minamotos, emerged victorious. Its leader, Minamoto no Yoritomo, having seen his opponents fail largely through the enervating influences of the courtly life they had adopted, established his headquarters at Kamakura, some 300 miles east of court at Kyōto. The period of 150 years that followed is known by that name.

It was a period that saw the rise of a middle class in the form of warriors or retainers of the provincial barons, the establishment of a feudal system in which these great landed barons rose to prominence, and a gradual decline in the wealth of the imperial court and court nobles. This period marks the beginning of the military age in Japan, the most abrupt transition in the nation's history until modern times. Although usurping actual

power, the leader of the victorious clan was still nominally serving the imperial family as generalissimo or *shōgun*. In Kyōto the court continued its way of life with but little outward change. Actually it became poorer and poorer, as lucrative lands slipped from the grasp of its members. And as life waned for them, a strong element of wistfulness for departed days of glory, and of pensive sentimentality, crept into their literary expressions, which continued to be, as in the past, chiefly poetic.

But in the new military city of Kamakura there was great activity. An upsurge of interest in religion, such as often accompanies a period of great change, flowered in the appearance of new sects and vigorous religious leaders, in the building of temples, and in writing on religious subjects. The most popular sect of the day was *Zen*, a form of Buddhism derived from China, which holds that enlightenment is attained only by individual meditation and direct intuitive perception. This simple *Zen* philosophy became very successful with the simple military class of this era. As time went on, this school of thought infiltrated deeply into the minds and habits of the nation, until it became a major cultural influence in literature, painting, architecture, and virtually all other forms of expression.

If the development of thought in Japan could be arbitrarily divided into two distinct historical stages, the demarcation probably should be made as pre-Kamakura and post-Kamakura. Before this period, life for the cultured group had been free, romantic, and but little philosophical. Afterwards it was introspective, realistic, and regimented. The Kamakura period witnessed the emergence of all the forms of thought peculiar to a military society. The ethical code fostered by feudal leaders was based on an expedient adaptation of the Confucian doctrine which stressed the loyalty of a vassal toward his lord.

Kamakura literature may be divided into

the following major fields: narratives, poems in *tanka* form, desultory essays or *zuihitsu*, Buddhist essays and hymns, and works in Chinese. Some of these writings are of interest chiefly because this period witnessed the final stage in the building up of a truly national written language, blending the native and foreign elements. This technical unification was accompanied by an enthusiastic revival of interest in things ancient and in the study of native classics. Copies of, and commentaries on, the anthologies, narratives, and other works of the previous periods were undertaken. These have provided invaluable material for the scholars of later years. This interest in classics was closely linked with enthusiasm for the study of Shintō, which during this period became for the first time a conscious system, and with it came also a prevalence of the conception of a national state. In general, Kamakura literature is imitative, didactic, lacking in individuality and originality. It is permeated by an atmosphere of sadness and pathos, reflecting the manifold unfortunate events of the age, together with the Buddhist belief that this was the time of *mappō* or decadence, which had long been prophesied.

*Heike Monogatari*° (*Tale of Heike*) and *Genpei Seisuiiki* (*Rise and Fall of Genji and Heike*) should probably be taken as a single study, although traditionally they have been treated as two separate works. Certain literary critics today, after studying old commentaries, conjecture that the latter may possibly be a variant of the former. It is safe, at any rate, to assume that one of them is an adaptation of the other, if they are not versions of the same work. Although definite authorship and date of the war narrative *Tale of Heike* are unknown, it is considered an outstanding work of its kind in the history of Japanese literature. Furthermore, since it was intended for chanting to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument called *biwa*, it holds more interest as a work that has influenced later

dramatic novels that it holds in itself. The atmosphere of Buddhist pessimism runs through this as through other works of this era. Other important historical tales of the time are Hamuro Tokinaga's *Heiji Monogatari* (*Tale of Heiji*) and *Hogen Monogatari*° (*Tale of Hogen*), and *Mizu Kagami* (*Water Mirror*) by an unidentified writer.

The making of *tanka* poems continued at the Kyōto court, although there was not much originality left. *Hyakunin Isshu*° (*Single Songs of a Hundred Poets*) is the representative anthology. It was compiled about 1235 by Fujiwara no Sadaie, a courtly scholar-poet who is also credited with making critical studies of Heian literature.

The pessimism of this age is best pictured in *Hōjōki*° (*Notes From a Ten Foot Square Hut*) written by a priest named Kamo no Chōmei\* (1154?-1216) in 1212. While it is a record of the author's personal experiences and feelings in the desultory essay form, it is also a representation of the inner spirit of Buddhism during this period of war and strife. Other works by Kamo include *Mumyōshō*° (*Anonymous Selections*) and *Shiki Monogatari* (*Tale of Four Seasons*).

*Tannishō*° (*A Book of Grief over the Faiths at Variance with the Master's*) is conjectured to be the work of Yuien-bō, a devoted disciple of Shinran Shōnin (1173-1262), founder of the Shin sect of Buddhism. The book is divided into two parts: the direct record of Shinran's confession of his faith; and criticisms, by Yuien, of the prevailing heretical thought of the day toward the master's teachings. *Risshō Ankoku Ron* (*On National Safety*), written in 1260 by Nichiren Shōnin, founder of the Nichiren sect of Buddhism, is a dissertation on national safety, criticizing the Hōjō government's policy and emphasizing the importance of religious faith.

Works in Chinese during the Kamakura period were mediocre, being mostly those of Buddhist priests; particularly those belonging

to the Zen sect. Among them the outstanding writers were Eisai and Dōgen.

#### V. *Nanbokuchō* and *Muromachi* Periods (ca. 1332-ca. 1603)

About 1332, a turn in the military and political affairs of Japan resulted in a situation that has been but little mentioned in modern times, namely, a division of the imperial family, with the establishment of two rival imperial courts, each with its emperor and its adherents - among the nobles, the landed barons, and the military men. This period of the dual courts, lasting for sixty years, from 1332 to 1392, is known as the *Nanbokuchō* (*Southern and Northern Courts*).

When at last a single emperor was once more established in Kyōto and that city again became the headquarters for a new controlling *shōgun*, a new period was inaugurated. It is sometimes known from the name of its shogunal dynasty, the Ashikaga, or more often as the Muromachi period from the street on which the headquarters of this government stood. Historically, this period lasted until 1573, the greater part of it being a time of clan and civil warfare in which each landed baron that felt himself strong enough attacked his neighbor. Meanwhile, the economic condition of the peasants became worse than during the Kamakura period, resulting in numerous agrarian revolts. George B. Samson states that insecurity in every phase of life led at this time to the strong development of the family system, and this in turn resulted in respect for masculinity, the institution of primogeniture, and the subordination of women. This low status of women is in great contrast to the position of women in earlier periods of Japanese history.

While the latter part of the period is usually called Japan's dark age, the earlier part saw in Kyōto a brief time when, during an uneasy truce of about half a century, the arts, especially painting, reached the highest peak they

have attained in Japan. This period of truce between 1392 to 1465 is also the time when the lyrical drama called *Nō* was perfected. Otherwise, the disunited, chaotic condition of this era is conspicuously reflected in its literature and thought, marking the lowest ebb in the history of Japanese literature. With the exception of Chinese studies, works cannot be arranged by definite trends. It should be remembered, however, that while this was a dark age for literary development, the feudal struggles tended to decentralize cultural activities hitherto concentrated largely in Kyōto and its neighborhood. Actually it was a dormant period of underground growth that prepared the way for the following era of peace and culture.

Perhaps the most significant work of the time, at least in its effect upon later thought and action, grew out of the struggle between the rival courts, as the partisans of one or the other attempted to establish the legitimacy of its favored ruler. This resulted in a delving into the old records and myths and the writing of commentaries on them which have conditioned thinking up to the present day.

*Jinnō Shōtōki* (*History of the True Succession of the Divine Monarchs*) by Kitabatake Chikafusa\* (1293-1354) was written sometime during the period of the dual courts in the reign of Go-Murakami (1328-68). It supports the legitimacy of the southern line of imperial succession in the Nanbokuchō conflict. At the same time, it is also a work that expresses the author's idea on political and moral attitudes toward Japanese history, beginning with the mythical age and carrying down to 1288. This work is extremely nationalistic in nature, Kitabatake trying his best to eliminate foreign influences upon the development of Japanese culture. Its literary merits are not as significant as its influence upon later historians and writers.

*Taiheiki* (*Record of Peace*, ca. 1369) is conjectured to be the work of a priest named

Kojima. In spite of the title, it deals with the disturbed history of the feudal governments from the establishment of the Kamakura military rule in 1192, to 1368. This narrative history is significant from the standpoint of literature in that the language used is comparatively simple in grammatical structure and enriched by the author's beautiful combination of Chinese and Japanese. It is safe to say that it marks the beginning of the modern literary style of writing, which the Sinologists of the 17th and 18th c. perfected.

*Tsurezure-gusa*° (*Notes of Tedium*) by Priest Kenkō, written during the Nanbokuchō period, is a collection of rambling notes on some 240 items dealing with diverse phases of human life. This *zuihitsu* is one of the most popular of all Japanese classics, probably owing to the ease with which it can be read and also to the fact that this type of literature possesses the greatest individuality through the author's direct expression of thought.

*Nō* drama. The lyrical drama *Nō* developed into a definite form during the 14th c. The earliest form of Japanese drama was closely associated with religion, consisting mainly of ceremonial dances, as the *kagura*, *-bugaku*, *dengaku*, and *sarugaku*. *Nō* seems to have evolved from the synthesis of these, supplemented by monologues and dialogues. At first it was a purely religious performance in connection with Shintō shrine festivals, but finally it developed into a secular form of its own. Its perfection was achieved by Kan'ami (1333-84) and his son Seami (1363-1443). The four original schools were *Kanze*, *Konpaku*, *Kongō*, and *Hōshō*, to which the *Kita* school was added during the later Edo period.

There are widely divergent opinions on the literary value of the *Nō* dramas. Some critics hold that no other form of literature shows so little originality as the texts of the *Nō*. Others call it the highest form of Japanese literature and maintain that it is the noblest expression of poetry.

*Yōkyoku* is a term used to designate the songs or words of the *Nō*. They are a mixture of prose and verse. Most of the prose parts are written in the courtly colloquial Japanese of the Kamakura period, and the extensive use of honorifics and auxiliaries makes the style extremely verbose. The portions in verse vary from orthodox poetry to phrases that are not far from prose. Often, famous *tanka* from old anthologies are inserted. This inclusion of familiar excerpts from earlier anthologies is an important and essential part of the *Nō*, since it, like the *tanka* itself, attempts to suggest as much as possible to the audience without explicit explanation. The artificiality of the many literary devices used in the *Nō* texts may be defended in much the same way that rhyme and alliteration are justified in Occidental prosody. One of the distinguishing features in the presentation of these dramas is the use of masks, of which there are approximately 15 different types. These masks are supposed to represent symbolically the complex expression of various emotions. Although there is not much originality in the composition of the dramas themselves, the form is an original contribution to the literary types of the world. A few of the outstanding plays are *Takasago*° (*Pine Tree of Takasago*), *Oimatsu*° (*Ancient Pine*), *Naniwa*° (*City of Naniwa*), *Dōjōji*° (*Dōjōji Temple*), and *Tosen*° (*Homeward Bound*).

*Kyōgen* is a kind of farce that is performed on the *Nō* stage between the heavier and more serious *Nō* plays. It is a short and light piece composed in the colloquial dialect of the time, and has no choral accompaniment. This and the *Nō* became substantially the progenitor of all forms of the later drama, although today the *Nō* itself has become more or less a curious survival from an old era.

## VI. Edo Period (1603-1868)

The decades of internal strife were brought to a close about the end of the 16th c. by a

succession of three great generals who succeeded in uniting the nation once more under a single controlling government. The last of these three, Tokugawa Ieyasu, was able to establish his family as a new dynasty of ruling *shōgun* which controlled the country for two and a half centuries. The capital of this new military government was, like Kamakura, established away from Kyōto. In that old city the emperor and his court continued to live, honored in outward forms but actually without power. But unlike Kamakura the new capital, called Edo (which later became Tōkyō), developed into not only a political center but a cultural one as well, and gave its name to the literature of the period.

In the middle of the 16th c., Japan came into contact with the West for the first time. This was probably in 1542, when castaway Portuguese sailors landed there. Shortly thereafter, Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries appeared, and later Portuguese, Dutch, and English traders. Although Christianity spread rapidly, it was later suppressed; the total effect of Western influences on literature at this time was very slight. In the middle of the 17th c. foreigners were almost entirely excluded from Japan, so that the country became detached from the rest of the world for two centuries.

Tokugawa feudalism, which lasted to the middle of the 19th c., exercised a rigid control and kept the country at peace. It tried to hold the nation in a static condition, socially and economically, but of course was unsuccessful. The period was marked by the rise of a new merchant class, which finally controlled the money market of the nation at the expense of the warriors and the farmers. On the other hand prosperity, and the higher standard of living enjoyed by the people owing to the peaceful age, helped to enhance the culture of the Edo period. As the seat of an unprecedentedly efficient central authority, Edo became also the literary center of the nation.

The literature of the period turned plebeian as to both the readers and the subjects dealt with by the writers. The advancement of education was advocated by the *shōgun*; priests were hired to copy Chinese and Japanese books; and schools were established and endowed by many interested persons. This was the first time in Japanese history that literary accomplishments became part of a warrior's qualifications. Furthermore, the printing of books for popular consumption became extensive, although printing itself is said to have been introduced as early as the Nara period (700-794). Edo literature, in contrast to that of the previous periods, became richer in the variety of its subjects, more complicated in thought, and more unfolding in its reflection of life. The Japanese language again went through a substantial modification. Chinese words were adopted in great quantity to facilitate the needs of the many-sided cultural interests, making the native language much richer. Progress was seen in the simplification of the grammatical system and the perfection of the literary style of writing.

During this period a new interest in Chinese scholarship influenced almost every phase of life. Probably the forerunner of the scholars who led this movement was Fujiwara Seika (1561-1619) who took up Chinese classics seriously and propagated neo-Confucianism, especially that of the Chu Hsi school. His work set the standards for Edo literary and political ideals and morality. The conflict between the artificial, indoctrinated morality of the people and their natural instincts, brought about by the rigid ethical concepts and thrust upon them by the feudal system ever since the Kamakura period, seems to have become more pronounced during this era. This was due to the unlimited emphasis on, and application of, Chinese philosophical notions, particularly those of loyalty and filial piety. As a result of this conflict, the era produced numerous tragic dramas, sensual

novels, and other types of literature, all of which were a curious mixture of authentic history, imagination, humor, and sentimentalism.

Arai Hakuseki\* (1657-1725) was probably the greatest scholar of Chinese studies of this period. He is remembered for his interesting and voluminous work *Hankampū*, 1701, a history of the feudal barons of the 17th c., in which a fearless attempt is made to expose the actual condition of that period. Hayashi Razan (1583-1657), one of the pupils of Seika, wrote numerous moral and scholastic treatises and miscellaneous Chinese poems. Nakae Tōju (1608-48) began his career as a Chu Hsi scholar but later was converted to the school of Wang Yang-ming. Kaibara Ekken (1630-1714), known as a teacher of Confucianism, is credited with having produced approximately 100 volumes. Kinoshita Jun'an (1622-98), one of the greatest Chu Hsi scholars of this period, probably had the largest number of able students. Others outstanding in Chinese scholarship were Kumazawa Banzan, Yamaga Sokō, Itō Jinsai, and Ogyū Sorai.

As a reaction against the Chinese movement, a school dedicated to an enthusiastic study of native Japanese literature arose. The most important work of this school was the *Dai Nihon Shi* (*History of Japan*) started under the sponsorship of Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1700). It was begun in 1657, and essentially completed during his lifetime. The final completion of all the addenda, however, came as late as the Meiji period (1868-1912). This work is a history of Japan from the time of the mythical first ruler, Jinmu, to the abdication of Emperor Go-Komatsu in 1413. It is written in the Chinese language in simple yet elegant style and is considered a standard work of its kind. Motoori Norinaga\* (1730-1801), historian, poet, and linguist, is one of the outstanding figures in the recent history of Japan. His most important work, *Kojiki*



*Den* (*Commentary on Kojiki*), in 49 volumes, was completed in 1798. It is not only extremely nationalistic in its theme but illustrates a pronounced reaction against the Chinese school of ethics and philosophy. Other scholars of this school included Kamo no Mabuchi (1697-1769), Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843), a Shintō theologian, and Rai Sanyō (1780-1832), author of *Nihon Gaishi* (*History of Japan*).

This turn toward native studies cannot be dismissed as merely a strong reaction against Chinese scholarship with a consequent revival of interest in the native classics. It was a deeper cultural movement that nurtured the spirit of nationalism and led, in no small way, to the epoch-making Meiji Restoration of 1868.

*Kabuki* drama. Historically many types of drama have appeared, but the *Kabuki*, which took its form in the Keichō era (1596-1614), should be considered the popular drama of Japan. *Kabuki*, which is enacted only by men, owes its beginning to a woman. According to the records, it may be traced back to Okuni, a ritual dancer at a Shintō shrine, who is supposed to have given her first performances in Kyōto in 1596. The historical development of this drama may be divided into three periods: first, the *Onna Kabuki* (Women's Stage), second, the *Wakashū Kabuki* (Youths' Stage), and third, the *Yarō Kabuki* (Men's Stage).

The Women's Stage, as the name suggests, was made up entirely of women performers. In its embryonic state, the performances were simple and semi-religious in nature. The music that accompanied them was produced in the beginning only by a flute and a hand-drum, to which a larger drum was later added. The theatre itself seems to have been very simple and small. The injection of music by the *samisen* (a three-stringed instrument), which had been introduced from China previously, made the accompaniment more jovial

and romantic. The Women's Stage came to its end in 1629, when the shogunate decreed its abolition on the ground that the wanton life of actresses was incompatible with public morality. This brought about two inevitable and significant consequences: first, keeping female players almost entirely off the stage, second, the creation of *onnagata* (actors of female rôles).

When the Women's Stage disappeared, the Youths' Stage, which had been in existence from about 1617, rose from its subsidiary position and became the popular drama of the people. This stage was made up entirely of handsome youths, wearing forelocks or *maegami*. Like its predecessor, this school came to an end by a shōgun order, in 1652, when its members were accused of immoral relationships with women patrons. Thus *Kabuki* came to its third step, the Men's Stage, with an all-male cast—the form in which this drama is still staged. From about the mid 17th c., improvements were made in its accompanying musical scores, or *jōruri*, in the construction of theatres, in the plays, and in the acting. During the Genroku period (1688-1704) prodigious developments took place. However, the decline of feudalism brought the decline of the stage, as well; thus from the early part of the 19th c. to the collapse of the Tokugawa regime, it was virtually in a state of stagnation.

From the standpoint of pure literature, the *Kabuki* drama does not hold a very high position. (This is true at least of the dramas written before the radical modifications attempted by Tsubouchi Shōyō and others during the Meiji era, to which reference will be made later). This lack of literary quality is due primarily to the fact that *Kabuki* is fundamentally more interested in its showmanship than in its themes, with consequently a greater stress on the movements of the actors than on the content of the plays. A high regard has developed for the conventional forms of the

rôles, or *kata*. Realism is sacrificed for theatrical symbolism, expressed by greatly exaggerated movements. Many dramas of this period were written for the purpose of enhancing the individuality of some gifted actor, instead of selecting the actors to meet the demands of the rôles. The rhythmical and musical nature of the lines is also used essentially to assist in the perfection of presentation.

The greatest dramatist of this period was Chikamatsu Monzaemon\* (1653-1724). His voluminous plays may be classified in two types, historical and domestic. They are, with a few exceptions, in five acts. He believed that the aim of dramatic art should be pure entertainment, a quality which is definitely shown in his works. Among his many productions may be mentioned *Kokusenya Kassen*° (*Battles of Kokusenya*), *Sonezaki Shinjû* (*The Double Suicide of Sonezaki*), *Meido no Hikyaku*° (*The Courier for Hades*), and *Hakata Kojôrô Namimakura*° (*The Adventures of a Hakata Damsel*). Other prominent dramatists were Takeda Izumo (1691-1756), one of the co-authors of *Kanadehon Chûshingura*° (*The Faithful*); Namiki Shôzô (1630-93); and Kawatake Mokuami (1816-93) of whom mention is made also in the survey of the contemporary drama.

*Haiku* poetry. During this period a form of poetry which was even shorter than the classical 31 syllable *tanka* verse became popular. It is known as *haiku* or *hokku*, and technically, is a *tanka* without the last 14 syllables (two lines), thus becoming a verse of 17 syllables. It had developed as an independent form of poetry during the previous period. Its 17 syllables are arranged into three phrases of five, seven, and five syllables each. Required of this type of poetry are first, that it must always suggest one of the seasons, and second, that it must be purely an objective description with the subjective sentiment left for the reader to realize or feel. In other characteristics it is similar to the *tanka*. In these

poems is found a deft impressionism, which depicts the external beauties and moods of nature. The *haiku* and the *tanka* are undoubtedly a unique contribution to the poetical types of world literature. In these verses the Japanese probably show their highest purely literary qualities. The popularization of *haiku* by Matsuo Bashô\* (1644-94) and his pupils made it a formidable rival to the *tanka* in his time and thereafter. Following is one of the most popular of Bashô's verses:

Furuike ya	An old pond
Kawazu tobikomu	A frog leaped—
Mizu no oto	Sound of the water.

A few of the other poets of this school are Enomoto Kikaku (1661-1707), Kaga no Chiyo (1703-75), Taniguchi Buson (1716-83), and Kobayashi Issa (1763-1828).

In the 18th c. a *haiku* poet, Karai Senryû (1718-90), originated a type of poetry which, like the *haiku*, was composed of 17 syllables, and which subsequently came to be known as *senryû*, after its creator. This differs from *haiku* not in form but in content, since the seasons are not an important factor, and the subject matter concerns itself mainly with man and life from an intimate and critical point of view. It most resembles the epigram and often is a humorous satire on society. This school, too, plays an important role in the Japanese poetry of today.

In this period novelists began for the first time to speak for the populace. Ibara Saikaku\* (1642-93) founded a new school of fiction based on contemporary life and manners. His works were gross and dealt with extreme sensual pleasures, defying the general standards of morality. Hence, until recently many of his works were denounced and censored, but today, a great interest is evident in Saikaku's realism, and his works have found a definite place in Japanese literature. Some of his books include: *Fudokoro no Suzuri*

(*Bosom Inkslab*), *Kōshoku Ichidai Otoko* (*Life of a Voluptuous Man*), *Kōshoku Ichidai Onna*° (*Life of a Voluptuous Woman*), and *Kōshoku Gonin Onna* (*Five Stories of Voluptuous Women*).

A humorous story of travels along the Tōkaidō highway by two comic characters, Yajirōbe and Kitahachi, is *Hizakurige*° (*Tōkaidō Circuit*), 1802–1822, by Jippensha Ikku (1766–1831). It is considered one of the most entertaining books in Japanese literature. Shikitei Sanba (1775–1822) wrote realistic sketches of plebeian life, such as *Ukiyo Buro* (*The World's Bath House*), *Ukiyo Doko* (*The World's Barber Shop*), *Shijūhachi Kuse*° (*Forty-eight Habits*), and *Kokon Hyakumin Baka* (*One Hundred Fools Ancient and Modern*). Another prolific writer, Kyokutei Bakin (1767–1848), concentrated upon writing romantic novels similar in nature to classical Chinese fiction. Representative of his works are: *Yumibari Zuki* (*New Moon*), 1805; *Seiyū Ki* (*Journey to the West*), 1806; *Satomi Hakkenden* (*Story of Eight Dogs*), 1841; and *Suiko Den*, a translation of the Chinese *Shui Hu Ch'uan*.

#### VII. Contemporary Period (1868–1941)

Contemporary Japanese literature may be arbitrarily divided into two general periods, first, the Meiji (1868–1912), and second, ending with Pearl Harbor, the Taishō-Shōwa (1912–41). This follows the traditional era names used in computing the Japanese historical calendar.

##### Meiji Period (1868–1912)

The Tokugawa shogunate fell in 1867, generally as the result of its own outworn condition but specifically from influences growing out of the reopening of the nation. A political reorganization was inevitable. In 1868 the emperor was restored to more or less temporal power, and the capital was moved from Kyōto to Edo, the latter being renamed Tōkyō. A

gigantic transformation of politics, industry, education, and every other phase of life followed. The thought of the youthful leaders of the country was concerned with practical science, Western ideals of freedom and equality, and Christian doctrines of humanity and love.

Literature was not at first fundamentally affected by the incoming Western influences. The popular humor of Edo persisted for some time after the breakdown of the Tokugawa feudal system, and the general trend of the literary works was but an imitation of the previous era. A good example was the 15 volume work of Kanazawa Robun (1829–94), entitled *Seiyō Hizakurige* (*Tramps Abroad*), which was but an imitation of Jippensha Ikku's *Hizakurige*.

The early 80's saw the rise of a great interest in the study of foreign languages and literature. Translations of foreign books and articles appeared one after another. This was particularly true of political science, where the need for knowledge of western ideologies and systems was most felt in the building of the new government. Among the most seriously studied were the works of Rousseau, Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Mill. Not satisfied with merely getting social and political information from the West via such literature, the native writers soon began writing their own political novels for popular consumption. *Keikoku Bidan*, 1883, by Yano Fumio (1850–1931), was one of the many works of this type. Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834–1901) was an aggressive and sincere interpreter of western culture and civilization. Through his own actual experiences in the West and also through translations from foreign languages, he has left many valuable books on Europe and America.

Beginning about 1885, Japan witnessed a strong reaction against indiscriminate adoption of Western civilization. The people attempted a serious reappraisal of their cultural heritage.

Curiously enough, however, it was Ernest Fenollosa, a Westerner, who was really responsible for the revaluation of the significance of the native fine arts. In the field of literature, interest in the native writers of the previous periods was revived; and especially Chikamatsu and Saikaku were zealously restudied. In fact, this period was the dawn of a new age that prepared the way for the emergence of the various literary movements that followed.

*Shōsetsu Shinzui (Essence of the Novel)*, an essay by Tsubouchi Shōyō\* (1859-1935), published in 1886, was an epoch-making work in the history of Meiji literature. It deals with the essence of novel writing and the actual technique of expression. Up to this time literature had been regarded as a means of pragmatic moral teaching, and any work that did not conform to this ideal was condemned. This work of literary criticism established literature as an art in itself. Tsubouchi's differentiation between art and morality is very important, since this is the first attempt to minimize, if not entirely to dismiss, the value of morality as a part of the theme of the story. About 1890 he stopped writing novels and concentrated upon the production of dramas. Among his notable plays may be mentioned *Kiri Hitoha*° (*A Leaf of Paulownia*), 1896; *Hototogisu Kojō Rakugetsu*° (*Darkness of the Dawn*), 1898; and *Maki no Kata (Lady Maki)*, 1897. His career as a playwright was many-sided, but his chief contributions lay in the reform of the stage. He criticized the traditional *Kabuki* drama as being fantastic, and tried to create a new school of historical drama based on logical, coherent plot, and emphasis on the characters depicted. In many of his works the influence of his Shakespearean studies is evident.

Tsubouchi was not the only one who advocated realism in literature. Futabatei Shimei (1864-1908), Yamada Bimyo (1868-1910), and Ozaki Kōyō (1867-1903) were a few of

the outstanding realists of this period who expressed strong apathy toward Western influence as felt in translated novels. Perhaps the greatest contribution of both Futabatei and Yamada to the development of Japanese literature during the Meiji period was their use of the conversational tongue as the standard of writing. *Tajō Takon (The Brokenhearted Widower)*, 1896, and *Konjiki Yasha*° (*The Golden Demon*), 1897-1903, are two very popular novels of romantic love written by Ozaki.

Probably the greatest woman writer in the Meiji period was Higuchi Ichiyō (1872-96), who died at an early age. *Takekurabe (Comparing Height)*, 1895, is one of her most interesting novels. Mention should be made also of Tokutomi Roka (1868-1927), whose style of writing and thought placed him apart from the other writers. His position in literature is probably more important as an autobiographer than as a novelist. His best autobiographical work is *Shizen to Jinsei*° (*Nature and Man*), 1900; his most popular novel is *Hototogisu*° (*Namiko*), 1898.

As reactions against the realistic movement, both idealism and romanticism flourished during this period. Kōda Rohan (b. 1867), the author of *Gojū no Tō*°, 1892, was the only important exponent of the former. Among the romanticists, Mori Ogai (1862-1922) Kitamura Tōkoku (1868-94), and Izumi Kyōka (b. 1873) should be mentioned.

The last stage in Meiji literature, lasting approximately from 1906 to 1912, witnessed naturalism developed to its highest point, and the emergence of a strong reaction against it. Several factors were involved in the rise of such a movement in literature. First was the realization by the people, after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5, that they must revolutionize their traditional social structure and mode of living. Second was the influence of European naturalism. The literature of Tol-

stoy, Ibsen, Zola, Maupassant, and other naturalists was introduced and enthusiastically studied. Demands for such literature increased; criticism of the preceding realistic novels became strong. Third was the influence of individualism, largely through the works of Nietzsche. This ideology was a challenge to traditional moral standards and institutions. Naturalism in Japan more or less followed the path taken in Europe, but it dealt mainly with the analysis of man rather than the mechanism of society. Advocates of naturalism detested the 'art for art's sake' ideal of the romanticists; they turned to the darker side of life and tried, without reserve, to depict actuality. To them love between man and woman was merely an expression of the sex instinct. Their works were filled with incidents of human sex life, boldly and frankly exposed.

In the development of the naturalistic movement, the contribution of such literary critics as Shimamura Hōgetsu (1871-1919) and Hasegawa Tenkei (b. 1876) was exceedingly great. It appears that their literary criticism preceded the actual writing of novels by the members of this school. A few of the naturalists were Kosugi Tengai (b. 1865), Kunikida Doppo (1871-1908), Shimazaki Tōson\* (b. 1872), and Tayama Katai (1871-1930).

The study of Shimazaki's works is, Kunitomo Tadao observes, the study of contemporary Japanese literature itself. Shimazaki is one of the few writers who have made major contributions to the literature of the Meiji, Taishō, and Shōwa eras. He is also noted for the introduction of the western type of poetry, called *shintaiishi*. As a naturalist, he wrote outstanding novels, such as *Hakai* (*Apostasy*), 1906; *Haru* (*Spring*), 1908; and *Ie* (*Two Families*), 1911. *Hakai* expressed a revolt against the class system of Japan, and *Haru* had a great influence upon young people. From 1929 to 1935 he devoted himself to the

writing of his great two-volume novel, *Yoake Mae* (*Before the Dawn*), 1935. This novel covers about 1,500 pages, and is considered the outstanding work of its type in current Japanese literature. In it, the author's personality and art have reached the last stage of maturity. With the period of the Meiji Restoration as its historical background, this novel describes a rural intellectual, Hanzō, and the life of other common people, in plain and simple descriptive style. It is the biography of contemporary Japanese history, of contemporary Japanese society, itself.

At the very close of the Meiji era, however, naturalism gave way to a series of reactionary movements. These were the Leisure School, the neo-romantic school, and the neo-idealistic school. Naturalism had fallen somewhat into nihilism and despair, and all of these new movements, which rose in succession, attempted to search for a new significance in life.

Natsume Sōseki\* (1867-1916) was the first to raise a strong protest against naturalism. He led a school known as *Yoyū Ha* or *Teikai Ha* (*Leisure School*) which stressed the fact that life is bright and happy if people know how to enjoy leisure. He revived the *haiku* sentiments and other traditional esthetic elements in novel writing. His fundamental literary philosophy was based on his morality, humor, and delicate and refined tastes. This was most directly and eloquently expressed in his *Wagahai wa Neko de aru*° (*I am a Cat*), 1905, and *Botchan*° (*Master Darling*), 1906. These are probably two of the most widely read of modern Japanese works. They are good examples of Natsume's power of analyzing human emotions and psychology. Their terse and energetic style of writing has made them standard texts in many schools. *Kusamakura*° (*Unhuman Tour*), 1906; *Gubijinsō*° (*Red Poppy*), 1907; *Sanshirō*, 1908, and *Mon* (*Gate*), 1910, are some of his other important contributions. Among the promi-

ment writers and thinkers of today are many who have been greatly influenced by him.

### *Taishō-Shōwa Period (1912-1941)*

During and after the first World War, religious literature suddenly became popular. Kagawa Toyohiko (b. 1888), an unusually energetic Christian minister, has devoted his whole life to the teaching of human love through literature that deals especially with social justice. *Shisen wo Koete*° (*Beyond the Deathline*), 1920, and *Taiyō wo Iru Mono*° (*A Shooter at the Sun*), 1921, are two of his popular novels. Kurata Momozō (b. 1891) is one of the outstanding playwrights in this field. His *Shukke to Sono Deshi*° (*Priest and His Disciples*), 1917, is perhaps the best of his works.

The neo-romantic school, led by Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (b. 1886) and Nagai Kafū (b. 1879), made vigorous attacks on naturalism. It attempted to make life richer and more colorful by seeking sensual and other forms of decadent beauty. Its aim was to harmonize art and real life. Tanizaki's *Chijin no Ai* (*Maniacal Love*), 1924, best reveals the nature of his literary philosophy. Other writers of this school include Yoshii Isamu (b. 1886), Nagata Mikiyoko (b. 1890), and Tamura Toshiko (b. 1884).

A greater protest against naturalism came from the neo-idealists, such as Mushakōji Saneatsu, Arishima Takeo, and Satomi Ton. It is significant that these writers came from aristocratic and wealthy families. In general, a strong element of humanism is found in the works of the authors belonging to this school. Some of the more important works of Mushakōji Saneatsu (b. 1885), are *Kōfuku-mono* (*Happy One*), 1918; *Yūjō* (*Friendship*), 1920; and *Yaso* (*Jesus*), 1926. He has also written numerous plays. He is a great lover of the artistic spirit of the West, and his characters are selected from all over the world. Arishima Takeo (1878-1923) was a

prolific writer, but his career was comparatively short.

This period is also characterized by the rise of the neo-realist school. The writers of this school are also known as later naturalists, and their works have a tendency to emphasize naturalistic realism. They attempt to see life as a composite whole; hence harmony and compromise are the essence of their philosophy. Leading this group have been Kikuchi Kan, Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, Kume Masao, and also two former neo-idealists, Satomi Ton and Shiga Naoya.

Kikuchi Kan\* (b. 1888) has probably been the most interesting and popular literary figure since the Taishō era. He is a practical man of sound reasoning and common sense, and at the same time a great moralist. His philosophy holds that popularity with the masses should be the guide to all literary activities, and he has succeeded, at least in popularity, with his own works. The earlier part of his career was spent in the writing of one-act plays, the more important being *Kiseki*° (*Miracle*), *Chichi Kaeru*° (*Father Returns*), and *Tōjūrō no Koi*° (*Tōjūrō's Love*). After 1920, he began writing serial novels for newspapers and magazines. It was he who built the foundation for the present popular style of novel, which appeals to every type and class of people in the country. Since 1923, he has been issuing his own monthly literary magazine, *Bungei Shunjū*, which has developed into one of the best magazines of its type in Japan. A few of his best known novels are *Shinju Fujin* (*Madam Pearl*), 1920; *San Katei* (*Three Families*), 1934; and *Shōhai*° (*Victory or Defeat*), 1933.

Akutagawa Ryūnosuke (1892-1927) has probably written the best short stories of the contemporary period. His *Rashōmon*°, 1915, and *Hana*° (*The Nose*), 1916, are excellent examples of his skill in this type of writing.

The latter part of the Taishō era marked the rise of proletarian literature. Almost all

of the proletarian writers are interested in a direct and plain exposition of their ideologies, with the definite purpose of propagandizing. Hence their style is less perfected and their plots are distorted. Because of the nature of their writings, members of this school have been involved in constant trouble with the authorities. For those interested in the study of present day Japanese thought, apart from literature, a careful survey of works by this school will prove rewarding. *Kanikōsen*° (*Crab-Cannery Ship*), 1929, by Kobayashi Takiji (1903-1933); *Tessō no Hana* (*The Flower Behind Prison Bars*), 1927, and *Tokai Sōkyokusen* (*The City's Threads of Destiny*), 1929, by Hayashi Fusao (b. 1906); and *Dōshi Ai* (*Comrade Love*), 1930, by Kishi Sanji (b. 1899), give some idea of the nature of the subjects dealt with. A few other important leaders of this school are Takeda Rintarō (b. 1904), Tokunaga Naoshi (b. 1899), Hayama Yoshiki (b. 1894), and Maedako Kōichirō (b. 1888).

In the closing years of the Taishō era another school of literary thought appeared, of ultra-impressionistic tendency, known as *Shinkankaku-Ha*, led by Yokomitsu Riichi (b. 1898) and a few others. Characteristic of its writing is a unique technique used to express feelings. Its theory is to give immediate sense impression in response to phenomena, hence a strong disregard for orthodox rules of novel writing. *Kakai* (*Machine*), 1930, is one of Yokomitsu's typical works.

Throughout the contemporary period the traditional *tanka* and *haiku* have been very popular in poetry. These two forms have been composed not only by the professional poets but by innumerable people in all walks of life. *Shintaishi*, the western type of poetry; *senryū*; the folk songs, and children's poems, known as *dōyō*, also have had a prominent place.

A few of the outstanding *tanka* poets since the beginning of the Meiji era are the Em-

peror Meiji (1852-1912), Sasaki Nobutsuna (b. 1872), Yosano Hiroshi (1873-1935), Yosano Akiko (b. 1878), Wakayama Bokushi (1885-1928), Ishikawa Takuboku (1886-1914), Kitahara Hakushū (b. 1886), and Kujō Takeko (1887-1928). Some of the more important *haiku* poets are Masaoka Shiki (1866-1902), Natsume Sōseki (1867-1916), Takahama Kyoshi (b. 1874), Ogiwara Seisensui (b. 1884), Murakami Kijō (b. 1870), Ono Bushi (b. 1888), and Shimada Seihō (b. 1882). As representative poets of the *shintaishi* school the following may be mentioned: Kunikida Doppo (1871-1908), Masaoka Shiki (1866-1902), Shimazaki Tōson (b. 1872), Doi Bansui (b. 1871), Miki Rofū (b. 1889), Kitahara Hakushū (b. 1886), Saijō Yaso (b. 1892), and Noguchi Yonejirō (b. 1875). The name of Iwaya Sazanami (b. 1870) should be remembered in the field of children's literature.

Among the more prominent playwrights who have contributed to the development of contemporary Japanese drama are Kawatake Mokuami (1816-1893), Fukuchi Ōchi (1841-1906), Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859-1935), Okamoto Kidō (b. 1873), Yamamoto Yūzō (b. 1887), and Kurata Momozō (b. 1891).

Besides the *Nō*, there are three types of stage drama in Japan. The *Shinpa*, which appeared for the first time during the middle of the Meiji era, depicts the social life of the people. The *Shingeki* is the modern play movement, started in the last days of the Meiji period by a group of intelligentsia stimulated by the similar movement in the West. In 1924, Osanai Kaoru (1881-1928), playwright, put this movement on firmer ground by establishing the Tsukiji Little Theater in Tōkyō as the center of its activities. *Kabuki*, to which reference has already been made, has recently undergone such modifications that many of its phases differ greatly from the *Kabuki* of the Edo period. On the other hand, it is still heavily colored with the ro-

mantic tint of the Edo drama, which is contrary to modes of living today. Furthermore, the invasion of the new dramas based on realism is a serious threat to the future of this stage. Prediction is difficult and unreliable, but it is unlikely that any national drama can be established which totally ignores the dramatic technique of *Kabuki*.

In the field of fiction, various forms of popular literature are in demand by ordinary people. They are known as *Taishū Bungaku* and *Tsūzoku Bungaku*, and they consist of detective plots, humor, domestic situations, and life during the feudal period, comparable to the "Westerns" in America. At first, these novels were not regarded too highly. However, their position in literature was tremendously improved when some of the prominent writers, including Kikuchi Kan, began producing them with a higher standard of expression and technique. There has been a great increase in the number of readers, not only because of the development of these two types of popular literature, but also as a result of the increase in translations, mainly of French, German, English, and American works. American best sellers have been translated immediately after they were placed on the market in the United States.

After the outbreak of war with China in 1937, production of war literature assumed a major rôle. Hino Ashihei's *Tsuchi to Heitai*° (*Mud and Soldiers*), 1938, and *Mugi to Heitai*° (*Wheat and Soldiers*), 1938, have commanded extraordinary popularity. It is to be assumed, although materials are not available for such a survey, that war literature must constitute a large share of the works since 1941.

Possibly as a result of the strong pressure of nationalism and reaction since the early 1930's, the latest literary development was the emergence of an unorthodox type of novel writing. This is known as *Shinkyō Shōsetsu*, the novel of personal feelings and thoughts.

It has practically no theme or plot, only the ordinary events of a man's everyday life or his philosophy are described. Basically it is the expression in novel form of the Japanese sensitiveness typified in the *haiku* form of poetry.

Thus, when a survey is made of the development of contemporary Japanese literature since the Meiji Restoration of 1868, it is evident that many Western elements are mixed with ingredients of traditional literature. The latter in themselves had been strongly influenced by India and China, as outlined earlier in this survey. Hence, while contemporary Japanese literature is colorful in background, it lacks outstandingly gifted writers, and appears to be in a state of relative stagnation.

(Works to which the writer has referred frequently in the preparation of the material for this survey are marked †.)

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YUKUO UYEHARA.

JARILDEKALD—See Australian Aborigine. JIVARO—See South American Indian.

## JUDEO-SPANISH

THE term Judeo-Spanish, as here used, refers to the idiom spoken, belonging to, by the Sephardic Jews of the Levant and the Balkans; in Turkey and Asia Minor; in Greece and the "Greek" Islands; in Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia; diminishingly, for different reasons, in Syria, Iran, Egypt, and Palestine; in Morocco, Algeria, Tunis. It cannot properly apply to the language spoken by the Jews of the Iberian Peninsula before their expulsion. The literature that is here presented comprises neither that portion of Spanish literature contributed by the Jews of Spain before 1492; nor the post-expulsion literary output, in Spanish or Portuguese, by the refugees or their descendants, in Holland, Italy, or elsewhere in the western world. For nowhere in these regions is Spanish now their vernacular; not even in the case of those Jews that follow the Sephardic or Portuguese ritual in their synagogues—not in Amsterdam, nor in London; not in New York.

Judeo-Spanish was the home idiom (before the Nazi exterminations) of some million Jews, the descendants, with some admixtures, of those expelled by Ferdinand and Isabella.

This Judeo-Spanish has immigrant existence in the United States, notably in New York, and has exile status wherever the Levantine and Balkan Sephardic Jews found refuge. It has a very modest literature, save for its important liturgical output; and for its rich store of folk literature, borne into exile and preserved, still Spanish in form, content, and spirit, as naturally and faithfully, almost, as their religion.

There have been Judeo-Spanish newspapers in Constantinople and Smyrna, in Bucharest and Sofia, in Cairo and Jerusalem. New York had its daily *Vara*, and for a while a satirical weekly. But judged by literary standards, the productions are not inspiring. They were haphazard, parochial, local sheets (as *El Telégrafo* of Constantinople), with the familiar penny-dreadful feuilleton. They are modest replicas of the good old family organ, such as the extremely popular *Guerto de (h)istorias* edited by Baruh Mitrani (Constantinople, ? 1892-8). Popular volumes were mainly translations of light European fiction (e.g., Xavier de Montépin's *La Portadera de pan*; trans. Victor Levi, 6 v., Constantinople, 1895) or popular-

ized versions of a classic (e.g., *Pol i Virjini, romanso*, Constantinople, 1901). The serious output, meant for permanent perusal, consists of religious, ethical, and exegetical works, in the special dialect called Ladino.

Otherwise, the body of Judeo-Spanish literature is all traditional and all oral. These descendants of Jews driven out of Spain in 1492 have in fact retained the most indigenous elements of their persecutors' lore, some of which the Spaniards themselves have long forgotten. Judeo-Spanish has not only preserved the 15th c. sound values but has, in their subsequent development, followed phonetic rules that are inherent in the Romance languages (e.g., the difference in accent between *judío*, Jew, and *judía*, Jewess). Also, in its surprisingly large vocabulary, there are Spanish words that have retained a meaning lost in Spanish (e.g., *conducho* in the sense of something to eat, as in the *Poema del Cid*); and others retained in the songs although their meaning has quite gone (e.g., *misa*, the sacrifice of the mass, was explained to the present writer by a group of women on the Island of Chios as meaning a *paseo*, a pleasant walk).

The name "Judeo-Spanish" has been generally adopted by students of language. "Sephardic Spanish" is also used; in Spanish texts, *sefardí*. These Spanish-speaking Jews themselves have really no name for the language. They accept the over-all word *Judesmo*, Jewishness. By the Yiddish-speaking Jews about them, it is often called *Spaniolish*. The word *Ladino*, sometimes used of this speech by the outside world, is by those that speak it limited to the distinct sub-variant of their idiom, archaic in form and mystic in implication, that is the language of their *Bible* translations and their ethical and liturgical texts.

The ethical treatise based on the life and virtues of the "affamado" *Yosef ha-Zaddik* (Smyrna, 1881) adds, to that title: "dito libro está ordenado en ladino." Many of the works

in Ladino are translations from the Hebrew. Outstanding original works include: *Ẓirhe Ẓibur*, a treatise on religious laws and decisions (Constantinople, 1733); *Shulḥan ḥameleh*, by Abraham ben Isaac Asa (Constantinople, 1749); *Shibbe ha-tana'im*, by Abulafia (Salonica, 1865). Especially influential upon the culture of the masses of Levantine and Balkan Sephardim have been the Ladino versions of Bahya ibn Pakuda's *Hobot ha-levavot* (printed in square letters in Venice, 1713; re-edited, in the rabbinical alphabet, in Constantinople, ca. 1890); the *Pirke abot* (Livorno, 1856; Salonica, 1887; Vienna, 1897); the volumes of the *Meam loez*, popular commentaries on the *Old Testament*, printed throughout the 18th and 19th c.

All the passages of the *Old Testament* in Ladino, and the *Bible* verses found now and again in Judesmo, stem from the one version, a word for word translation from the Hebrew, which exists in several extant pre-expulsion manuscripts, in the various Amsterdam editions of the 17th and 18th c., and in the score or so of reprints of the Judeo-Spanish *Bibles* to the time of World War I. The earliest extant Levantine example of this *Bible* was printed in Constantinople in 1547. Facing the word for word Hebrew *Pentateuch* is a translation into neo-Greek, also in Hebrew characters. Of the translations in Roman characters, most famous is the elaborate edition, in two forms, printed in Ferrara in 1553. The one issue is dedicated to the Jewess Doña Gracia Nasi, by two persons of Jewish name; in the other, two men with Spanish names pay homage to the Duke of Este. And the translation differs, in the verse of Isaiah that is supposed to predict the virgin birth of Christ. Modern Judeo-Spanish is printed and written in the Hebrew rabbinical alphabet, not in the same type of letter as Yiddish.

Judeo-Spanish literature, oral and traditional, has a great treasure of proverbs, many of them in old Spanish *refraneros*, or as quota-

tions in some ante-expulsion Spanish text. Among these are: *El güerco para todo topa achaque*: The devil finds a pretext for anything (Sofia). *Huerco*, by the way, is obsolete in Spain. *Bien te qu(i)ero, mal te fiero*; I love you well, I beat you badly (Salonica; Bucharest; Constantinople). *Mu(n)chos son los amigos, pocos los escozidos*; many are the friends, but few the chosen (Constantinople). *O de pan o de conducho, cale inchir el bucho*; with bread or with vegetable(?) one's crop must be filled.

More astonishing is the remembrance of the songs of olden Spain. The women in Salonica, weaving or cooking, may chant the epic of the unhappy but brazen Juan Lorenzo d'Acuña, whose unfaithful wife married Ferdinand I of Portugal (1383) and who flaunted two golden horns in his cap:

Juan Lorenzo, Juan Lorenzo,  
¿Qu(i)en te (h)izo mu(n)cho mal?  
Who did you great harm?

More popular is *The Rape of Helen*, heard in Salonica, Sofia, Bucharest, Smyrna, and other places, in slightly different versions but all in the same rhythmic measure:

Estava la reina Izela  
En su bastidor lavrando—  
Y en su bastidor lavrando;  
Aguzica de oro en mano  
Pendón de amor lavrando.  
Y pendón de amor lavrando.  
Por a(h)í pasó Parize,  
El su lindo 'namorado . . .  
"Para este puerpo, Parize,  
¿Qué ofisio aveš tomado?"  
"Mercader so, mi señora,  
Mercader y escrivano.  
Tres naves tengo en el porto,  
Cargadas de oro y de brocado . . .

(Queen Izela, on her embroidery frame at work, a golden needlet in her hand, At work on a love pennon; Her-ward came Paris, her handsome lover. "For such a

body, Paris, what occupation have you taken?" "Merchant am I, my lady; merchant and writer. Three ships have I in the harbor, laden with gold and with brocade . . .)

The most popular of these Judeo-Spanish *cantigas*, heard throughout the Levant, and also encountered by the present writer (in Spanish) among the Negro sugar-cane cutters of Cuba, is the tale of the father who falls in love with his own daughter. More than two hundred of these epic *cantigas* are household songs among these Hispanic Jews.

To these have been added songs of their own composition, of various literary quality: riddles; engagement, marriage, and childbirth songs; funeral complaints (*endechas*); religious festival songs: for Purim, for the Feast of the *Torah*; songs with Biblical content: the fall of Adam, the sacrifice of Abraham, the triumph of Joseph, the mission of Moses. In one of the prose stories, in a semi-liturgical text, an angel is guided to Moses' crib in the Nile by a star. Most of these numerous prose stories are transmitted orally. These *conseñas* are greatly relished. They are, however, for the great part, the common stock of all Levantine folk groups, with only occasional adaptation to Jewish life and doings. Thus, the Turkish priest, or *hoja*, butt and hero interchangeably of many Turkish tales, sad or salty, becomes *Joha* in the Judeo-Spanish versions.

At times, even these orally transmitted tales are reminiscent of the actual past. Here is the story of the discovery of America as it was told the present writer by the wife of the Rabbi of Chios (the King and Queen are not Ferdinand and Isabella, but the generalized monarchs of all such tales):

One day was the King with the Queen seated at the window, by the shore of the sea. A little kerchief fluttered in the breeze. Said the Queen: "Curious! Here there

must be land!" (It was the woman's natural understanding that a breeze must come from terra firma.)

The King, when he heard this, said "Allow! We shall see whether there is land."

He filled two ships with victuals, and sent them to find a city. They traveled much time—five months, and found nothing. They turned back. They said to the King that there was nothing; their bread had given out, they were dying of hunger. He filled a much greater ship with bread, and sent them that they look for the city. They traveled much time; they found America. And they saw some men like the savages. They took some few, and brought them to where the King was. And he saw that they were so many savages.

He put them to school, and taught them

to read and write, and made them civilized. After a time he sent them to America, and afterwards—all the Americans became civilized.

To what extent the culture of these Jews, and they themselves, have survived the 1940-45 holocaust, remains to be determined.

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WILLIAM MILWITZKY.

JUGOSLAV—See Yugoslav.

JUTLAND—See Danish.

KAGGABA—See South American Indian.

KAMBA—See African.

KAMILAROI—See Australian Aborigine.

KANARESE—See Indian.

KARTHLI—See Georgian.

KASHMIR—See Indian.

KASKA—See North American Native.

KHASI—See Indian.

KHATTI—See Hittite.

KHMER.—See Thai.

KIPCHAK—See Turkish.

KOREAN—See Chinese.

KRU—See African.

KUKATJA—See Australian Aborigine.

KURDISTAN—See Aramaic.

KUTCHIN—See North American Native.

KWAKIUTL—See North American Native.

LADIN—See Swiss.

LADINO—See Judeo-Spanish.

LAMBA—See African.

LANGUEDOC—See Provençal.

## LATIN

### Classical (Roman)

THE PRIMITIVE inhabitants of the peninsula of Italy were driven out by Indo-European immigrants from the north. These invaders are the earliest representatives of that racial

stock of whom there is any record. Later, a race known as the Etruscans came from Asia Minor. They settled in the coast towns in the Umbrian country directly north of the site of Rome, spreading to embrace the Tiber

valley, including the entire fertile plain of Campania. Because of their previous contacts with various advanced cultural centers in the East, the Etruscans had a profound influence upon the history of Italy. (For further consideration of their literature, see Etruscan.)

That group of Indo-European settlers known as the Latins occupied much of the territory in which the Etruscans later became overlords. These Latins later played the major historical role, rather than the Sabines or those of Samnite stock who held a large part of central and southern Italy, or the Umbrians who inhabited both Tuscany and Umbria. Contacts with the Greek colonists caused the Latin peoples to realize the usefulness of adopting the Greek alphabet in vogue at Cumae in Campania, in preference to the Etruscan alphabet to which the Oscans and Umbrians were partial. It was a Dorian Greek alphabet, of 21 letters, A B C D E F Z H I K L M N O P Q R S T V X. In place of Z in this list the letter G was substituted in the early 3d c. B.C. Two centuries later Z came into use once more, and the Greek letter Y was borrowed for use in the transliteration of Greek words.

The name of the city that was eventually to weld these ethnic groups into a political unit is of Etruscan origin. The word "Roma" has been linked with the ancient name of the Tiber, Rūmo. This in turn has been connected with a root form of the word meaning "to flow." Accordingly, Rome is the "stream-town."

Notwithstanding the profound influence of the Etruscans on Latin culture, especially in the domain of religion and of military science, there is hardly any trace of such influence in the realm of pure literature. True, there are many legends of the era of Etruscan domination. This legendary material not infrequently furnished what might be called a "drop scene" in the dramatic history of early Rome. These legends were recorded by the later annalists

only to show how Roman valor finally ousted the Etruscan tyrant. The result, in a literary sense, made exciting reading to those that in later times loved to look back on the heroic past. The deeds of the good king Numa, of the evil tyrant Tarquin, and of the heroic maiden Cloelia were still moving episodes in Roman history to the epic poet, Virgil, and to the historian, Livy, at the end of the 1st c. B.C. Unfortunately, the Etruscan side of these stories has not come down to us. We meet the name of no writer versed in the Etruscan tongue as Ennius was in Oscan. The Etruscans that are mentioned in later records for their literary or philological accomplishments are, like Tages, mere shadows. What we can see behind this dark wood is something that excites the imagination, it is true, but leaves us wholly unsatisfied. What was contained in these "Books of Etruscan Lore"? They seem to have dealt with augury and magic. We can, perhaps, read their contents inscribed in many of the records of ancient Roman religious ritual and cult.

Of the early inscriptions that preceded work of literary significance, one should not pass without mention. The folk-poetry that must have existed has, because of the indifference of the ancients to such manifestations of the popular spirit, disappeared forever. The survival, in the form of an inscription, of the *Song of the Arval Brethren* has aroused the curiosity of students of folk-lore. This ancient ritual chant places us in the midst of a clearing in some central Italian farm-stead. We can hear and see the simple ritual with its monotonous chant, invoking the powers of Mars (Marmor, Marmar), who was a fertility god before he became identified with war. Here is sympathetic magic in action; we seem to read the primitive mind of men of Indo-European stock as we endeavor to decipher and interpret the obscure verses, each chanted antiphonally three times, ending with a verse repeated five times:

Help us, O Lares,/ and thou, Marmor, suffer  
 not plague and ruin to attack our folk./  
 Be satiate, O fierce Mars. Leap over the  
 threshold. Stay, fierce one./  
 Call in alternate strain upon all the heroes./  
 Help us, Marmor./ Bound high in ritual dance.

Although we have no certain evidence for the existence of popular heroic song in ancient Italy, we are grateful to Macaulay for his imaginative reconstructions of this, after the manner of the English and Scotch ballads. What we do find testimony for lies in a different direction. Those that have spent some time in modern Italy will not be surprised to find suggestions of the existence of popular ditties in the extant literature. These were children's songs not unlike the familiar rhymes of their descendants everywhere to-day. Here is a sample: "He will be king who does his fling, Who doesn't a thing will not be king." A sailor interrupted the poet Horace's siesta by singing in a loud tone "The girl I left behind me." This was in the sophisticated era of Augustus, when popular songs must have been legion. An interesting epitaph on a soldier's monument recalls to mind the fact that a soldier will always have his stein-song: "While alive I did imbibe. Imbibe, ye all who're still alive!" Even the gladiator in the arena, at the time when all at Rome went to the spectacles given by candidates for public office, had his rhythmical song as he sought to entangle his opponent in his net: "A fisherman I am, you Gaul. So watch my net now make its haul." Doubtless many other such jingles were long current.

Although much of what was inscribed in immemorial bronze or stone may not be literature, one cannot dismiss altogether the so-called *Laws of the Twelve Tables*. These were known—if not always understood—by every schoolboy in ancient Italy. They have a certain archaic, ritualistic tone which impressed those that, like Cicero in the 1st c. B.C.,

sampled them as one would bottles of old wine for their quaint bouquet.

*The Republican Period.* It is, indeed, the indefatigable Cicero, statesman, orator, poet, that has preserved for us many of the choice fragments of the literature of the Republican era (ca. 230 B.C.—30 B.C.). Of the first writer to appear on the literary horizon, Livius Andronicus (ca. 284—ca. 204 B.C.), Cicero writes with awareness of his significance. Livius' translation of the *Odyssey* of Homer, Cicero regarded as comparable to the sculpture of the mythical Daedalus. Primitive indeed it is. The verses are in rough-hewn Saturnian verse—the accentual verse indigenous to Italic, and, it would appear, to the Indo-European races in general. What is left hardly justifies more than a conventional criticism. The lines preserved to us by later grammarians, merely as illustrations of word-usage, do not conform to the Hellenic pattern that became dominant in Italy after Ennius (239—169 B.C.). We do not, moreover, entirely comprehend the art of reading Saturnian metre. The *Odyssey* of Livius was one of the well-worn books read by Horace in the school ruled over by the severe Orbilius. The fact that these early writers furnished pabulum for the elementary schools may help to explain the neglect into which Livius Andronicus, as well as other writers of the Republic, fell at the period when Italy was influenced most by the cosmopolitan culture of the East.

Like the other two poets, Cn. Naevius and Ennius, that flourished in the era of Republican simplicity, the translator of the *Odyssey* tried his 'prentice hand at translation of Greek tragedies. This teacher of languages adapted a Greek drama for the Roman stage at the first recorded series of games held in Rome, 240 B.C. This was two years after the peace settlement with Carthage, which terminated the first successful foreign war against the Roman state. Roman officers that had enjoyed the

princely hospitality of Hiero of Syracuse, now an ally of Rome, were dazzled by his display of art and by his literary treasures. In the theatre at Syracuse these Roman aristocrats enjoyed the plays of Euripides and Menander. Hiero even pointed out, in the works of Greek historians, how the Romans were descended from the heroes of Troy. All this had a profound effect on the Roman generals, who saw to it that the translator of the *Odyssey* should also reproduce some Greek tragedies for presentation in Rome. From the few fragments extant we can judge that he favored the themes celebrated by the older Greek dramatists and that his versions were free adaptations with abundant alliteration after the accepted mode of his day.

Whereas Livius Andronicus, a "half-Greek," came to Rome as a prisoner of war, Cn. Naevius (ca. 270-ca. 199 B.C.) was a native-born citizen, from Campania. He had all the independence characteristic of one that had served in the first Punic War. He emulated his predecessor Livius in the art of adapting Greek drama to Roman dress. His first plays were brought out in 235 B.C. To Naevius is credited the first Latin play on an Italian subject. His partiality for Old Greek Comedy, with its freedom of speech and utmost frankness in criticising contemporary foibles, aroused the opposition of the aristocratic family of the Metelli. To Naevius must be given credit for the introduction into Latin dress of such stock comic characters as the hungry parasite and the boasting soldier. In the *Girl from Tarentum*, he presents us with a deft picture of a flirtatious girl of the town. He forsook the stage and devoted himself to the composition of a national epic on the first Punic War. In the fragments that have survived, we can detect manifestations of real talent in dealing with a subject which, however, was too near and pressing to furnish suitable material for an heroic epic after the grand manner. His achievement, nevertheless,

was such as to inspire later writers like Ennius, and especially Virgil, to reflect on the simple but genuinely heroic past of the embattled citizen soldiers of Italy. He chose also to use the native Saturnian measures, leaving to his younger contemporary Ennius the task of taming "those native wood-notes wild" into the artistic mold of the Greek hexameter, the meter made immortal by Homer.

Quintus Ennius\* (239-169 B.C.) has rightly been called the "Father" of Latin literature as part and parcel of Mediterranean culture. His predecessors had played with Hellenism as an imported product from over-seas. The fact that Ennius was born and lived for a score of years in the Graecized town of Rugiae in Calabria speaks for itself. Although Livius came from Tarentum and was a master of two languages, his lowly estate as a teacher did not lend itself to fostering the whole-hearted adoption of Hellenism as a literary cult. Ennius had the good fortune to be noticed by Marcus Cato, whose reputation for rigid honesty and narrow patriotism was a guarantee that one who benefited by such patronage might be, like Caesar's wife, above suspicion. Such an association might be expected to lead toward Ennius' choice of a literary theme of national import. The fragments of his Roman epic, prosaically called the *Annals*, amount to about 600 verses. The achievement of Ennius in these 18 books was twofold. He awoke the Italian muse to record its past in heroic strains, after the grand Homeric manner. And for the first time the technique of Greek quantitative verse, the hexameter, was introduced into Roman poetry.

The most unique contribution, however, of Ennius to Latin letters is in the field of satire. He was the first to introduce—if not to create—for the west that curious medley in verse, with its elements at once didactic and narrative. In this genre he was the inspirer of a long and noble line of successors. One of these was his nephew, M. Pacuvius (220-

ca. 130 B.C.). The *Satires* of Pacuvius are lost to us, but we possess over a hundred lines of fragments of his tragedies. He, like his uncle, was interested in national drama on an Italian subject. A younger contemporary of Pacuvius was Accius (b. 170). Cicero informs us that both writers staged plays at the same aedile games, when Pacuvius was eighty years old and Accius was in his thirtieth year.

Although Roman critics like Quintilian seem to have regarded Latin comedy as much inferior to the Greek, we are in a situation today that makes it difficult to agree or disagree. We have extant today 21 comedies almost entire of Plautus and 6 complete comedies of Terence. While Quintilian deals more favorably with tragedy in Latin, not one entire Latin tragedy has survived of the older period, to enable us to evaluate his judgment on the attainments of the Romans in this genre. Moreover, very few of the Greek models for the Latin writers of comedies have come down to us in their entirety. Hence our judgment of the intrinsic merits of either Plautus or Terence as playwrights is likely to be somewhat subjective.

T. Maccius Plautus\* was active in Rome as writer or adapter of comedies from Greek originals from 220 to 184 B.C. He was therefore a contemporary of Ennius. He seems to have been born in Umbria and received Roman citizenship later. His name has comic association: "Titus Flatfoot the Clown." He was a man of the people and knew all their foibles and preferences. The 21 plays attributed to him on the authority of the learned Varro, who lived over a century later, even though their plots and stock characters are taken bodily from the Greek comedies of the 4th and 3d c., are filled with rollicking, boisterous Italian humor.

Younger than Plautus by more than 30 years, older than Terence by about 20, was the dramatist Caecilius Statius, an Insubrian Gaul from the Po valley. As a prisoner of

war he was first a slave. Subsequently he became a freedman and a close friend of Ennius and of Terence, both of whom were producing plays during his lifetime. About 40 titles of comedies from the Greek by this author are extant. As a careful stylist he serves as a representative of the period of transition between the more naive comic spirit of Plautus and the more refined art of Terence,\* (ca. 195-159 B.C.). As his name would imply, P. Terentius Afer was born in Africa. Like Caecilius Statius he was a slave who finally received his freedom from his master, P. Terentius Lucanus, a Roman senator. He later attracted the notice of the prominent Roman statesman and enthusiastic Hellenist, P. Scipio Africanus; Terence used the prologue of one of his plays to defend himself against the charge that his patron was the real author of his comedies. In keeping with the refined circle for which Terence wrote, his plays portray characters that rouse our sympathy because of the delicate lines of their delineation. In the *Lady of Andros* we find depicted no common courtesan as in the more popular Plautus. Again in his admirable *Self-Tormentor* the tempered outlook of a man of culture is reflected in the celebrated remark of the harassed father that nothing human is alien to his interest: *homo sum; humani nil a me alienum puto*.

This literary Renaissance in Rome of the 3d and 2d c., with its emphasis especially on drama, reflected the interest inherent in Greek literature of the Golden Age. As in many of the revivals of this sort, the results, though often brilliant, like diamonds in a strange setting, were what one might expect of a hybrid product. Though not entirely sterile, these centuries of dramatic efflorescence generated a strange progeny. The results of much grafting on Italian culture were multifarious. The grafted tree, to use a Vergilian phrase, looked down in astonishment on fruit that was not its own. Social conditions in



Rome and throughout Italy in the 1st c. B.C. set the stamp of approval on multitudinous mimes and farces. These were more native to the soil, perhaps, but because of their over-emphasis on buffoonery or slap-stick appealed especially to the multitude clamoring for entertainment at one of the four great holiday periods in the Roman year. When candidates for office hitched these occasions for festivity to their political ambitions, we come upon those extraordinary spectacles that, at their worst, evoke our amazement and horror. At their best, the machinery seems to have overwhelmed what is left of the literary tradition. The extravagance of the productions is described by Cicero in one of his letters: "What delight is to be found in watching the procession of 600 mules in *Clytemnestra* or 3,000 wine-jars in the *Trojan Horse*?" We have reached a time when in Rome educated people left dramatic presentations to the populace. Instead of attending such shows, the aristocrat or wealthy dilettante that had leanings towards philosophy or literature retired to his villa to compose, like M. Terentius Varro, a dialogue on Agriculture, or like Cicero, a dramatic dialogue on The State. This break between the populace, whose sole aim for existence seemed to be "bread and circuses," and the educated few, will prepare us for the tendencies in Roman literature of the 1st c. B.C. and later. With perhaps one or two exceptions, writers in the Italian scene will more and more be concerned with the prejudices, preoccupations, ambitions, failings and virtues of a minority of successful families, whether these be of ancient lineage or have attained such heights by their native genius and industry.

Born in Campania about 20 years before the death of Terence, C. Lucilius (ca. 180-103 B.C.) belonged to the phil-Hellenist circle of P. Scipio Africanus. To estimate Lucilius correctly as a writer of pungent satire is now no easy task. We possess over 1,000 verses,

chosen for the most part by a compiler of a dictionary of Republican Latin over 200 years later. Hence we see our author chiefly either as an innovator in language or as one who frequently reflected the popular speech of his day. The significance of Lucilius in the history of satire will become increasingly evident as we trace the evolution of this genre during the years that follow—years fruitful in criticism of man and his foibles. This Campanian-born writer set the stamp for satirical poetry in Rome. The semi-dramatic form initiated by Lucilius produced so many literary heirs and emulators that the critic Quintilian could state confidently that "satire is wholly ours." Roman satire, however, was unable altogether to conceal the fact that its free and often audacious criticism of contemporary social trends had ultimate source in the spirit of 5th c. Athens. The ghosts of Aristophanes and of other representatives of Old Comedy were stalking the Italian streets and highways. The vein of didacticism, which is more characteristic of Roman than of Greek letters, leads one to expect, however, a greater strain of gravity in the west. In this, Lucilius reflects the high seriousness sought after by the great Roman aristocratic houses. In this respect, too, he was undoubtedly influenced by the high standards of the Scipio family, which encouraged a Greek historian, then a hostage at Rome, to study the causes of the rise of the Roman republic. This Greek refugee, Polybius, attempted to plumb the depths of Roman character, as exemplified by certain individuals of social consequence. The highlight of such an ideal is stated in two verses of Lucilius himself: "Our country's weal as first we always rate, Our parents' next, and last our own estate."

In direct contrast to such objectivism as is found in those writers that used satire as a medium for their ideas, stands another group of poets. This group was fascinated by the subjectivism of the Alexandrians. The still

small voice of the Greek lyric poetry of the most representative of these 3d c. poets, Callimachus, found an echo in the hearts of many Roman young men of leisure. This Greek poet-librarian gave currency to the expression that "a big book is a big evil." Hence the rage for brief vignettes, thumb-nail sketches, pointed epigram and learned toy epic, which at once fascinates and repels us in the literature of Rome in the 1st c. B.C. From the beginning of this century we have epigrams after the Greek manner, by Q. Lutatius Catullus, Valerius Aedituus, and Porcius Licinus. Some playful tit-bits of Laevius of the same period are in the approved Alexandrian manner, addressed to the eye and ear of the initiated only. The eye was pleased by the fanciful shapes formed by the varied metres. For example, one of his poems was designed to rouse the imagination to roam in curious fashion. Accordant with its title, the external form of this poem was that of the outspread wings of a phoenix! Somewhat later in the century, certain verses of M. Furius Bibaculus were laughed out of court. In his lost epic on the Gallic wars of Caesar, at least one infelicitous phrase was noted by the Augustan critics: "Jupiter," he wrote, "spat on the wintry Alps flakes of white snow." A poet of this group, who links this period with the era of the court-poets under Augustus, is C. Helvius Cinna, author of a toy-epic, *Io*, on which he is said to have spent nine years. He is reputed to have been one of the conspirators that stabbed Julius Caesar to death. In Shakespeare's play, one of the plebeians is represented as threatening Cinna with death "for his bad verses."

A discussion of Latin lyric poetry would be incomplete without mention of C. Valerius Catullus,\* of Verona (ca. 84-54 B.C.), who belonged, as his name implies, to the historic gens of the Valerii. If we exclude one noteworthy contribution to a state celebration in the form of a noble hymn to Diana (XXXIV),

his poetry is stamped with an individualism that has made an impress on European poetry hardly exceeded by any other ancient poet, with the possible exception of Sappho. Catullus' version of a famous lyric of Sappho's is surcharged with his own very personal love for Lesbia. More than the Greek poet, Catullus exemplifies extreme abandon at the two magnetic poles of love and hate. "Lesbia," whose real name was Clodia, was the inspirer of his most lyrical verse. It would seem that she played with all the arts of a coquette on the heart of this impressionable young man from the provinces. His 85th poem is brief and epigrammatic: "I love and hate; why so, you ask in vain./ I know not, but t'is so. I sense the pain." The style of Catullus, like his emotions, varied according to the content and purpose of his theme. Latin writers referred to him as "learned"; that is, well-trained in the school of the Greek muse of poetry. His attainments in the field of the epithalamium or marriage-hymn, for example, may not have appealed to the average reader in antiquity, but these poems have made a niche for their creator in the shrine of all sincere poets. In fact, Catullus became at once the pioneer in the province of the love elegy and the spiritual motivating force for such masterpieces as the fourth eclogue of Virgil.

While Catullus possesses a genius of many facets, the next poet we shall consider presents a decided contrast. The keen, unswerving mind of Lucretius\* (95-54 B.C.) preferred the more sombre enchantments of the Muse whose delight is to search for the ultimate "nature of things." This furnishes the theme for his famous didactic poem in six books. In this he is but following the tradition of those pre-Socratic poets whose minds revelled in an imaginary domain of terrestrial, or rather, universal origins. To use a striking phrase of Lucretius himself, he aspired to reach beyond "the flaming walls of the universe." An en-

thusiastic follower of Epicurus, he intermingles Epicurean serenity with that Roman high-seriousness which found its model in the Olympian utterances of such philosophical Greek poets as Empedocles. In fact, like that of the last named, Lucretius' life has become somewhat of a legend. If Empedocles is reputed to have ended his life by leaping into a volcano, the Latin poet is said to have died by his own hand after drinking a love-potion. Lucretius' own verses, in which he frequently extols "immortal death" as well as the infinite creation and destruction of the world, may have inspired the legend. He seems, in truth, to have been half in love with "dusty death"; for who can soon forget the profound conviction expressed in a line that is the key-note of his third book? In effect, he says that when we have shuffled off this mortal coil (a Lucretian figure) with all its troubles, death is nought; it matters not even whether we were ever born "when mortal life is snuffed out by death immortal." Notwithstanding these outpourings on inevitable death, as a counterblast to the materialistic beliefs on the after-life in vogue at his time, the aim of Lucretius is above all to trace the beautiful order of nature and what he conceived to be the natural law of the universe. His atomic theory is derived from the Greek philosopher Democritus. But Lucretius attempted to make this hypothesis a convincing one by thorough exposition after the approved rhetorical manner of his day. Interwoven in what to many minds is a desert of analytical description of atomic permutations are many brilliant flashes of genius. To Lucretius' contemporary Cicero, these purple patches made up for the thousands of verses of another sort, though even these are very skilfully wrought. The enigmatic words of Cicero to his brother Quintus indicate the background of a controversy on the precise value of such speculation on physical science in Latin verse.

So far in our discussion of the history of

Latin literature we have confined our remarks to the province of poetry. It is to be expected that the art of expressing one's thoughts in rhythmic language precede, in the history of a literature, the art of composition in prose. Yet here again, Greek models were at hand. Before Cato, called the Censor (234-149 B.C.), some native Italians had written in Greek prose certain historical treatises, no longer extant. Cato was a staunch exponent of the Italian native traditions. He professed to dislike all Greek ideas and studied the language only in his later years, under the direction of the poet Ennius. In a lost work on the origins of Italian towns, he proved himself a lover of his own land and traditions. We can judge, from the sledge-hammer qualities of his extant speeches, that he disdained the highly intricate art of the Greek rhetorician. Yet even here, in some 80 fragments, he betrays at times his secret admiration for his models.

Preceding Cicero by a bare ten years is a writer whose contribution to prose literature far surpasses in extent that of all other Romans. Marcus Terentius Varro\* was born in the Sabine country in 116 and lived well into the age of Augustus (27). He wrote over 40 different works, embracing such varied subjects as agriculture and philology. He was widely read and quoted, down to the period of the Christian fathers, who found in his encyclopedic work a mine of information on ancient Italian cult practices. Varro is heir to the Alexandrian flair for miscellaneous facts and fancies. From the point of view of pure literature, he must be regarded as a source for later writers, such as Virgil in his *Georgics* and Pliny the Elder in his *Natural History*, and for commentators in general. He is responsible for the vogue of the Platonic and Aristotelian dialogue pattern (cf. his work on Farming and on the Latin Language), which is a characteristic feature of Cicero's essays. Here again we seem to see the artistic preference of many Roman as well as Greek

writers, for dramatizing what would otherwise be unrelieved discussion or dry exposition.

The Roman encyclopedist was a warm admirer of Marcus Tullius Cicero\* (106-43 B.C.), and dedicated part of his work on the Latin language to this greatest and most versatile of all prose writers in the tongue. Cicero had already dedicated to Varro one of his philosophical dialogues. Here we may gain an insight into one of the special interests of each of these two prominent writers: science for one and philosophy for the other. Before he became fascinated by philosophy, however, Cicero had lived a full life of a Roman statesman and lawyer. We possess 47 of his speeches, written with superb art. His style steers a middle course between the ultra-ornateness of the Asian school and the simplicity of the Attic. In this respect he reveals the strength and the weakness of his character and aims. His eclecticism reached also into the realm of social and political life. There are preserved over 700 of his letters to his friends, a documentary record of extraordinary value. Like the votive tablet to which Horace compares the work of the satirist Lucilius, these epistles too have the seal and stamp of personality. The celebrated orator and aspiring litterateur here throws off the mask and stands revealed as a keenly alive and responsive correspondent. Some letters to and from Julius Caesar appear here, and such unforgettable pictures as that in which he describes to a friend the excitement caused by a visit to his villa of the great general and his retinue.

We have extant a dozen treatises of a philosophical nature by the hand of Cicero. As a philosopher he aspired to popularize some of the remarkable achievements of the Greek mind; in the process, he had to clothe a strange terminology in Latin dress. He succeeded admirably; so much so that these Latin equivalents (e.g., *qualitas*; *quantitas*) of Greek terms have prevailed in the vocabulary of many European nations. Until Greek

philosophy was rehabilitated in the 16th c., Cicero's works furnished the main source of philosophical knowledge for the intellectual world of the west. And the style both of these works and of his extant orations presented a pattern that most nations in the west have followed. He is the most influential figure in the evolution of artistic prose style in Europe and America, both in Latin and in the vernacular languages.

Six years younger than Cicero, but a man of action rather than of contemplation, Julius Caesar's\* position in the history of literature is a minor but nevertheless significant one. His orations, now lost, were highly commended by both his contemporary Cicero and the great critic Quintilian. His extant work on the Gallic War is a model of condensed and vivid narrative of an event that struck the imagination of his contemporaries as the conquest of Mexico by Cortez or the World War II landing in Normandy strikes us today. There is in this account a Thucydidean note of detachment, obtained chiefly by the use of the third person throughout. Modern readers are roused by the vivid account of the landing operations in Britain. Suspense is especially notable in the fifth book, in the story of the siege of Quintus Cicero's camp. Excellent too is the restraint in reporting speeches, as contrasted with the tendency of most historians of his day (and later) to dramatize at all costs. There is realism in the brief injunctions of the officers to the soldiers in moments of extreme danger. Who cannot be moved by the brief command of the standard-bearer of the famous Tenth Legion as the soldiers jumped into the sea to take the coast of Britain? Caesar shows himself to be a keen student of human nature in his analysis of the motives and intentions of his Gallic opponents. As a professed student of language he endeavored, as he said himself, to avoid any unusual words as one would a reef at sea.

The hostility of Sallust\* (86-35 B.C.) to

the ruling families in Rome, his friendliness to Caesar's factions, is evident in his two surviving monographs, one on the Conspiracy of Catiline, the other on the Jugurthine war in Africa. His style, nervous and sinewy, was much admired by the authors of the Silver Age, to whom an epigrammatic turn of phrase appealed.

*The Age of Augustus:* 43 B.C.—14 A.D. The constant strife during the 1st c. B.C. culminated in the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 and of Cicero late the following year. The triumvirate that brought about the blood purge of that year included the youthful Octavian, the grand-nephew and adopted son of Caesar. Octavian's colleagues, Antony and Lepidus, it would appear, were responsible for Cicero's name's being placed on the list of the proscribed, among 300 others of senatorial rank. To Cicero's keen insight into literary and philosophical problems, should be added unusual powers of observation in political affairs. In one of his last works, *On the Republic*, he made the statement—afterwards quoted by St. Augustine—that the best men or best nations should rule over the weakest. The empire was becoming too unwieldy for government by committees. The rich prizes offered to the successful adventurer made it easy to raise a motley army anywhere in the East or West. The unsettled conditions of the times seemed to demand a strong man at the helm. Julius Caesar had, consciously or not, paved the way for the partial acceptance of the oriental idea that divinity doth hedge about a king. The old republican offices and distinctions were, however, still jealously retained. The tragic events of the Ides of March, 44, like the death of the last Etruscan king at the hands of another Brutus, were everywhere regarded as ominous.

Among the unsuccessful, the lost generation of this period of violent strife, by a strange irony of fate, are the names of those that were to become the poets laureate of the new

regime. Virgil, Horace, and, to a lesser extent, Propertius, became the sincere propagandists of a new era, in which the stains of Roman blood would be cleansed in a new bath of political righteousness. Through the intervention of an Etruscan knight whose wealth was spent lavishly in the promotion of the arts, this happy alliance of talent with administrative state policies was brought about. Before Maecenas came on the scene, Virgil had won the regard of commissioners like Asinius Pollio, whose task it was to obtain land for some of the 170,000 veterans that had fought at Philippi in 42 against the army organized by Brutus and Cassius. Horace was among those that had carried the banner of a lost cause. The estate of Propertius also was confiscated. The results were propitious for literature. These landless families were attracted to the great magnet, Rome.

The oldest of this trio, and the most celebrated poet of the most important age in Latin literature, is Virgil\* (70–19 B.C.). His family estate near Mantua was one of those taken and apportioned to the veterans after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius. The poet's father made every effort to secure for his son the best possible education. He was sent to Cremona, later to Milan, and finally to Rome, where he must have attracted notice by his early efforts in poetry. We are still uncertain of the authenticity of many short poems ascribed to him by later commentators, though he produced a finished masterpiece in the series of ten pastorals called *Eclogues*, between 41 and 39 B.C. These pastorals have a thoroughly Italian or Sicilian setting. His great model was Theocritus, who through his continuance set the standard for that genre for all time. The *Georgics* is a definitely Italian work, in the tradition of Hesiod's *Works and Days*. The gain is not merely in the more mature art of the later poet; there is a change of heart reflecting the experiences of seven eventful centuries. Whereas Hesiod writes for the en-

couragement of a lazy brother, Virgil, writing for a wider audience, emphasizes duty rather than necessity. In this respect he is the heir of the ages of philosophical speculation, whether Academic, Epicurean, or Stoic. His early tendency to retire from the forum and council chamber is definitely reflected in the woodland setting of his ideal shepherd. The need for stability and especially for the restoration of time-honored cults and customs came more and more into the foreground. The seal was set on this policy of conservatism when the Senate in January, 27, conferred the title of Augustus (the revered) on Caesar's adopted son, Octavian.

Among the cults that Augustus fostered was that of Venus genetrix. His grand-uncle Julius had made political capital out of the tradition that associated the Julian gens with the goddess Venus: through the son of Venus and a mortal was traced the descent of the family of Augustus. The son, Aeneas, whose single combat with Achilles is described in the 20th book of Homer's *Iliad*, is saved by the intervention of the god of the sea. In the same book there is a prophecy by Poseidon, which was interpreted as alluding to the future Romans, that Aeneas and his children's children will reign over the Trojans. He had thus for a long time been connected in popular imagination with various settlements in the Mediterranean. Phases of this legend appeared also in the Latin epics of Naevius and Ennius. The spirit of Julius Caesar seems to hover over the story, for was it not he that carried the Roman name even to farthest Britain? The simple annals of those Roman centurions recorded by their commander-in-chief, in a conflict that lasted almost as long as the fabled Trojan War, must have had a profound effect on the youthful Virgil. He may have caught a glimpse of many a Roman legion, in the frequent marches northward through Cremona and Milan, between 58 and 51. He certainly must have seen the

pomp and circumstance accompanying Caesar's return to Rome in 49, when he became dictator, and again in 45 when he celebrated his Triumphs. It is probable that Virgil was in Rome or near-by when Caesar was struck down in the Senate-house by the conspirators.

The ground was thus quite fortunately laid for an epic that would consecrate the new regime to a great tradition that emanated, as we have seen, from the most approved sources. Within the space of 12 books Virgil has traced the story at once tragic and comforting of a hero whose career, if too much in accordance with the standards of the Round Table of later days, still fascinated the Roman reader. The tragic events of the sack of Troy and the subsequent wanderings of the Trojans are related to Queen Dido at her palace in Carthage. Admiration for Aeneas' exploits and pity for his lot caused Dido to fall in love with the Trojan chieftain. Direction from his goddess mother, Venus, and from the oracles of Apollo, made it necessary for Aeneas to leave Dido to her fate. Then follow the funeral games in Italy for Aeneas' father. The Sixth Book contains the famous vision of the future of Rome. In the later books the Trojan leader lands in Italy, and in a series of striking episodes defeats his enemies and establishes a dynasty.

In Virgil's gallery of portraits, admiration and pity, "tears for mortal things," will be evoked, as the visitor looks upon figures that will never entirely lose their fascination. There are queenly Dido and dutiful Aeneas; treacherous Sinon; Laocoon, the priest that himself became a victim; the Cumaean Sibyl; Charon, the ferryman; Mezentius the violent, Turnus the impetuous, the legendary Camilla and the shadowy Lavinia, who, like Helen, became the cause of many "battles long ago."

The experiences of the accomplished poet Horace\* (65-8 B.C.) followed a not dissimilar pattern. His father had carefully educated his only son in Rome before the future poet de-

cided, in a romantic mood, to throw in his lot with the Republican forces. For several years after this unfortunate affair, Horace was occupied as a clerk in the praetor's office in Rome, an humble position, which, however, provided him with some leisure to write. The result was a series of *Epodes* and *Satires*, quite native to the soil for the most part, but manifesting his outspoken admiration for the best Greek models. The poet was encouraged by his patron Maecenas, to whom he had been introduced by Virgil, to undertake two works: one, the medley (already begun) known as the *Epodes*, which included themes grave and gay; the other, the celebrated *Odes*. The collection of *Odes*, published in three books in 23 B.C., marks him as one of the greatest lyric poets of all time. His *Epistles*, in two books, written between 20 and 13 B.C., are the work of his maturity. His secure position as doyen of the literary circles of Rome, after the death of Virgil in 19 B.C., is indicated especially in the famous epistle in the 2d book known as the *Ars Poetica*. In many memorable phrases (such as the remark about the "purple patch") this work shows keen critical acumen and presents sound advice for writers, echoed by critics down the ages.

Quintilian declares that the Latin writers of elegiac poetry present a challenge to the Greek poets who composed in that meter. The foremost representatives of the elegy in Latin letters, whose works happily have survived, are Catullus, Propertius, Tibullus, and Ovid. The artistry of Catullus presented grounds for emulation. The Catullan emphasis on the theme of the subjective emotion of love set the keynote. To the Lesbia of Catullus is matched the Cynthia of Propertius, the Delia of Tibullus, the Corinna of Ovid. Such a pattern has no exact correspondence in extant Greek elegy. The form of elegiac verse—an hexameter followed by a closing and sealing pentameter—was now the accepted medium for the poetry of love. The 71 elegies in the

first three books of Sextus Propertius (47–15 B.C.) reveal clever workmanship. The Alexandrian tendency to obscurity, however, makes many of the elegies difficult reading. He presents a fine delineation of his too popular Cynthia, but we are left with a feeling, after all this dramatization, that the poet is more interested in how he gives expression to his varying emotions than in the object of his reflections. In this he appears to be the exact opposite of Catullus, who reminds one in many ways of the poet Robert Burns. Many excellent elegies of Propertius, nevertheless, have that magic quality which we so much admire in the French poet Villon, who may have come across some of the Latin poet's verses in his wanderings.

The 16 elegies of Albius Tibullus (55–19 B.C.) have a tranquil charm that, of his contemporaries, only Virgil shares. Like Virgil, he expresses intense admiration for the simple life of the country villa. Tibullus' interests in the rustic life are purely artistic: he admires the round of activities of the Italian farmer, with its regularly recurring festivals of joy and mirth. He is in love with peace and dreamy ease. Delia does not enter very frequently into this picture.

Most of the work of Ovid\* (43 B.C.–18 A.D.) is also in the elegiac meter. The one great exception is the much admired mythological epic, the *Metamorphoses*, which along with the *Roman Calendar* is the work of his later years before his banishment in 8 A.D. This poem relates in well over 10,000 verses the complete history of metamorphosis from the creation of the world to the time of Augustus. In no other poem of Ovid can we better detect the deft hand of a supreme teller of tales. Ovid's light airy touch permeates all his poems: his youthful *Loves*, wherein he follows the elegiac tradition and makes Corinna celebrated; the brilliant series of love-letters of wronged ladies called the *Heroines*; his *Art of Love*, a mock-didactic poem which,

if taken seriously, is highly offensive to our sense of morality in a matter of great social import; his *Remedy for Love* which, though professing to be a recantation of the preceding, exhibits an even more immoral tone. The poems written in exile show a mixture of self-pity and proud assurance in the power of his muse. "I have been ruined," Ovid wrote, "by my own cleverness."

In the realm of prose literature the Augustan age witnessed a notable achievement in the voluminous work of the historian Livy\* (59 B.C.—17 A.D.). His history of Rome from the foundation to his own day served to waken for the first time the consciousness of all readers to the realization of the epic past of their country. Livy attempted to accomplish in mellifluous prose what Virgil had already achieved—or was in the process of achieving—in dignified heroic verse. Over this huge canvas he exerted his undoubted powers of vivid representation, colored, however, by the expression of his repeated conviction that the present times were out of joint.

*The Silver Age:* 14 A.D.—117 A.D. It was left for other writers, born under different auspices, to depict the dramatic scenes under the Emperors of the 1st and 2d c. A.D. The works of two of these writers, Cornelius Tacitus\* and Suetonius,\* may be said to frame the political picture of this stormy period. In keeping with the art of sculpture at this time, literature attempted to outdo itself in psychological analysis of character. The portrait busts that survive from this period tend to extremes of realism. But this realism was for the most part thoroughly imbued with the characteristic faults of the age, overemphasis on brilliance of rhetorical phrasing and an endeavor to portray the dramatic at all cost. If Tacitus and Suetonius may be said to epitomize the social and political events, the fine critical work of Quintilian\* presents a survey of the literary scene up to the close of the century. This author of an

excellent treatise on rhetoric was himself intensely aware of the misuse and abuse of the art.

As a corrective to the severe judgments of the historians and satirists of the mores of these centuries, we possess the finished letters of a man who moved chiefly in the circles of the élite and the privileged. This is Pliny the Younger, a man of no great genius, it is true, but one who, in an age when the old conception of liberty had vanished, managed to preserve something of the antique balance and reserve.

Satire is the predominant note of this period, as especially in A. Persius Flaccus (34–62) and Juvenal\* (ca. 55–ca. 130), the former of good lineage, the latter belonging to a respectable family of some means. The slim volume of 6 satires written by the youthful Persius strikes a high moral note. They were frequently read in the Middle Ages, no doubt with appropriate commentary. The occasional obscurity may have been the result of an attempt to avoid offending the mighty. Persius had attended, in Rome, the lectures of the Stoic philosopher Cornutus; to the impressionable youth the words of his instructor were sacred. There is a universal appeal in Persius' 2d satire, on the proper disposition towards prayer, that recalls the parable of the Pharisee and the publican. But the conventional paradoxes of the Stoics do not often lend themselves to the creation of good poetry.

What has been called the Stoic reaction under the Caesars can be detected in various guises in the literary work of the first two centuries. Juvenal did not spare the great and near-great of his time, whose names had become symbolic of flattery and sycophancy. But such denunciation of the emperor Domitian and of upstarts like Sejanus had become the stock-in-trade for declaimers in the piping times of Trajan. In Juvenal's condemnation of vice, he puts modesty to shame. Nothing in fact is too sacred for the terrible thunderbolts



of his rhetoric. His special antipathies are the orientals of all races, who were gradually ousting the natives in Rome. Two of Juvenal's *Satires* have become part of English literature, through Samuel Johnson's adaptations of the 3d and the 10th, called *London*, and *The Vanity of Human Wishes*.

It is worth while noting Quintilian's observation on the epic concerned with Pompey's last stand at Pharsalus (48) written by Seneca's nephew, M. Annaeus Lucanus (39-65 A.D.). Lucan's work, in his opinion, is more akin to the orators' art than to that of the poet. Yet, of the 4 extant frigid epics of this 1st c. A.D., Lucan's is by far the most interesting and original. In the medieval schools his work held rank next to Virgil's. His portrayal, for example, of the uncompromising Cato of Utica, who was in love with lost causes, has had an undeniable appeal to poets everywhere. The Celtic heroes "who went forth to war but always fell" are of his fellowship: "Victorious causes to the gods are pleasing, the vanquished to Cato." Though Lucan's hero is ostensibly Pompey the Great, Caesar's astonishing successes hold the imagination of the reader, as in Milton's epic the fallen angel, in accordance with the Aristotelian norm, has a more dramatic appeal.

When we turn to the literary career of Lucan's uncle, Annaeus Seneca\* (ca. 4. B.C.-65 A.D.) there are discoverable certain affinities in mental outlook, though Seneca devoted himself to quite different literary genres. Both reveal a fervent admiration of the principles of Stoic ethics, together with a close adherence to the new style characteristic of this age. This style, which is the fruit of excessive devotion to the "declamations" of the schools, is in direct contrast to the smooth naturalism of Cicero, stemming rather from the succinct and epigrammatic quality found in the works of Cicero's contemporary, Sallust. It may be pure coincidence that Sallust too was a pro-tester against established tendencies. Both

Seneca and Lucan were accused of treasonable affiliations under Nero; both were compelled to commit suicide in 65. The loss of freedom of speech, in truth, made its ugly imprint on most of the literature of this period. The 9 tragedies that Seneca composed seem to have been begun in exile. The subjects are those that have been immortalized by the great Greek dramatists. Seneca did not write for a stage or theatrical audience; like many other representative writers of this era, he envisaged the platform of the declaimer.

The name of P. Cornelius Tacitus\* (ca. 55-ca. 118) is further representative of what is best in this period of more than usual accomplishment. His youthful works, written after the Ciceronian manner, are the *Germania* (Italy and Germany, a contrast), *Agricola* (a Roman administrator in far-off Britain), and the *Dialogue on the Orators*. But his most unique contribution to European historiography is in his two famed works, dealing with the history of Rome from the death of Augustus to 96 A.D. These were completed under the good Emperors Nerva and Trajan. The *Annals* deals with the dramatic events in the Roman empire between the death of Augustus and that of Nero. The second work extends the record of events to the death of that evil genius, Domitian.

Other writers of the period are linked by social relationship rather than by literary affinities. C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus (ca. 62-ca. 113) or, as he is better known under the Anglicized form of his name, Pliny\* the Younger, was a man of very great wealth in an age that exhibited many instances of wide cleavage in the social scale. Among the 368 letters written by Pliny to correspondents who included the historians Tacitus and Suetonius, we have one that depicts clearly his patronage of Martial\* (ca. 40-ca. 102), the greatest epigrammatist of antiquity. This letter was occasioned by the death of the poet, who had

previously approached the great man in search of patronage. Pliny shows his pleasure at those verses of Martial that very flatteringly compared his powers as an orator to Cicero's. Significant as indicative of Martial's own estimate of his work is another statement in the same complimentary epigram. My epigrams, he writes, should be read after the banquet, when men are in a gay mood and wine is flowing freely. Again Pliny makes an acute estimate of the epigrammatist's contribution to his art. Martial was a man of talent, he writes to his friend, whose epigrams provide a great deal of wit, with acrimony but no less good-nature. A Spaniard, like the Senecas and Quintilian, the epigrammatist displayed little of the sturdy independence of character that the lives and works of these fellow-countrymen proclaim. Martial descended far lower than the Grub-Street writers of a later day. He sold his talents—and they were manifold—to the highest bidder. Hence, though many of his epigrams strike us as masterpieces of wit and innuendo, his pandering to the lowest tastes of his readers and patrons indicate that he is quite on a level with the society to which he is catering.

As Martial reflects the manner and customs of Roman society of the late 1st c., Gaius Petronius (d. 66) gives us an ultra-realistic picture of the extravagance of this giddy metropolis in the earlier years. Petronius writes his inimitable satire, with its famous Banquet of Trimalchio, as one who views all the vagaries of the idle rich from within. Martial, on the other hand, presents us for the most part with the externals of Roman life. He depicts the 'every-day life of the artisan who lodges beside the great man's town house. All this is mingled with gossip that he picks up everywhere, about the great and the near-great.

The gossip but exceedingly interesting lives of the Caesars which C. Suetonius\* Tranquillus (75-ca. 160) composed at the

beginning of the 2nd c. fitly bring to a close a period of transition. With the exception of L. Apuleius, who flourished in the mid-century, no other writer of this period need claim our attention. Apuleius is noted for his picaresque *Golden Ass*, a prose work that throws a bright light on the religious and cultural decadence of this time. In this fictitious autobiography, written in a barbarous style, we find imbedded the beautiful tale of Cupid and Psyche, admirably retold in English by Walter Pater. Suetonius' interest in biography is characteristic of his age. His Greek contemporary, the great Plutarch, was the author of the famous *Parallel Lives*. The *Caesars* from Julius to Domitian stand in Suetonius' pages revealed in all their brilliant success, their no less calamitous failures, and manifold moral lapses. Suetonius holds the mirror up to the dramatic scenes of this century with its crowded stage. Thereon such contrasted characters as Augustus and Nero say farewell to life with a flippant remark on their exits as actors from the world's tragedy. There is an objectivism about these biographies that has made them models of their kind down the ages. Einhard, for example, in his life of Charlemagne, was deeply influenced by the work of this secretary to Emperor Hadrian. This brief survey may, perhaps, be no more fittingly brought to its close than by paraphrasing part of Hadrian's well-known address to his soul, composed on his death-bed (138): "Little whimsical wheedling soul of mine, thou guest and comrade of my body's slime, Whence goest thou, slight, pale, and lifeless thing, Without a joke to make the rafters ring?"

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JOHN J. SAVAGE.

*Later Latin.* The line of demarcation between Classical Latin literature and Later Latin literature must inevitably be an arbitrary choice; but a beginning for the latter with the Christian Apologists, whose inspiration flowed mainly from opposition to Pagan Rome, is not without some justification. For we thus begin at a time when the authentic literary tradition of the Republic and the Empire had run its course; the exquisite taste and sincerity that are the glories of Roman Literature had, in the 2d c., degenerated into a cult of preciousness that was but the empty skeleton of the admirable form of the past. When Christianity had attained a foothold in Rome, the heart of literary Rome had ceased to beat, save fitfully and with none of its wonted vigor. It was merely a body of admired traditional content and technique, to a large extent offensive and dangerous in the eyes of a Christian whose true and lasting home was

in another world. The poignantly personal struggle this fact presented to a sincere Christian is portrayed in the anguish of soul that (whatever may be said of its factual basis) St. Jerome suffered in his dream of being denied heaven for his devotion to Ciceronianism. The inevitable conflict between paganism and Christianity was predicated on such dichotomies as Ovidian amorality, and the ideal of purity of the Virgin Martyrs; the materialistic deism of Lucretius, and the notion of a personal Providence and human dignity; the deification of dissolute emperors, and the Incarnation of the Divine Word. Given such intellectual attitudes, a pressing problem lay before the Christian who wished to preserve an entirely logical behavior. How far could he permit his intellectual and moral life to be formed by pagan literature? "What connection can there be between Christ and Baal? between the Psalms and Horace? the Gospels and Virgil? St. Paul and Cicero?"

The earliest Christian prose in Latin takes this attitude of St. Jerome as its starting point, as the puritanical Tertullian (160-220) lashes out in vigorous counter-attack against Paganism. To him all pagan literature was a species of idolatry to be scorned as vigorously as were the temples of the gods. His *Apologeticus* is a brilliant defense (he was a lawyer) of Christianity against paganism, while his finest work *De Praescriptione Haereticorum* vindicates the rights of the Church against the heretics of his time, the Gnostics. With magnificent power over language he was a master of invective and satire, while possessed of a flaming zeal for what he believed to be the truth, both as a Christian and as a Montanist. His style is the popular florid rhetoric of his times; his Latin is akin to the *Africitas* (the "dialect" of Africa) of Apuleius. In the opinion of Harnack he is the real creator of the Latin of the Church.

In the same tradition is the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix (3d c.), a dialogue in which

Caecilius speaks brilliantly for the traditional Roman religion, so closely allied to Rome's greatness. Octavius then rises to the defense of Christianity, describing the notion of Providence, the supreme intelligence that oversees the details of the Universe. After establishing the Oneness of God, he attacks the scandalous behavior of the gods, attributing the marvels of Roman history to the power of demons. He then defends Christianity against the charges of the pagans. This well-organized dialogue is justly famous for the charm of its Latin style, while showing traces of decadence. In the same vein the superficially Christian Arnobius wrote (303) his *Adversus Nationes*, a defense of Christianity, mainly by means of an attack on the superstitions of paganism. Of the latter he was more capable than of an orderly exposition of Christian belief. In the most important work of Lactantius (250-310) we catch a glimpse of another attitude of mind—the feeling of inferiority among Christians towards their pagan neighbors. He wrote his *Institutiones Divinae* for the cultivated pagan, a complete account of the teaching of Christianity, dominated by the idea of Providence, the Christian doctrine *par excellence*, in the course of which he attacks the gods of paganism. With all its defects as systematic theology, the work is an admirable product of the times. Lactantius is known as the Christian Cicero, and his legal and rhetorical training stand out clearly in his works. It is to be noted that all these writers are Africans (save perhaps Arnobius); they do not look to pagan Rome as their literary and spiritual home, as did Seneca, Martial, and Quintilian in earlier times. They are the vanguard of the attack on paganism.

Christians, however, could not deny their intellectual and educational background, the literature of Rome, so that soon we see a change of attitude. When an orator of Rome objected to St. Jerome that he used the works

of the pagans in his writings, he countered by showing that Christians who preceded him had known the Classics well and had made brilliant use of them. The justification whereby this use would be possible was elaborated by St. Jerome\* and St. Augustine,\* harking back to two events in the *Old Testament*. The *Spoliatio Aegyptiorum* became a watchword, made use of by Christians through the Middle Ages. When the Hebrews were escaping from the bondage of Pharaoh, they had taken some of the gold and silver idols of the pagans and melted them down, to form the vessels of the temple of Jerusalem. A prescription of the law in Deuteronomy allowed a Hebrew to marry a Gentile woman, provided her hair was cut and her nails were pared. From these incidents was drawn the practice of making use of the good to be found in pagan literature, which could be used, having been properly adapted to its new purpose, for the glory of God. Christians, in fact, being the heirs of Divine Wisdom, could claim Truth as their own, no matter where it be found. The effects of this rationalization were tremendously important.

The Church thus became the inheritor of the legacy of all Antiquity; had this been completely rejected, Roman literature would probably have been lost to us and our civilization would not have been built upon the foundation of the ancient world, nor would we be linked as we are, through the medium of Christian learning, with the treasures of antiquity. The Age of Augustine includes such giant figures as St. Jerome (345-420), St. Ambrose (340-379), and St. Augustine (354-430) as "Fathers of the Church"; Prudentius (348-405) and Paulinus of Nola (353-431) as poets, and Donatus (4th c.) and Martianus Capella (fl. 375) as the teachers of the time. The Fathers were concerned primarily with the defense of Christianity against enemies from within and without; their works, hundreds of volumes, were the

basic intellectual diet of the subsequent centuries. Their works embraced the fields of Scripture, Morals, Dogma, History, Philosophy, Sermons, Letters and occasional treatises. St. Jerome alone, by his translation of the *Scriptures* into Latin, did more perhaps than anyone else (Tertullian included) to form the Latin usage of the Middle Ages. St. Ambrose was the first to introduce hymns into the Liturgy and his eloquence enthralled the rhetorician Augustine, before his baptism. Augustine himself, in his *Confessions*, told the story of the search of his soul (and every sincere soul) for God. In his *De Civitate Dei* he formulated the Christian Philosophy of History. The history of thought in the Middle Ages has been well summarized as "the story of what happened to the thought of Augustine." Donatus, the teacher of St. Jerome, was the foremost grammarian, while Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* became the handbook of information on the Seven Liberal Arts, the educational curriculum of many centuries.

In the wake of the barbarian invasions, another element was added to the complicated situation; the unification of three elements had to be achieved: Pagan antiquity, Christianity, and Barbarism. To accomplish this task labored Boethius\* (480-525), Cassiodorus (480-570), St. Benedict (480-547), and Gregory the Great\* (540-604). Boethius and Cassiodorus strove to preserve antiquity, the former having the grandiose dream of translating and reconciling Plato and Aristotle; his versions of the *Organon* of Aristotle were the basis for medieval philosophy until the 12th c. Cassiodorus founded a monastery at Vivarium, with the double object of preserving ecclesiastical and secular learning of the past, and of promoting the studies of his monks. His famous chapter in his *Institutiones* on the spiritual character of scribal activity was the impelling force in making medieval monasteries homes of learning and book copy-

ing. For his ideas joined with those of St. Benedict, who in his *Benedictine Rule* laid out a program for the coenobitical life and as a result Benedictine monasteries became the schools of the Middle Ages. In Gregory the Great, we meet "the Medieval Man." Scorning paganism, he has points of similarity with Tertullian; his mind is completely spiritual and other-worldly, while at the same time he manifests his Roman character, in being an amazing administrator and organizer.

To these must be added the influence of St. Isidore of Seville (570-636) who wrote his *Etymologiae*, an encyclopedia of all kinds of information salvaged from the past. His main preoccupation was to preserve, in the perilous times in which he lived, the wisdom of antiquity. The influence of this book can hardly be exaggerated; he seems to have set the mould in intellectual matters for the following centuries. It was not a very high caliber of learning, but it was the best the times could provide. This desire to hold on to the past was long the dominant characteristic; it is not until the 11th and 12th c. that we see a new beginning of original work. Poetry in this period is an amalgam of traditional literary motives and an essentially Christian content. Sedulius strove to achieve a specifically Christian poetry, to counteract the current notion that only pagan poetry was true literature. The preoccupation with proving that Christianity was not merely a Cult but also a Culture is to be seen on every hand. Fortunatus (535-600) is, at times, the debonair worldling, and again, the inspired singer of Liturgical hymns. The low ebb of literary matters in Gaul is to be seen in the defective Latin of Gregory of Tours (538-593), in whose works we find the partial cause of this fact—the turbulence of his times.

While the Continent was an intellectual desert, the British Isles were the lone bright spot in the Merovingian Age. In the monasteries of Ireland and England we find a

Columbanus (543-615) and a Bede\* ("the venerable," 673-735). Their works and disciples influenced Northern Europe through the missionaries that crossed the seas to bring education and religion to the barbaric North. Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of England* is one of the most charming literary productions of all literature. Stemming from this seedbed of learning across the Channel is Alcuin\* (735-804), Charlemagne's "Minister of Education" and perhaps the brightest figure of the Carolingian Renaissance. Charlemagne, while of meager education himself, was extraordinarily interested in learning; his personal efforts were a great stimulus to the monastic schools of his empire. Refusing to be satisfied with defective texts, he saw to it that accurate copies were made of the *Bible*, the Liturgical Books and the *Rule of St. Benedict*. Surrounding Alcuin at the Palace School were Theodulf, a Spaniard; Paul the Deacon, a Lombard; Angilbert, a Gaul; their pupils included Einhard, the biographer of Charlemagne after the manner of Suetonius, and Lupus Servatus, whose craving for mss. of the ancients rivals that of Poggio. Following them we have Hrabanus Maurus; Walafrid Strabo, a notable poet of nature; and the unhappy Gottschalk, a lyric poet of great power. Somewhat later we find the enigmatic John the Scot and his fellow Irishman, Sedulius Scottus, whose knowledge of Greek and whose versatile characters make them the anomalies of the 9th c. The custom of the Merovingian rulers, of dividing their realms among their sons, contributed to the decline in education from the standard of Charlemagne's time, and in the Ottonian period that followed, the light burns rather low. It is held by Gerbert (ca. 1000), with his extraordinary knowledge of mathematics, and the nun Hrotswitha, who wrote Latin comedies in imitation of Terence.

By the 11th c. the vernacular languages were beginning to come to the fore, but

Latin remained the language of the times. Many of the habits of simplification that changed Latin into the Romance Languages were having a reciprocal effect on the Latin that continued to be written and spoken. The general level of Latin style was low, compared with classical usage, but the language was gaining in suppleness what it lost of accurate adherence to ancient usage. New tendencies were rising at this time. Anselm of Bec began to write theological monographs, instead of collecting *sententiae* from the Fathers. St. Peter Damian echoed the opposition to Cicero and paganism while looking back longingly at the beauties of the language that had delighted him in his youth. Abailard\* (1079-1142), however, is a product of the more progressive Cathedral schools; in him we see the dialectical interest of the nascent university at Paris. The universities were a potent influence in promoting the desire for specialization, which had hardly been known in the preceding centuries; then, all men were encyclopedists after the manner of Isidore. The *Historia Calamitatum* of Abailard is further notable as the dolorous history of his woes, a poignantly human document. One of his pupils at Paris was John of Salisbury\* (1115-80), the best educated man of the Middle Ages, whose Latin style is modeled on that of Cicero and whose knowledge of the ancient classics has no rival even in the Renaissance of the 15th c. He was a product of the best schools of France of his times, and his calmness of mind, impartiality (he could, with complete objectivity, contrast the faults and virtues of St. Bernard of Clairvaux and Gilbert of Porrée, when the latter was accused of heresy), breadth of knowledge in literature and philosophy, and gentle character have endeared him to students of the Middle Ages. He had the remarkable perception to see himself and his contemporaries as capable of their level of learning because "We are like dwarfs, seated upon the shoulders of

Giants, and we can see farther than they, not because of our sharper vision, but because of the height to which their greatness has raised us." Bernard of Clairvaux\* (1090-1153) looms large in this century as the dominant churchman whose ascetical and mystical writings influenced all of Europe. In theology, the Master of the Sentences, Peter Lombard, prepared the way for the synthesis that was to be made in the 13th c. by St. Thomas Aquinas\* (1224-74), whose *Summa Theologica* has been compared to a medieval Gothic cathedral in its symmetry, its beauty, and its focus on divine things. The greatness of mind of St. Thomas made his works the theological textbook of succeeding centuries, which fact has helped to maintain Latin as the language of Catholic theology to the present day. For, in St. Thomas, Latin comes of age as a philosophical language. In the time of Cicero, its rigidity and paucity of abstract terms made it a very clumsy medium for philosophical niceties.

In the field of poetry, the 12th and 13th c. were remarkably fertile. Ovid came into great popularity; his works were imitated by countless writers as to both content and form. His influence on early French and English are well known; from him stems in large measure the mythological element in English verse. At this time Latin accentual verse (supplanting the traditional quantitative verse) reached its high point, as in the remarkably facile liturgical sequences of the School of St. Victor and the *Dies Irae*, *Victimae Paschali Laudes*, and the *Lauda Sion* of St. Thomas. In the same form we have the poems of the Goliards, supposed to have been a group of wandering monks, living by their wits and singing their songs. Their verse is often licentious, sometimes blasphemous in their parodies of sacred ceremonies, but always clever and rhythmical. Paradoxically, both the Goliardic verse and the Mystery Plays stemmed from the Sequence; and from the Mystery

Plays grew our modern drama. The high point of the Middle Ages finds Dante\* (1265-1321) writing his Italian *Divina Commedia*, but he is notable also for his Latin works. His main interest is in the vernacular, which came to perfection at his hands; thus his *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, written in Latin to reach those who scorned Italian, is a plea for the virtues of the vernacular. His Letters are written in Italian, especially the famous one to Can Grande della Scala, an explanation of some points of his *Divina Commedia*.

With Dante the Middle Ages are popularly considered to have come to an end; the dawn of the Renaissance is at hand. In a brief survey such as this, it is impossible to give any idea of the vast bulk of medieval Latin literature. In the last two centuries of the Middle Ages, the volume of Latin literature exceeds that of all Classical Times. Latin was now the language of the Western World, not merely of the center of an Empire.

The love for the ancient world, its literature, its art, and its modes of thought, crystallized in the period known as the Renaissance. It was also a mighty effort to make Latin the common language of the turbulent and expanding world of the 15th c. When the Renaissance was flourishing in Italy, in Holland Thomas a Kempis\* (1380-1471) was writing his *Imitatio Christi*, completely medieval in outlook and style. Franciscus Petrarca\* (1304-1374) was the first of his time to engage in the diligent search for mss in the monasteries of Europe. He became completely devoted to Cicero, modeling his own correspondence on the *Letters to Atticus*, which he discovered at Verona. His early sonnets in praise of Laura were written in Italian, but what he deemed his important works he wrote in Latin: an epic poem after the model of Virgil; personal letters to the ancients. The thrill of discovery spurred on the search for mss and, at the height of the Renaissance, men's ideals in literature and education came

directly from Cicero and Quintilian. *Eloquentia* was the goal of all education; to be eloquent, a man had to speak in Latin. Great teachers arose: Guarino of Verona, Vittorino da Feltre, the latter tutor to the sons of the Duke of Mantua and founder of a famous school. Rejoicing in their contact with Rome and Greece, the Humanists held the Middle Ages in complete disdain, not realizing that the very manuscripts they were recovering had been written in the darkest of those "dark" ages. There is irony in the fact that the Humanists disliked the awkward Gothic script of the 13th c., considering it too "medieval"; in its place, they chose what they thought to be the ancient Roman script, but what was really the Caroline minuscule that had grown up in the monasteries of Gaul during the reign of Charlemagne. Thus Valla (1407-1457) in his *Elegantiae Sermonis Latini* decried the barbarisms of the Middle Ages and sought to return to a purer, i.e. Ciceronian style. Bembo (1470-1547), as secretary to Leo X, was famed for his adherence to Ciceronian usage; but none equaled the intimate knowledge of the niceties of Ciceronian usage of Muretus\* (1526-85), who delighted in confounding his critics, less learned than he, by using rare words from the *Orator*. The standard bearer of the Renaissance in the North was Desiderius Erasmus,\* whose contacts with English and Continental Humanists made him one of the best-known figures of his age.

Naturally, following the Renaissance, the greatest classical scholars of the 16th c. continued to write their works in Latin. Among them we have the two Scaligers, Casaubon, Justus Lipsius, and Salmasius. As critics, these men reacted against the cavalier treatment accorded the mss by the Humanists, who in their desire for a readable text, tampered with defective passages of the authors. Quite in a class by himself as a critic is Richard Bentley in the 17th c., an obstreperous person, who

boasted that he restricted himself to *sermonis puritatem*, although the word *puritas* was an abstract term unknown to Cicero. Bentley,\* Master of Trinity at Cambridge, influenced continental scholars very strongly. Milton\* and the 17th c. are famous for his English *Paradise Lost*, but nearly half of the poet's works are in Latin prose. He wrote Latin Letters, theological works, a treatise on Logic, State Papers and, in his youth, a quantity of Latin verse, all of which is admirable for its lucidity and purity.

But it was not only among classical scholars that Latin works were written. Bacon wrote his *Novum Organon* and Newton his *Principia*, and the geographical and cartographical works of the time are in Latin. So are the lives of the Saints, in the monumental collection of the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Jesuits, which continues to our own day. The earliest works on Palaeography are in Latin, as are works on Scripture, Canon Law, and Theology. In fact, wherever an international audience was envisaged, works were in Latin. "Humanistic" verse continued to be written also. In this field the Jesuits were active; among them Sarbiewski wrote an epic and four books of lyric poems; Rapin, a long poem on Gardens; Andreas Schott was an indefatigable editor of Latin texts and possessed an admirable Latin style in prose and verse. The Jesuit Hardouin wrote many volumes in Latin on numismatics (his chosen field) and on Scripture and theology, and held the curious notion that Horace's *Odes* were really written by the monks of the Middle Ages.

Well into the 19th c. all scholarly works were written in Latin, and even today some American universities require dissertations in the field of Classics to be written in Latin. Present-day discoveries in Biology must, in technical publications, be described in Latin, following the description in the vernacular, though the vocabulary would be unintelligible to Cicero. The bulk of Latin works



today are concerned with Catholic Theology, Scripture, and Canon Law. The latter, issued in a new code in 1918, is in Latin; and the international character of the Church will insure the continuance of Latin for this purpose. The Encyclicals of the Popes, unless addressed to a specific nation, are always in Latin, and the teaching of theology in many Catholic seminaries, because of the complexity of traditional vocabulary, is still carried on in Latin. Of late years, the growing interest in Catholic Liturgy has given a new impetus to the study of "Church Latin" among lay people.

For "pure literature," however, Latin has yielded the palm to the vernacular; it is merely as a curiosity that we still have the composition of Latin verse and Latin orations. In some universities the citations for Honorary degrees are given in Latin and commence-

ment programs are in the same tongue, and while these are merely traditional survivals, they bring us back to a time when language was a bond of unity among the peoples of the world.

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EDWIN A. QUAIN, S.J.

## LATVIAN

DURING THE Middle Ages the original organization of the Latvians was replaced by the German influences centering around the Archbishop of Riga and the Livonian Knights. Later Lutheranism appeared. For a while in the 17th c. Sweden held the country; then it passed into the hands of Russia, from which it was liberated in 1918. With such a history the native peoples were slow in recovering and developing a national literature of their own.

There were, however, thousands of folk songs, some of which contain pagan and other old material. They are largely included in the *dainas*, similar to those of Lithuania, but in almost all cases these consist of four-line verses, which portray almost all aspects of popular life and which have become the source of inspiration of many of the modern writers.

Passing over the Latin chronicles, as the *Chronicle* of Henry the Lett (ca. 1225), and the German *Rhymed Chronicle* (ca. 1326), we find that the earliest work in Latvian was a translation of the *Lord's Prayer* by Grunau (1521-30). This was followed by other religious translations. In 1585 appeared the first printed work, a *Catholic Catechism* by Petrus Canisius; in the next year appeared a *Lutheran Catechism*. In 1685 the *New Testament* appeared in Latvian; the complete Bible, in 1689. The same century saw a number of dictionaries and grammars and a considerable amount of ecclesiastical literature.

Secular literature made its appearance with the work of Gotthard Friedrich Stender (1714-98), who translated some of the fables of Aesop and prepared a long series of pleasant Arcadian poetry on classical models (*New Ditties*, *Jaunas zinges*, 1774, and *The De-*

lights of *Singing, Zingu lustes*, 1789). His son, Alexander Johannn Spender (1744-1819), continued in the same vein. On the other hand, the pietists, as Georg Loskiel (1740-1814), opposed this type and sought to replace it with devotional songs. These men were all of German speech, writing in Latvian. Among the first of the native Latvian writers was Blind Indrikis (1783-1828), whose songs first appeared in 1806. Another prolific author was Ernests Dinbergis (1816-1902). Yet he and his associates perpetuated the traditional German-Latvian manner. It was among this circle that there was founded in 1882 the first Latvian journal *Latveeschu Avises* (*The Latvian News*); in 1824 the Latvian Literary Society was established.

Yet as an independent entity Latvian literature really took form in the middle of the 19th c. with the work of three students: Krišjānis Valdemārs (1825-91), who consecrated himself to developing a Latvian culture and prosperity; Atis Kronvaldis (1837-75), who worked in the same vein; and Juris Alūnans (1832-64), a philologist and poet, who translated such writers as Horace, Schiller, and Pushkin, and also wrote excellent sonnets and other verses. At the same time Krišjānis Barons (1835-1923) collected the Latvian folk songs and made them available for poetic reworking.

On the basis thus laid, there appeared a new set of romantic poets, who sought to use the vast amount of collected material and to present it in a new literary form. Here belong Auseklis (Mikelis Krogzems, 1850-79) and Andrejs Pumpurs (1841-1902) with his attempted organization of the folk epics into the *Lāčplēsis* (*The Slayer of the Bear*), 1888. This glorification of the past in a true romantic spirit, with all the trappings of the older German and Western European romanticism, continued for some decades and produced many excellent works.

A little later a new tendency appeared

among the Latvians. Ideas of European and particularly Russian realism came into the country and the developing Latvian community tended to think in terms of classes and of contemporary problems, instead of continuing to live in dreams of an heroic age. Among this group were the critics Jānis Jansons (1871-1917) and Teodors Zeifferts (1865-1929), and the novelists and short story writers, as Eduards Veidenbaums (1867-92), Zvārgulu Edvards (Edvards Treumanis, b. 1866) and the greatest dramatist and short story writer Rudolfs Blaumanis (1861-1908).

At the end of the century, impressionism reinforced by a study of the Russian symbolists made its appearance, with Rainis (Jānis Pliekšāns, 1865-1929) who was exiled to Vyatka in 1897 and then lived in Switzerland from 1905 to 1920, and his wife Aspazija (Elza Rosenberga, b. 1868) the most prominent woman writer of Latvia. Rainis is marked by his deep appreciation of the national tradition, his deep love for social justice, and his wide acquaintance with the best of European literature. Thus one of his first works was a translation of Goethe's *Faust*. His wife started with a fiery revolutionary enthusiasm, but there is a steadily increasing personal note in her works, which in the last years has given place to a proud and lovely resignation. To this group belongs also Kārlis Skalbe (b. 1879), who is an exquisite lyricist of a sad spirit that leads him at times to be an aesthete of pain.

All these movements of neo-romanticism and the decadence reached their height in the period from 1905 to the First World War. It was a rich period of development, with such authors as Edvarts Virza (Edvards Lieknis, b. 1883) and his wife Elza Stērste (b. 1885), the leading representatives of French influence; Viktors Eglītis (b. 1877), an ardent disciple of neo-classicism. In prose too there was a rich development, with the

historical novels of Jēkabs Janševskis (1865–1931) and many others.

With the recovery of national independence, all these tendencies were strongly reinforced. Expressionism made its appearance, and there was a marked flood of free verse. Among the leading poets of this period are Jānis Sudrābkalkns (Arvids Peine, b. 1894); Pēteris Ērmanis (b. 1893); Apsesdēls (Augusts Apsītis, 1880–1932), a sceptic and anarchist; Andrejs Kurcijs (Andrejs Kuršinskis, b. 1884); Linards Laincēns (b. 1883). Among other writers in prose we may mention Jānis Akurāters (1876–1937).

After 1927 there came a period of weariness in the literature and then there arose a new clash between the young and the old. Among the newer poets of considerable merit

are Aleksandrs Čaks (Alessandrs Čadarainis, b. 1902), Eriks Adamsons (b. 1907), Jānis Medenis (b. 1903). With the opening of the authoritarian regime in 1934, there grew a new interest in the nation and its past; among the novels based upon this is *Tevila* (*The Whirlwind*, 1933), by Mēdenis.

This growing literature was again cut short by the Soviet occupation of the country in 1940 and as the tide of war swept back and forth, much of worth was destroyed; but the genius of the Latvian people, which has shown itself chiefly in poems and in short stories, will revive at the first breath of freedom.

W. K. Matthews, *The Tricolour Sun*, 1936; M. Segreste, *La Lattonie*, 1930.

CLARENCE A. MANNING.

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LEBANESE—See Arabic.

LÉONAIIS (LÉONARD)—See Breton.

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## LITHUANIAN

DURING THE great period of the medieval Lithuanian state, the Lithuanian language was not cultivated. The Orthodox branch of the royal family regularly used for state purposes a White Russian form of Church Slavonic, and the branch that adopted Roman Catholicism naturally employed Latin. By the union of Poland and Lithuania with the marriage of Jagiello and Jadwiga in 1386, Polish influence came to dominate at the capital of Vilnius (Wilno), so that the Polish language was adopted by the aristocracy.

All this did not affect the dainas and the other folk songs, which were cultivated assiduously by the rural population and which are perhaps still the best known part of Lithu-

anian literature. Some of them contain mythological allusions of the old pagan times. Few of them are heroic songs. The vast majority are lyrical in character and explain the hardships of the people, their sympathetic attitude toward nature and the many customs connected with birth, marriage, and death. They are literally numbered by the thousands and the impulse to produce them has still not died out. They have been collected since the late 17th c., attracting attention in Germany and in Russia almost as much as at home.

The rise of written literature dates from the period of the Protestant Reformation, when in 1547 Martinas Mažvydas (Latin: Mosvidius; d. 1560) in Königsberg published

a Lutheran catechism. Shortly after, the Roman Catholics commenced to use the language for their teaching, and in 1595 Canon Mikolajus Daukša (d. 1613) published a Roman Catholic catechism in Lithuania proper. From this time on Lithuanian continues its written existence, although it was nearly two centuries before the real beginning of a secular literature.

The first important work was the *Metai* (*The Seasons*), by Kristijonas Donelaitis (in Latin, Donalitiūs, 1714-1780), a Lutheran pastor living in East Prussia near the Lithuanian border. In his great work describing the life of the common people and the reactions of nature throughout the year, he employed a modification of the classical hexameter. *The Seasons* is a striking poem, which has been translated several times into German, Russian, and Polish.

With the opening of the 19th c. the literature became more active, especially in the province of Samogitia, after the appearance of a treatise, *The Beginnings of the Lithuanian Nation and its Language*, by Rev. Father Bohusz or Baužas. Of the writers of the first generation Dionizas Poška (1757-1832) was the outstanding leader, with his works *Mužikas Žemaičiu ir Lietuvos* (*The Peasant of Samogitia and Lithuania*) and *Giesmė Mužikėlo* (*The Song of the Peasant*). Soon after, the High Lithuanians also commenced literary activity, with the Rev. Antanas Strazdas (1763-1833) the leading figure.

In the next years, Šimanas Daukantas (1793-1864) did considerable research on historical subjects at Vilnius and St. Petersburg; he tended toward Romanticism. Bishop Motiejus Valančius (1801-1875) of Samogitia wrote in many veins, history, tales for children and for adults. Bishop Valančius with his moralizing tales and his sense of humor, which appears even in his *Lives of*

*the Saints*, became one of the leading prose writers of Lithuania.

Romanticism dominated the literature for the next years, largely through the influence of Adam Mickiewicz, who was of Lithuania although he became the greatest Polish poet. Among those influenced by him was Antanas Baranauskas (1835-1902), a native of Anykščiai. His most famous poem was the *Anykščių Šilėlis* (*The Grove of Anykščiai*), a description of his birthplace, one of the masterpieces of the literature; but after his ordination as a priest he gave up poetry and devoted himself to philology and mathematics.

These promising beginnings were rudely interrupted when after the Polish revolt of 1863, the Russian government sternly forbade the publication of any books in the Lithuanian language. It was then necessary for the writers to have their books printed in East Prussia and smuggled back into Lithuania. This could not fail to have a depressing effect. Yet Dr. Jonas Basanavičius (1851-1927) of Vilkauskis was able in 1883 to publish a journal *Aušra* (*The Dawn*), which continued for three years. In its romantic fervor this journal outlined the spirit of Lithuania, and Dr. Basanavičius is often treated as the father of the Lithuanian rebirth. In a more realistic mood, Dr. Vincas Kudirka (1858-1899), in his journal *Varpas* (*The Bell*, 1889-1905), developed positivistic ideas and translated into Lithuanian works of Byron, Mickiewicz and Schiller. Among his original works was the Lithuanian National Anthem.

Other outstanding figures of this period among the priesthood were Maironis (Rev. J. Mačiulis, 1862-1932) who wrote lyrics and other poems and also historical dramas based upon Lithuanian history; Adomas Jakštas (Monsignor Aleksandras Dambrauskas, 1860-1938) who was preeminent as a literary critic; and Canon Juozas Tumas-Vaižgantas (1869-1933) whose greatest work was a three vol-

ume novel, *Pragiedruliai* (*Sunbeams*), which describes the Lithuanian struggles against the Russians in defence of their culture.

A considerable number of outstanding woman writers also appeared, as Zemaitė (Julija Zymantienė (1845–1921) who after the age of fifty drew realistic pictures of Lithuanian village life. There were also the two sisters Sofija (1867–1926) and Marija (b. 1872) Ivanauskaitė, who wrote under the name of Lazdynu Pelėda. They described peasant life, the sufferings of the peasants at the hands of the landowners, and also the lives of factory workers. Marija Pečkauskaitė (1878–1930), writing under the name of Šatrijos Ragana, devoted many of her works to juvenile education. Her major novel is *Sename Dvare* (*In the Old Manor*).

The ban on the publication of books was lifted after 1905 and a new series of modern literary schools sprang up, among them symbolism. Among its early masters were Vydūnas (Vilius Storasta, b. 1868), although his writings and dramas did not become popular; and Jurgis Baltrušaitis (1873–1944) who had early acquired fame as a symbolist in Russian literature and then turned to Lithuanian compositions. He later became Lithuanian minister in Moscow.

Vincas Krėvė Mickevičius (b. 1882) turned away from symbolism; in his *Dainavaos Šalies Padaviniai* (*Legends from Dainava*) he imitated the folk ballad style, and in his scenes of village life he has known how to combine with close observation of details, psychological analysis and metaphysical speculations. Other writers of this generation were the critic J. Lindė Dobilas (1872–1934) with his psychological novel *Blūdas* (*Delirium*), and Jonas Biliūnas (1879–1907) who, drifting from socialism to idealism, left many excellent short stories.

With the establishment of Lithuanian independence in 1918, the old writers were spurred on to new activity, and another generation which was beginning to become known before World War II assumed the center of the stage. Among them was Balyš Sruoga (b. 1896), a lyric poet and a historical dramatist; Faustas Kirša (b. 1891), who, however, at times tends to lose himself in the occult; Vincas Mykolaitis Putinas (b. 1893), an outstanding individualist lyric poet, novelist, and playwright; and Kazys Binkis (1893–1942) who in his later works turned toward modernism.

A still later generation includes poets, Jonas Kossu Aleksandravičius (b. 1904), a master of form; Bernardas Brazdžionis (b. 1907), one of the most original of the authors; and novelists, Jieva Simonaitytė (b. in Kallipeda, 1897) writing about the people of that area, and Juozas Grušas (b. 1901), a realist and psychologist. Among the leftist and Communist writers are Petras Cvirka (b. 1909), a skilful realist and portrayer of unpleasant situations, and J. Marcinkevičius (b. 1901), who delights in drawing pictures from the criminal world.

All of this development has been upset by the troubles of the past years, the occupation of Lithuania by the Soviet Union, then the invasion of the Germans and the complete scattering of the educated class in the new holocaust. Yet despite it all, Lithuanian literature, which has scarcely lost its first generation of great authors, has shown such striking vitality that we can expect a revival when once again conditions are favorable for the resumption of independent national life.

Antanas Vaičiulaitis, *Outline History of Lithuanian Literature*, 1942; Jean Mauclere, *Littérature Lithuanienne*, 1938; Uriah Katzenelenbogen, *The Daina*, 1935.

CLARENCE A. MANNING.

## LOUISIANA-FRENCH

LOUISIANA-FRENCH literature began in 1777 with the publication of two poems, *Le Dieu et les Nâïades du Fleuve Saint-Louis* (The Mississippi River) and *Épître* (Letter) à Don Bernard de Galvez, both attributed to Julien Poydras, who also wrote, two years later, *La Prise du Morne* (The Capture of the Bluff) du Bâton-Rouge par Mgr de Galvez. The fact that these three compositions are the first specimens of Louisiana-French literature gives them an importance out of proportion to their intrinsic merit. They are written in stilted verse and lack originality of form and thought. Berquin-Duvallon's *Recueil de poésies d'un colon de Saint-Domingue*, which contains one poem on Louisiana, and his *Vue de la colonie espagnole du Mississipi*, published in Paris in 1802 and 1803 respectively, do not fall within the range of this study, although literary historians generally include them in their treatment of Louisiana-French letters. Berquin-Duvallon, a refugee from Santo Domingo, spent little more than two years in Louisiana, and could not, therefore, be really considered a citizen of that province. Briefly, the entire literary production of Louisiana under the French and Spanish regimes consisted of three poetic compositions of very mediocre merit. The ceaseless struggle against climate, forest, and Indians absorbed all the energies of the colony during the first century of its history. Gradually under American rule Louisiana acquired a degree of prosperity which made it possible for its inhabitants to become interested in intellectual pursuits. By 1850 the State had a fairly large class of wealthy Creole planters and New Orleans enjoyed a flourishing French culture.

The first literary production of the 19th c., *La Fête du Petit-Blé, ou l'Héroïsme de Poucha-Houmma*, published in 1814 by Paul

Le Blanc de Villeneuve, was also the first play written in Louisiana. This dramatic work in five acts of Alexandrine verse contains interesting details about the life and customs of the Choctaw Indians, among whom the author had spent several years towards the end of the French regime. The most successful Louisiana dramatist was, however, Louis-Placide Canonge (1822-93), who won considerable prestige as a playwright, dramatic and musical critic, and journalist. His best-known plays are *Le Comte de Monte Cristo* (1846), an adaptation from Dumas' novel; *France et Espagne* (1850), a dramatization of an episode famous in Louisiana history, the revolt of the French patriots against Spanish rule in 1768; and *Le Comte de Carmagnola* (1856).

Among other notable dramatists were Auguste Lussan, who wrote *La Famille créole* (1837), *Sara la Juive* (1838), and *Les Martyrs de la Louisiane* (1839), the plot of which is also based on the tragic events of 1768-69; P.-E. Pérennes, author of *Guatimozin, ou le Dernier Jour* (Last Day) de l'Empire Mexicain (1839); and Charles-Oscar Dugué, to whom Louisiana-French literature is indebted for *Mila, ou la Mort* (Death) de La Salle (1852). Except for *Fortunia* (1888), a drama in five acts by Alfred Mercier, and a few comedies by Marie Augustin, Charles Deléry, and Félix Voorhies, published at the end of the 19th c. and in the first decade of the 20th, no plays were written after the Civil War.

In Louisiana-French literature a great deal of poetry was published, of which, as in other literatures, only a very small fraction deserves to be remembered. The best-known poets of Louisiana are undoubtedly the Rouquette brothers. Dominique Rouquette (1810-90), whose highly sensitive and undisciplined temperament caused him to live the carefree and

impecunious life of an intellectual vagabond, wrote *Les Meschacébéennes* (*Poems of the Mississippi*, 1839) and *Fleurs d'Amérique* (1857), which reflect an intense love for Louisiana scenery. His brother Adrien (1813-87) was also a man of a very emotional nature. His fondness for solitude and meditation is permeated with a deep note of mysticism and idealism befitting one who gave up the study of law to become a priest. In *Les Savanes* (*The Fields*), *Poésies d'Amérique* (1841), printed a few years before he entered upon his ecclesiastical career, one finds, in addition to fine descriptions of Louisiana forests, a strong religious undercurrent. The poetry of Dominique and Adrien Rouquette was most sympathetically received by Béranger, Sainte-Beuve, Victor Hugo, and other famous contemporary European French writers, who enjoyed being carried back to the country which Chateaubriand's *Atala* had immortalized a generation before. Tullius Saint-Céran, author of *Chansons et Poésies diverses* (1836) and *Rien ou Moi* (*Nothing or Me*, 1837), tried his hand at various types of poetry, including patriotic compositions (1814-15, about the Battle of New Orleans; 1838); but he lacked sufficient mastery of his art. Charles-Oscar Dugué showed more talent and originality in his *Essais Poétiques* (1847), a collection characterized by great sincerity of religious emotion. Alexandre Latil, bedridden with leprosy for many years, and Charles Testut, a penniless refugee from Guadeloupe, where he had once been a prosperous planter, sought consolation in poetry. To Louisiana-French letters Latil contributed *Les Ephémères* (1841); Testut, *Les Echos* (1849). *Les Cenelles* (*Fruit of the Hawthorn*), *Choix de Poésies Indigènes* (1847) is an interesting collection of poems by seventeen Negro writers, most of whom sing the praises of their lady love. *La Rose de Smyrne* and *L'Ermite* (*Hermit*) *du Niagara*, published in 1842 by Alfred Mercier, are probably the

best specimens of Louisiana-French narrative poetry.

The novel developed in Louisiana later than either poetry or drama. The first works of fiction appeared in serial form, in magazines. In 1848, *La Revue Louisianaise* presented to its readers Alexandre Barde's *Michel Peyroux, ou les Pirates de la Louisiane*, the plot of which was inspired by the exploits of Lafitte and his band. The following year, *Les Veillées Louisianaises* published two novels, *Saint-Denis* and *Calisto*, by its editor Charles Testut, and *Louisiana*, by Armand Garreau. *Louisiana* is the story of the revolt of 1768, a subject treated repeatedly by local writers. Testut went to Charles Gayarré's *Histoire de la Louisiane* for his plots, and gave free range to his imagination in the description of episodes that the noted historian had already depicted with romantic gusto. *Saint-Denis* deals with the strange adventures of the Canadian officer, Juchereau de Saint-Denis, who was sent to Mexico by La Mothe Cadillac to open a new field for Louisiana commerce and ended by marrying the daughter of Don Pedro de Villescàs, commander of a Spanish fort situated in the Presidio del Norte, near the Rio Grande. *Calisto* is the story of Sophie de Wolfenbuttel, a German princess, who, mistreated by her husband, Prince Alexis, son of Peter the Great, managed to escape to Louisiana, where she lived under the name of Calisto. Although presenting a certain interest on account of their historical background and their descriptions of local scenes, these four novels possess little literary value. They are hastily written. Their plot is poorly constructed; long digressions retard the progress of the action; and the style does not show any originality.

A few novels worthy of mention appeared during the generation that followed the Civil War. The most widely known of these is Adrien Rouquette's *La Nouvelle Atala* (1879), a strange story in which the author has given

full expression to his intense love of nature and his deep mystical longings. *L'Habitation Saint-Ybars* (1881), by Alfred Mercier, an idealistic picture of plantation life before the Civil War, is well written and genuinely interesting. In *Pouponne et Balhazar*, published in 1888, Mme Sidonie de la Houssaye has drawn a vivid description of the life and customs of the Acadians in Louisiana during the generation that followed their coming to the Lower Mississippi Valley.

Any discussion of Louisiana-French literature, however brief, should contain some account of the contributions of Charles Gayarré (1805-95) and Alcée Fortier (1856-1914). Gayarré's *Histoire de la Louisiane* (1846-47), a two volume work, which superseded his *Essai Historique sur la Louisiane* (1830), won him great acclaim and prestige among contemporary American historians. This book, which has enjoyed great popularity in its English version, represents an important date in the development of historical research in the United States. Alcée Fortier was a man of unusual talent and industry. He not only wrote numerous books and articles to make Louisiana-French history, language, literature, and folklore better known

among his English-speaking compatriots, but, as the Civil War had dealt French culture in Louisiana a serious blow, he also labored enthusiastically to bring Creoles to a better appreciation of their rich cultural background. As President of the Athénée Louisianais from 1893 until his death in 1914, he used all his prestige and talent to insure the survival of French in his native State. In the 1890's French was no longer used in Louisiana as a literary medium, except by a mere handful of writers. Fortier was the most distinguished of these, and, with his death in 1914, the cause of French culture in Louisiana lost its most able and devoted champion. Although French is still widely spoken among the rural population of the southern part of the state, Louisiana-French literature really ceased to exist some time at the beginning of the present century.

Ruby Van Allen Caulfield, *The French Literature of Louisiana* (N. Y.), 1929; Alcée Fortier, *Louisiana Studies* (New Orleans), 1894; Edward J. Fortier, *Cambridge History of American Literature* (N. Y.), 1933, III, 590-598; Edward Larocque Tinker, *Les Ecrits de Langue française en Louisiane au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris), 1932. See Canadian and Louisiana French Folklore.

JOSEPH M. CARRIÈRE.

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LITTLE RUSSIA—See Ukrainian.

LOYALTY ISLANDS—See Polynesian.

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## LUSATIAN

THE SMALLEST of the Slavonic groups, that of the Lusatian Serbs or Wends, living in Germany (Saxony and Prussia), developed their own literature, although unfortunately it was divided into Upper and Lower Lusatian, with centers at Budyšin (Bautzen) and Khočebuz (Chotbus) respectively.

The literature dates back to the early 16th c. Thus the *New Testament* was translated

into Lower Lusatian in 1548, and some other works remained in manuscript; but the first printed volume was a *Hymnal* by Moller and a *Lutheran Catechism* in 1574. In 1597 there appeared an Upper Lusatian translation of the *Small Lutheran Catechism*. For the next two centuries the further writings in the language were nearly all for theological purposes.



In the meantime the Czech revival had affected the small remaining groups of the Lusatians and Handrij Zejler (1804-72), a friend of many of the Czech leaders, undertook to broaden the basis of Lusatian knowledge; he had much to do with the founding of the Mačica Serbska (National Museum and Cultural Center) in 1847. At first he used classical metres, but he changed to metres and themes in the style of the native folksongs and of the Czech poets of the period before 1848. Still more important in the organization of Lusatian culture was the work of Jan Arnošt Smoleř (1816-84), who collected folk songs and edited political and literary journals. He was greatly aided by Michał Hórník (1833-94), who continued the work of translation and of collecting folk songs as well as writing original poetry on Czech models. Of the early writers in Lower Lusatian Mato Kósyk (b. 1853) was the first real poet, though he was preceded by Kito Stempel (1787-1867), with some fairly awkward verses.

The great name in the literature is that of Jakub Čišinski-Bart (1856-1909). He was a distinguished poet and translator and also prepared the first Lusatian drama (1880) for production by an amateur cast. His successors, as Józef Nowak (b. 1895) and Jan Skala

(b. 1889), introduced into their writings more of the social than the romantic or patriotic notes that had marked the older writers. G. Šwela (b. 1873) and Mina Witkojc (b. 1893) are the leaders in the Lower group. In prose we find such names as the humorist Mikławš Bjedrich-Radlubin (1859-1930), Jakub Lorenc-Zaleški (b. 1874), Marje Kubašec (b. 1891), and P. Romuald Domaška (b. 1869). Their works tend toward the social or historical, with many stories drawn from the older history of the Lusatians and the other vanished German Slav tribes.

The literature expanded steadily, especially after 1919, when for a while the Lusatians hoped for independence or for annexation to Czechoslovakia, and that government extended all possible aid to the Lusatian scholars and writers. The situation began to darken after the rise of Hitler, although delegates to the Paris conference had been arrested by the German Republic. The power of the Nazis was speedily exerted to restrict the Lusatian activity, and it is doubtful now whether there are enough left alive to renew the activity and the literary development that was so marked during the first part of the 19th century.

CLARENCE A. MANNING.

LUSITANIAN—See Portuguese.

MAGYAR—See Hungarian.

MACKENZIE INDIAN—See North American Native.

MALAYALAM—See Indian.

MALECITE—See North American Native.

## MALTESE

THE MALTESE language belongs to the Semitic group of languages and is closely akin to, but quite different from, Arabic. There is a strong tendency to consider Maltese as de-

riving from the language of the Phoenicians, the earliest recorded settlers in Malta, whose domain on the Island lasted for about a thousand years and left an indelible mark on the

race, character, and life of the present day Maltese people.

References concerning the Maltese language are met with in old books of travel such as *Account of a Journey* by Sir Philip Skippon, Jr., who visited Malta in 1664 and wrote an Anglo-Maltese Word List vocabulary of Maltese words. The Sieur Du Mont mentions the Maltese language in his *Voyage to the Levant*, published in London in 1696. Maltese folk songs are printed in the work of the famous traveller, the Chevalier de Saint Priest (1791).

Maltese literary compositions date as far back as the 17th c. Dr. G. F. Bonamico, a distinguished Maltese man of medicine, wrote his sonnets about the year 1670; his *Ode to May* is still read with pleasure. A book of sermons in 1739 and a *Catechism* in 1752 are other literary efforts of the early 18th c. Indeed, that century saw the beginning of a lively interest in the study of the Maltese language.

Canon Agius de Soldanis in 1750 published his treatise on the Maltese language: *Della Lingua Punica etc.* which was reviewed in the *Journal Etranger* of Paris, 1754. De Soldanis's work started a controversy about the nature and origin of the Maltese language, which was taken up by G. A. Vassalli, a Maltese man of letters, in 1791, and followed by Bellerman of Berlin (1809), Gesenius of Leipzig (1810), Stumme of Leipzig (1904), Caruana and Preca of Malta in 1896 and 1904 respectively. Lately contributions to the study of the Maltese language were made by L. Bonelli of Rome, D. G. Barbera of Beyrouth, C. L. Dessaulavy of London, A. Cremona and Professors G. Aquilina and P. P. Saydon of Malta, who approached the problem of the origin of the Maltese language from a scientific point of view.

Maltese literature, however, has developed as an expression of national life and thought

only during the last one hundred years. The first efforts at full scale literary composition appear erratic and hesitating, but with the assertion of the national aspirations of the Maltese people, their literature burst forth in an effusion of literary works full of vigour and beauty glorifying the heroic past and heralding the promising future.

Maltese literature has been influenced by three main factors: The Great Siege of 1565; the establishment of the Knights of St. John in Malta (1530-1798); and the Insurrection of the Maltese people against the French, who had occupied the Island in the Napoleonic era.

Around the glorious deeds of the Great Siege of Malta have been built many of the outstanding Maltese works in prose, but chiefly in verse. The heroic defence by the people and the Knights against overwhelming Turkish forces has inspired Maltese poets who felt it a sacred duty to sing in praise of the heroism shown by their forefathers; there is not a Maltese poet that has not written some verses about the Great Siege of 1565. The "Eighth of September," or "Victory Day," are favourite themes for poetic inspiration.

The sojourn of the Knights in Malta offers a fertile romantic ground for Maltese writers. The pomp and circumstance of the Knights, their pageantry, their daring deeds, their struggle with pirates and Infidels, their intrigues at home and in the Courts of Europe, their aristocratic mien, have furnished material for novelists in search of romantic adventure. Some of the best novels in Maltese are built about the doings of the Knights of Malta.

The Napoleonic era, with its new ideas about the rights of man and political emancipation of the nations, affords inexhaustible material for Maltese novelists and dramatists; some of the foremost Maltese authors have drawn freely on events resulting from the French occupation of Malta.

As a general rule Maltese literature derives

its inspiration from the dignities and decencies of human life; it discards the base passions, the crude sentiments and the absurd. Poetry is highly devotional; the majority of Maltese verse harps on sacred themes; but love is also sung with all the sweet passions and emotions of sensitive hearts.

Both poetry and prose are extremely patriotic; often the writer is carried on a wave of enthusiasm and reaches great heights of rhetorical effusion. Family ties and social loyalties are extolled in all sorts of compositions. Most authors hold sacred and inviolable all circumstances of domestic life. The forms, also, are conservative; most poets use the traditional meters, with very little experimentation.

It is within the past century that Maltese literature achieved its fullest flowering. Galanton Vassallo (1817-67) was a philosopher, a historian and a man of letters; his book of poems *Hrejef u Cajt* (*Tales and Jokes*; 1841) is full of mirth and fun, with occasional satire on certain aspects of contemporary life. Vassallo wrote a very popular history of Malta (1854) and a life of Christ (1870), but his greatest work is *Il-Gifen Tork* (*The Turkish Galleon*; 1861), an epic poem of outstanding beauty and high conception.

Duvik Mifsud Tommasi was a priest who wrote sacred poetry in the best of styles; his *Book of Sacred Hymns* (1852) is a treasure of sweet inspirations and purity of thought.

Hannibal Preca was a teacher and a scholar who devoted his time to the study of the Maltese language and the writing of Maltese books; he was a prolific writer of short stories and light poetry, as well as of educational works. His novels depict lively incidents in ordinary Maltese life and his characterizations are excellent. His *Book of Maltese Poetry* (1865) is jovial, easily flowing and free of platitudes, while his *History of the Bible* (1893), *History of the Church* (1895), book of geography (1900), and book of natural

history (1901), prove the widespread crudition of the author.

Richard Taylor was an adventurer; always in strained circumstances, he tried his luck in various enterprises; he edited certain news-sheets and dubious newspapers that brought him into trouble with the Police, he dabbled in politics; but he is chiefly remembered as a great poet; his poetical works embrace all kinds of subjects from sacred sonnets to profane love lyrics and skits on contemporary events and personalities such as *Carnival Riot* (1846), *Mitri* (1846). Taylor's fame, however, rests on his two great works *L-Iskoll tal-Bniedem* (*Man's Obstacle*; 1843) and *Jum il-Haqq* (*Judgment Day*; 1845), both of which are poetical compositions of high conception and deep speculation concerning the aims and scope of human life.

Anton Manwel Caruana was a lexicographer of outstanding merit; he compiled a vocabulary of the Maltese language and a grammar of extreme value; but Maltese literature owes to Caruana one of its best classics: *Inez Farrug* (1889). This novel is considered to be one of the best romantic works ever written in Maltese.

P. P. Bellanti was a civil servant who showed great interest in history and literature; he wrote short novels which have a distinctive charm, whilst his *Malta Qadima* (*Old Malta*; 1913) is a learned study of the Archeology of the Island, and *Marianna Fumi* (1900) is a masterly novel of modern life.

Dwardu Cachia was a schoolmaster and a poet who wrote beautiful verse; he is chiefly remembered for his *Katrin tal-Imdina* (*Catherine of Imdina*; 1885), a heroic poem in the style of Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel*. Another schoolmaster who devoted himself to Maltese literature was P. P. Castagna; his monumental *History of Malta* (1869) is still read with pleasure.

Ca. 1880 there were other Maltese writers who in some way or other helped enrich the

literature of Malta. Napoleon Tagliaferro, Achilles Ferres, Dr. Fabriz Borg, G. Vassallo, Vincent Busuttil, Dun Guzepp Farrugia and the Marquis John Paul Testaferrata Olivier were members of a Maltese literary Society called "Xirka Xemija"; and all of them wrote prose and verse of high literary value. About this time Guzé Muscat Azzopardi started his literary career; he was destined to reach the highest pinnacle of literary fame in Malta.

G. Muscat Azzopardi was a successful solicitor, a noted politician and an authoritative art and literary critic, but he excelled as a novelist although he is also considered to be one of the best poets of Malta. His literary output is considerable and comprises poetry, novels, plays, biographies and translations of the Bible and of other books.

Muscat Azzopardi's poetry has very great charm; his *Book of Verse* (1890) contains literary gems of the highest order; his *Eighth of September* (1920), and his *Saul of Tarsus* (1918), are continuous sources of delight to lovers of rhythm.

Muscat Azzopardi's novels rise far above ordinary levels. All of them have a historical background and are great favourites amongst Maltese readers. *Toni Bajjada* (1878), *Susanna* (1883), *Censu Barbara* (1892), and *Nazju Ellul* (1909), to mention only four of his romances, are cherished by the Maltese public and treasured in every Maltese library. His rendering of the *Gospel* into the Maltese language is a superb example of translation.

Guzé Muscat Azzopardi was one of the founders of the "Association of Maltese Writers" also known as the "Academy of the Maltese Language," of which he was the first President. Carmel Camilleri was a famous actor and a playwright; his works are lively, humorous, and full of humanity. *It-Torrita Babel* (*Tower of Babel*; 1854), *Tieg fil-Carnival* (*Carnival Wedding*; 1885), *Papa* (1886), are only three of his original comedies; other works include translations of French farces

and Italian comedies, all done in a masterly way, adapted to local taste and fashion.

Michael Ang Borg also earned esteem for his interest in the stage; he was director of a famous Maltese dramatic company. Later he entered politics and was elected a senator. He deserves praise for his activities in promoting Maltese drama; he translated and produced various plays. *Il-Hena taz-Zwieg* (*The Happiness of Marriage*; 1897), *Dik l-Affari* (*That Affair*; 1906), and *Invenzjoni Meraviljusa* (*Marvellous Invention*; 1908), were highly successful and still attract big houses wherever they are produced.

Alphonse Marija Galea, a bank director and landowner much esteemed for his philanthropic activities, showed great interest in Maltese literature and devoted much of his time to writing for the people; he did much to popularize the love of reading amongst the masses. He was a prolific writer on various subjects; his *Moghdiġa taz-Zmien* (*Pastime*; 1902-1915), is a series of books that besides being very good fiction cover various subjects such as Geography, Archeology, History, Drama, Hygiene, the Metric System, and Social Questions.

Temi Zammit, better known to the outside world as Sir Themistocles Zammit, late Rector of the Royal University of Malta, was a world-famous archeologist and a distinguished scientist; but he occupies an honourable place amongst Maltese authors for his short novels depicting country life and customs; in his *Book of Novels* (1935), he shows a sympathetic understanding of the Maltese countryman and woman, and his sketches are pen pictures of the ordinary life of the humble folk.

Monsignor Carmelo Psaila (b. 1871) writes under the pen name of Dun Karm; he is the national poet of Malta. As a poet Dun Karm ranks highest and his works bear comparison with those of famous poets abroad. For lofty inspiration, high conception of thought and

beauty of expression, Dun Karm is unsurpassable; the charm of his muse is exquisite.

Many of Dun Karm's poems have been translated into other languages. His *L-Jien u Lilhinn Minnu* (*The Ego and Beyond*; 1938), is considered his most accomplished work; it is the highest expression in poetical form of the philosophy of life and death and of the link connecting the poet's material inspirations with his spiritual aims. *Il-Musbil tal-Muzew* (*The Museum Lantern*; 1920), is a fascinating poem in which the poet expresses his admiration for the glories of the past. *Non Omnis Moriar* is another most beautiful poem, centering around the everlasting glory of true poetry. *L-O-qbra* (1936) is a poetical translation of Foscolo's *Sepolcri* (*The Graves*); in it Dun Karm has proved himself the equal of the great Italian poet. As a national poet, Dun Karm enjoys the love and respect of the Maltese people. He succeeded Guzé Muscat Azzopardi as President of the Association of the Maltese Writers.

Besides a grammarian of no mean merit, Ninu Cremona is one of the most notable Maltese scholars, whose views on the source and nature of the Maltese language carry great weight. He wrote several grammars of the Maltese language, from simple ones for beginners to elaborate works in which he enters deeply into the study of the Etymology and Syntax of the language. Cremona, however, did not limit himself to scholarly production; he wrote fiction, literary criticism, drama. His short novels are rich in description and attractive in style. His best work is *Il-Fidwa tal-Bdiewa* (*The Farmers' Ransom*; 1936), considered to be one of the best classical plays in Maltese.

The most popular author in Malta is Guzi Galea, whose works bear comparison with those of the best writers elsewhere. He is a novelist, a dramatist, and literary critic of the highest order. As Dr. Joseph Galea he occupies a responsible position in the Medical

Services of the Government of Malta, but the Maltese public love to think of him as Guzi Galea, the favourite author. Galea's novels are by far superior to any other fiction written in Maltese; they may be considered as constituting the "Waverley novels" of Malta. Many of them have been dramatized. Galea excels in his power of description, in the lucidity of his style, and in his happy blending of historical facts with fiction. *Zmien l-Ispanjoli* (*Under the Spaniards*; 1937), and *San Gwan* (*Old St. John*; 1939), are riots of thrilling adventures and arresting plots. *Ragel Bil-Ghaqal* (*A Wise Man*; 1944), compares with Stevenson's *Treasure Island* and is the only Maltese classic for children. *Inkwiet Fid-Dar* (*Domestic Troubles*; 1945), is a play of the Second World War, having for its theme the clashing of the modern with the old ways of thought. In his *Novels of the War* Galea draws a realistic picture of life in Malta during the period of the fiercest enemy attacks. For his literary merit, Guzi Galea has been elected to succeed Dun Karm as the President of the Association of Maltese Writers.

Guzi Aquilina and Peter Paul Saydon both hold chairs at the Royal Malta University; both have devoted their time and work to the benefit of the Maltese language.

Aquilina and Saydon have studied deeply the roots and origins of the Maltese tongue, and they have done useful work to prove its worth; they are good scholars and also are distinguished writers. Saydon's great work is his translation of the *Bible* direct from the Hebrew texts. This classical task is a perennial monument to the erudition of the author and an addition of incalculable value to Maltese literature.

Aquilina is a poet as well as a novelist; his poetry is classed amongst the highest in Maltese literature; his style is easy flowing and melodious; he sings about the higher motives of human life. His *Psalms, Miserere* (1937),

and *Biki Tal-Bniedem* (*Man's Tears*; 1938), prove the poet's deep feelings and sensitiveness, whilst his *Amor Vitae* (1939), is a sonnet of fascinating beauty. Aquilina's best novel is *T-aht Tliet Salniet* (*Under Three Reigns*; 1938), a bold romance in which the author sets forth his views about social questions and the relations of the rich with the poor.

One of the foremost of younger poets is Guzi Chetcuti, whose poetic vein is inexhaustible; he writes freely on every imaginable subject with a verve and rhythm that excite admiration. His poetry appeals to the public, for in it he expresses the life and emotions of the man in the street; his *Book of Poems* (1945) contains a wealth of good poetry amongst which are such literary gems as *Stenna sa Ghada* (*Wait till Tomorrow*); *Nemmen* (*I Believe*); *Il-Wied u Jien* (*The Torrent and I*).

Karmenu Vassallo is a poet with a future; his sensibility knows no bounds; his enthusiasm is infectious. He writes with a fervour that carries with it both the author and the reader; sometimes there is a sad strain in Vassallo's poetry that touches the heart. His *Nirien* (*Flames*; 1938), is a rousing book of poetry; and his critical work, *Alla Taz-Zagħ-żah* (*The God of Youth*; 1939), was acclaimed as the best book in Maltese on literary criticism.

Guzi Bonnici and Ruzar Briffa both were doctors of medicine; both took an active interest in Maltese literature. Guzi Bonnici died quite young, but not before he had made a name as a novelist; his novels deal with modern society; his *Il-Qawwa Tal-Imhabba* (*The Force of Love*; 1938) is a pathetic description of the ravages of tuberculosis. Ruzar Briffa has secured fame as a poet with a fertile imagination; he wrote various poems in a romantic vein, and his poetry is noted for its

melody and elegance. His *Ballata* (1931), is considered the best ballad ever written in Maltese, whilst his *Wieħed Biss* (*One Only*; 1930), *Hsiebijiet* (*Thoughts*; 1934), and *Ave Marija* (1933), are most delightful poems. *Lil Ommi* (*To My Mother*; 1928) is deservedly famous for its harmony and rhythm.

Mention should also be made of Gorg Pisani, a poet from Gozo, the sister Island of Malta. Pisani is an enthusiastic admirer of the natural beauties of his native land and of its glorious history. *Kemmuna* (1931), *L-Arlogg Il-Qadim tal-Kastell* (*The Old Castle Clock*; 1933), *Għawdex* (*Gozo*; 1933), *Hagar Qim* (1933), *Ggantija* (1934), conjure visions of the glorious past connected with these historical place names.

Many other authors have contributed considerably towards the advancement of Maltese literature. Indeed, within the last ten years there has appeared an ever increasing flow of literary productions which augurs well for the future.

A notable tendency has also developed during the past few years. In the past Maltese authors looked towards Italy for literary style and inspiration. Many, indeed—Carmelo Psaila; Anastasio Cuschieri; A. Cesareo; G. Curmi—wrote poetry in Italian. Today, however, modern writers show an ever increasing preference for Atlantic culture. The influence of British and American art and thought is making itself felt in Malta; and certain modern literary works are a reflection of that influence. The prose of Guzi Galea and the poetry of Guzi Aquilina compare comfortably with modern English compositions. This tendency towards the North in the style of Maltese literature promises to be one of the outstanding factors that will shape the Maltese literature of the future.

HANNIBAL P. SCIGLUNA.

MANBETTU—See African.

MANCHU—See Chinese.

MANDAIC—See Aramaic.

MANGAREVA—See Polynesian.

MANX—See Irish.

MAORI—See Polynesian.

MARATHI—See Indian.

MARAURA—See Australian Aborigine.

MARIANNA ISLANDS—See Polynesian.

MARICOPA—See North American Native.

MARITIME PROVINCES — See North American Native.

MARQUESAN—See Polynesian.

MARSHALL ISLANDS—See Polynesian.

MATACO—See South American Indian.

MAYAN—See Mexican; South American Indian.

MBAYA—See South American Indian.

MEDEAN—See Persian.

MELANESIAN—See Polynesian.

MENUANE—See South American Indian.

MESOPOTAMIAN—See Aramaic.

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## MEXICAN AND CENTRAL AMERICAN ORAL

IN THE TWO aspects of their culture, the indigenous and the Spanish, Mexico and Central America have preserved a wealth of oral tradition, manifested in many literary forms, not only in the remote regions of the countryside but brought, with the concentration of population after the Revolution of 1910, into Mexico City and the various State capitals themselves. The patrimony of folklore is very rich, and still largely unexplored.

The traditions of the native tribes are still preserved, though with a great admixture of the 16th c. By the time of Christ, the elements that came with the Spanish conquest. The Mayan tribes had developed a civilization in Mexico and Central America, though their golden age seems to have been about the 11th and the 12th c. A.D. By this time, they were mainly in the south; in the middle regions were the Zapoteca and Mixteca tribes; to the north of these, the flourishing kingdom of the Toltecs (ca. 750-ca. 1075), the first of the

Nahua peoples to occupy the land. The tribes speaking Nahuatl, hunters from the north, had come with the bow and arrow, and conquered. After the Toltecs came the Texcocans, whose capital Texcoco was a center of culture ca. 1115; other Nahuans followed, the Tepanecas, the Chalcas, the Tlaxcalans and especially the Aztecs, who ca. 1325 settled Mexico (the "place of Mexitli," their war god) and who flourished there until the Spanish invasion, 1519, and the killing of their king Montezuma II, 1520.

The Spaniards destroyed most of the early documents of the native peoples, though some native post-conquest material survives. The earliest Mayan literary relics, writings on stone, deal mainly with the calendar. The Quiche of Guatemala recorded their tribal traditions in the *Popol Vuh*; the Toltecs, in the *Books of Chillam Balan*, both set down after the Conquest. In the 16th c. Fernando de Alva Ixtlixochitl, in the *History of Chichi-*

*meca*, told of his ancestors, the royal family of Texcoco; and Bishop Landa in 1566 wrote a lengthy account of the natives.

*Myths.* The stories of creation, and the various gods, are much the same, though with different tribal names, throughout the region. Thus the creator-and-culture god of the Mayas is Kukulcan (*kukul*, the quetzal bird; *can*, serpent); this is translated literally in the Aztec Quetzalcoatl (legendary king of the Aztec capital, Tula) and the Quiche Gucumatz (green feathered serpent). The Mayan god of the heavens, Itzamma, is paralleled by the Aztec Tezcatlipoca and the Quiche Hurakan: gods of life and also of the storm (from the last name comes the English word *hurricane*). Very important is the god of the water: the widespread Yucatan Chac, represented with a tapir-like snout from which he blows the rain; the Chaques are the rain gods; among the Nahuas, the water god is called Tlaloc. All the tribes pay high heed to the sun god (Ipalmemohuani, "he by whom we live"); but many have their special deities, or their favorites, of whom they tell their stories. Thus the natives of Michoacan tell of the creation of heaven and earth under the names of Huriata and Cueróhperi. The Mayas of Yucatan speak of Yumil Col, the lord of the maize field; of the bird Puhuy, clothed in rags; and of the strange birth of the dwarf of Uxmal. In Oaxaca appears Tihña Nihi, goddess of the Temáxcales; the lord of the mountain; and the creation of the Bird Cu and of Tengo Frío (Cold). The Coras and Huicholes speak of Grandfather Deertail; of the goddess of maize; and of the four winds or four deer. Widespread are the four Bacabs, the upholders of the heavens, set at the four cardinal points. In Campeche they tell why Tlaloc wears horns.

*Legends.* Widespread legends tell of fantastic beings or persons. The Mayas have a sort of Lorelei called Xtabay; Xtacumbil xunaan (Mistress of the Cave); Xthoh-

Chaltun (Maiden Stone-breaker); Ecbac (Avenging Deer); evil deer; and a deer of virtue, with a talisman set into his head. Veracruz preserves tales of Xitecme and Xicoame, beings that change into shooting stars. In Oaxaca are stories of Tona, animal-twin of humans and dwarfs that inhabit the Chinantla. The Nahuas still tell stories of the Tzitzimime (monsters of darkness; the Mayans had a bat-god, Camazotzo, associated with the hero-gods of the underworld) and especially of the Nahuatl, closely akin to the wolf-man. There are stories of sirens in the Sea of Colima and along the shores of the Encina Dam in Guanajuato. Princesses are preserved to us: Donají, of Oaxaca; Coyoliztzin, of Mexico; Eréndira and Inchátiro, of Michoacan, and lords: Ahuizotl of Mexico, and Cocijoeza of Zaachila. It is still believed that the Llorona (Wailer) wanders by night in Mexico; while in Yucatan they still speak of the Thunder Horse, i.e., that of the Conquistadores (Conquerors).

*Traditions.* Everywhere traditions have sprung up around places: notably, of the Cerro del cofre (Casket Hill) of the Durango; the Hill of Guadalupe among the Petrified Indians; the witch of Tayahue, of the Zacatecas; the enchanted city, and the Lake of Alcuahue, of the Colima; Chiapas, the rock of the witches on the Xochiapa River; Veracruz, the Devil's Bridge; Michoacán, The Four Stars; the Oaxaca, the Lake of Mimitlán. Many Christian visions have also grown into traditions: in Puebla, the Virgin of Tochimilco; in Oaxaca, the Virgin de la Soledad (of Solitude); the Virgin of Guadalupe, in Mexico; and a multitude of black Christs and miraculous crosses (Izamal; Tepic; Querétaro). In Yucatan and Campeche are many tales of phantoms, also apparitions and strange occurrences on the streets of Morelia, in Puebla and Mexico.

The tale (*cuento*) flourishes throughout these regions, especially of birds and beasts;



predominant are "Uncle Rabbit," Coyote, Tlacuache (the Mexican Zarigüeya), and Frog. Some of these animal stories, and especially some of the tales of magic, are post-Conquest, from the European tradition. Among the best known are *Juan Tonto* and *Simon Bobito* (simpleton tales); *The Castle of You-Shall-Go-and-not-Return*; *The Flower of the Olive Field*; among riddle tales, *The Little Louse-Skin Drum*, *The She-Ass Pana and the Seven Crows*; and, among formula tales and stories without an end, *The Bald Rooster*, *The Cat with Rag Feet*, *Bartolo and His Flute*.

The Traditional Romance is of many sorts: (1) secular romance, as *White Flower and Filomena*; *The Faithless Wife* (2) religious, as *The Praised Ones* (3) burlesque, *Don Gato* (Mr. Cat) (4) in the Charlemagne cycle, *El Conde Sol* (5) fable-romances, *The Old Coyote*; *The Frog*; a group of animal-wedding tales (6) tales for children, *Little Threads of Gold*.

The *corrido* is a narrative form used for more realistic themes, religious or (mainly) secular. In it are told historic events, crimes, tragedies, deeds of guerilla bands, sometimes of quite recent happening, with many a humorous, satiric, or burlesque touch. Famous are those telling of the guerillas Benito Canales, Macario Romero, Heraclio Bernal; political and revolutionary themes include Carranza, Francisco Villa, General Obregon, General Zelaya.

Poetry and music are almost always interlinked, in the oral tradition. Foremost are the popular *villancicos*, e.g., "How Happy I am that pretty Mary is coming!" and the Christmas songs: "Let's go, shepherds, let's go" and "Sleep, my little one." Joyous gozos (songs in praise of the Virgin or of saints) include the Trisagio (three-fold repetition) "Angels and Seraphim, sing Holy, Holy, Holy."

The brief song (copla) comes to the lips

of troubadours and chanters everywhere, in many moods: declarations (of love), withdrawals, wooing, pledges of constancy, serenades, farewells; also tipsy songs, songs of laughter, of trickery; boasting songs; and songs of love of one's native ground. Among the best known are *Sombrero Ancho* (*The Broad-brimmed Hat*); *En las barrancas* (*Along the Shore*); *Morenita* (*The Little Dark Girl*).

From the stage the tonadilla (musical interlude) of the late 18th c. has been borrowed, rich in popular songs with accompanying dance, of many local variations and names: seguidilla, bolero, fandango, folia, jota, petenera, malagueña, tirana, ay-ay-ay—such as *La Solerita* (*The Little Maiden*), *El Caramba* (*The Gent*), *The Café*. The popularity of these has led to other forms, sones, jarabes, huapangos. All combine music and song in festive mood, and dancing. A more formal song (canción), sprung into folk use from the romanza of the Italian opera, has preserved a sentimental and romantic tone, as in e.g. *La Paloma*, *La Yegüecita*, *El Viejo amor* (*Old Love*).

There are many cradle songs, most of them at least influenced by the Nativity songs, but with mestizo and native coloring. Children's games also preserved traditional verses and melodies, both native and Spanish.

The traditional drama is preserved in the form of Loas (Praises), Colloquies, and Pastorelas (Shepherd plays), all of Christian origin, such as *The Triumph of Innocence*; *The Most Adventurous Night*. There are also performances of Passion Plays, with considerable local color; and of dramatic dances, such as *Moors and Christians* and *The Toreadors*. In Central America the traditional drama, thoroughly vital and alive, is manifested mainly in pastorelas called *originales*, for Easter and other holy days; e.g., the *Original of the Giant Goliath*.

The popular beliefs (Creencias) appear in

secretly held formulas for conjuring and black magic, or in freely sung hymns, invocations, songs of praise to Jesus, the Virgin, and the saints. The most venerated saints are St. Elena, St. Bárbara, St. Antonio, St. Isidro, St. Silvestre, St. Martin on Horseback. There are also orations of magical formula or theme, as *The Just Judge* and *The Shadow of Señor San Pedro*; some against the evil eye, to confer extraordinary powers, to cure, to prevent persecution, to triumph in love. There are, furthermore, traditional prophecies (agüeros), divinings, interpretations of dreams.

Everywhere are countless proverbs (refranes); most of these are Spanish; but some are native and indeed a large number are entirely local. Some are based wholly on the idea: "Don't blame the Indian, but the one that gives him the order"; "Every pigeon has its hawk"; "Throw the hook and the fish will bite"; "Every parrot has its perch." Others are rhymed, or they play on words, so that translation destroys the flavor: "Indio que fuma puro, ladron seguro, An Indian that smokes a cigar is surely a thief"; "Unos a la bulla y otros a la cabulla, Some to confusion; others to the fishing line," i.e. profit by the occasion. There are even many traditional phrases and comparisons, e.g. "The broth costs more than the beans," i.e., it wasn't worth the effort. The riddle or conundrum is also very popular; it too may be play either of idea or of words; it follows the universal pat-

tern, but is applied to many local items, especially fruits: "En el puerto de Acapulco mataron al indio lines, por ser la letra tan clara quiero que me lo adivines": Capulines. . . . In the port of Acapulco they killed the Indian Lines; since this sentence is so clear, I want you to guess it for me: capulines (Mexican cherries). "Botón sobre botón, botón de filigrana, si no lo adivinas ahora, lo advinarás mañana": Piña . . . Button over button, filigree button; if you don't guess it today you will guess it tomorrow: pineapple.

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VICENTE T. MENDOZA.

MICHOACAN—See Mexican.

MICMAC—See North American Native.

MICRONESIAN—See Polynesian.

MILANESE—See Italian.

MINOAN—See Greek.

MIWOK—See North American Native.

MIXTECA—See Mexican.

MOLDAVIAN—See Romanian.

MONGOL—See Chinese.

MONTENEGRAN—See Yugoslav.

MOROCCAN—See Arabic.

MOSETENE—See South American Indian.

MOSSI—See African.

MUISCA—See South American Indian.

MUNTENIAN—*See* Romanian.

MYCENEAN—*See* Greek.

NABATEAN—*See* Aramaic.

NAHUA (NAHUATL)—*See* Mexican.

NAVAHO—*See* North American Native.

NEAPOLITAN—*See* Italian.

NEGRO—*See* African; Brazilian; Canadian; Spanish American.

## NETHERLANDS

AT THE BEGINNING of Netherlands literature stands a legendary figure, that of the blind bard Bernlef. Neither texts by him nor oral traditions have been preserved, and some centuries elapse before we come across the first written literature. Henric (Hendrik) von Veldeke,\* who lived in the later 12th c., was the first Netherlands poet. Also, he ushered in the richest era of Netherlands literature: the Middle Ages. We find here such overwhelming wealth that it has not been possible so far to devote adequate study and critical appreciation to all the texts. We find epic-narrative, didactic, dramatic, and lyric poems and among them all there are, besides child-like and childish rhyming exercises, perfect masterpieces which have lost nothing of their freshness and power of conviction, of their beauty and deeper meaning.

We consider the Middle Ages, better called the Gothic, as a rounded-off period with its peculiar characteristics. But within the limits of this period we find infinite nuances. There is a distinct difference in character between the early and the late Gothic. One can also make a clear distinction between chivalrous and popular poetry and between what was inspired by the church and what by worldly existence. And if we compare the Gothic with the following era that, still more distinctly and more multifariously varied, is summarized by the name Baroque, we see that the fundamental difference between these two eras is determined by the value and the conduct of man. There is an essential difference be-

tween the place man took in respect of God, nature and society in the Middle Ages and that in which he came to stand in the Renaissance.

Medieval ethics of chivalry on the one hand and scholasticism on the other did not aim, nor were they calculated, to realize human greatness. On the contrary. All forces, social as well as ecclesiastic, laid a tight hold on man to keep him bound as completely as possible in a carefully worked-out system. Its rules enabled medieval society to make a life externally acceptable: rich in passionate adventures, crime, sensuality; a life rich in sin, but also in deep consciousness of guilt and self-chastisement, a life infinitely more colorful and dangerous than ours. The knightly games, the ecclesiastic festivals, the set social groups, closely connected with each other, formed a society appropriate to the stage of development, sufficiently disciplined to leave a certain amount of scope for intense life behind the outward forms. For it would be incorrect to deny entirely the personal life of medieval man. But history has shown that the social and ecclesiastic conventions weighed too heavily upon him. There arose an ever more generally felt desire for "freedom," a conception not entirely unknown throughout the Middle Ages but for the majority of people unattainable. Thus the end of the Middle Ages is characterized by the upsurging of man, who has become aware that his relation both to society and to God no longer satisfies him, because everything that he has acquired

in the course of the years is not expressed in it. The knight begins to realize that he is humanly too good to seek his highest fulfillment in a code of honor, a game, and a colorful feast; the ecclesiastic recognizes that his highest yearnings cannot be satisfied by the subtle and highly ingenious game of scholasticism; the peasant, with the citizen, refuses to accept that there should be no room, between his earthly misery and the promised glory of the hereafter, for a sound development of his human possibilities on earth.

From this summary it is sufficiently clear, I think, that in the last analysis, the third order was most interested in a renewal of existence. It wanted to cash at least a part of the promised rewards and elevations on earth. How was this possible? Only by stimulating the fierce earthly life of the senses that we have ascertained behind the façade in the Middle Ages, and in connection therewith to discriminate the conception of sin a little more and above all to make it a little less inexorable.

Humanism thus means the striving of man to devise a system in conformity with his growing ability to discriminate, his strengthening feeling of independence, and above all with his changed attitude toward the life hereafter and promised salvation.

Two characteristic qualities of Netherlands literature revealed themselves in the Middle Ages not only for the first time but also most clearly. First, the masterly ability to make what is strange one's own. In the entire medieval literature (as also later) we find foreign motifs. For example, the Netherlands romances of chivalry are divided into four groups: the Charlemagne; the Arthurian; Oriental; and classic romances. The material worked up is the common property of almost all European literature but the manner is unmistakably of the Netherlands. This can be seen most clearly in the masterwork of Netherlands Gothicism *Van den Vos Reinaarde*

(*About Reynard the Fox*). No historian of literature doubts that the poet, who is known only by the description Willem-who-made-the-Madoc, borrowed an important part of his material from the French epic poem *Le Plaid*, but this fact does not affect the value or the peculiarity of the Netherlands version. This ability to change the very essence of borrowed material in such a way that it becomes one's own proves a strongly formed national character. The second characteristic quality of the medieval and of the entire Netherlands literature is the sharp contrast between the didactic and the lyric poem. The inclination to moralize is inborn in the Netherlands people. And the Reformation has strengthened this considerably. But when strict ethics excessively oppressed their intellectual life, the best among our people always found a way out in lyricism.

*Van den Vos Reinaarde* has been mentioned as the pinnacle of Gothic literature in the Netherlands. There are also the dramatic poem *Lancelot van Denemarken*; the lyric narrative *Beatrijs*; the allegorical play *Elkerlijck*. The number of short lyric poems that we still consider among the best of our entire literature is very great. This rich lyric flowering gradually stiffened into a very strange phenomenon, for which we use the term *rhetorics*, in which artificiality in construction and choice of word leads to the Baroque.

In the late 15th c., a period of confusion began for Netherlands literature. Along with the rhetoricians there lived poets of real significance, forerunners of the Golden Age.

The great historic event that completely changed the picture of Netherlands culture was the separation of the Netherlands. During the entire Middle Ages the Netherlands formed an intellectual entity and a very important part of what we consider the best in Netherlands literature originated in the South.

The separation of the Southern and the Northern Lowlands that took place at the

end of the 16th c. has never been complete. In this alternation of attraction and repulsion two factors exerted strong influence: the Reformation, with all its consequences; and the hidden strength of Latinity.

During the Middle Ages and for many years after, the culture of the Netherlands was carried and characterized by the South, by that strange mixture of two hostile elements inseparably united: Catholicism, and the after-effects of Greek and Latin antiquity.

Gothicism, which is the apotheosis of the South, was followed by the Netherlands Baroque which reached its height, as regards the art of painting in the South (Rubens), and as regards literature in the North (Vondel). The domination of the North then lasted till Romanticism. If, therefore, we trace the relation of the Southern and Northern Lowlands over the three main periods of literature in the common tongue, we see a Gothicism which is almost exclusively Southern, a Baroque which is exclusively Northern, and a Romanticism which leads to a synthesis of North and South. This process is not yet quite complete. But during the last few years the intellectual bonds between the South and North Lowlands have become so close that a lingual and literary entity with all the nuances maintained is shaping more and more clearly.

This phenomenon was ushered in by the emancipation of the Catholics in the Northern Netherlands (1848). Since then the influence of Catholicism has grown steadily, making possible an intellectual rapprochement of the Roman Catholic South and the mixed (but according to tradition Protestant) North. In the South, meanwhile, the influence of Latinity in its modern form, French intellectual life, has steadily decreased, facilitating the growth toward the North.

Netherlands Gothicism was dominated by four great poetic figures: P. G. Hooft\* (1581-1647); Gerbrand Adriaanszoon Bredero\*

(1585-1618), Joost van den Vondel\* (1587-1679), and Constantijn Huygens\* (1596-1687). Of these four, Vondel was without a shadow of doubt the most remarkable and richly checkered nature. He did not have the refinement and lyric tension of Hooft nor the acuminate intellect of Huygens but he had a passion, an intellectual driving force, an inexhaustible ingenuity and above all an imagination as none of his contemporaries. In his art he was so natural, so guileless, so upright that from his work we learn to know the entire man, including his weaknesses and shortcomings. At every moment of his long, rich life, he was ready to fight for his conceptions and his ideas even with the strongest powers in the country. Vondel was not only a great poet; he was a strong, versatile, courageous man. His naive and at the same time emphatic vindication of the truth, and with it his natural melodiousness, give him the appearance of a medieval poet among his intellectual Renaissance contemporaries. One could almost say that Gothicism and Baroque meet in him, that he forms the link between these two mental attitudes.

Vondel's life and soul was so much in his convictions and he was so averse to concessions that he certainly did not belong to the agreeable people, in contrast to Hooft and Huygens who were extremely cultured men of the world with good manners and of great fascination. Hooft was the greater poet. He wrote a number of short lyric love songs that belong to the most beautiful in Netherlands literature and, for all their exquisite form, maintain the truth and depth of human feeling. As historic writer he lives on, however antiquated his material and his methods may be, on account of the wealth and elegance of his prose style. He was the first prose artist of the Netherlands. Huygens, who like Hooft belonged to the ruling class, was a wise, witty, and ingenious poet, of "intellectual passion."

Bredero, a child of the people, stood nearer

to Vondel than to Hooft and Huygens in his art. He is natural, spontaneous, direct. In Netherlands literature he was the first bohemian, unbridled, prone to extremes, sometimes living in wild dissipation, then again in a period of deep and serious repentance and contemplation. These two poles of his being we find in his work. He wrote both the most delightful drinking songs and the most fervent avowals of faith. Besides these four principal figures lived several poets of lasting value: Jacob Reelfsen; Heiman Dullaert; Johannes Stalpaert van der Wiele; Jeremias de Decker; Jan Janszoon Starter; Diederik Rafaelszoon Camphuisen; Willem Sluyter; Jodokus van Lodenstein; Joachim Oudaem. Jacob Cats, a poet of the people, was so popular that everyone called him Father Cats. In Netherlands families where not much reading was done, to the end of the 19th c. there were always, beside the *Bible*, the collected works of Father Cats.

It would not be difficult to assemble from those years a hundred poems still recognized as masterworks. Vondel's lyric dramas represent the highest peak of the Netherlands spirit, not only on account of their rich poesy, their splendid form worked out in the last detail, but also on account of their human and ideological content. There is also the prose of Hooft, Van Mander, Brandt, and Heinsius.

The transition to the 18th c. was made by the poet Jan Luiken\* (1649-1712). His youth's work, collected in *Duitsche Lier* (*German Lyric*) is founded on the glorification of earthly love. Under the influence of German mystics, especially Jacob Boehme, he became converted to a deepened Christianity. Thereafter he wrote a number of sublime Christian meditations, and at the same time the deepest and richest poetry in our tongue. Jan Luiken was a lithographer by profession and he illuminated his books himself with beautiful etchings. After him came three other

poets: Jan van Broekhuizen, Jan Baptista Wellekens and Hubert Cornelis Poot. The outstanding figures of the 18th c. are dramatists and prose writers. Pieter Langendijk (1683-1756) wrote moral plays and comedies, of which especially the later ones are still played regularly. His principal works are: *Het Wederzijdsch Huwelijksbedrog* (*The Mutual Marriage Swindle*); *De Spiegel der Vaderlandsche Letteren* (*The Mirror of National Literature*); *Don Quichotte op de bruiloft van Camacho* (*Don Quixote at the Wedding of Camacho*); *Krelis Louwen*.

Justus van Effen (1684-1735) was the first Netherlands essayist. Based on English models he published between 1731 and 1735, in *De Hollandsche Spectator* (*The Netherlands Spectator*), a series of excellent prose compositions, sometimes moralizing, sometimes descriptive, sometimes narrative. Later, the first novelists appear: Betje Wolff\* (1738-1804) and Aagje Deken\* (1741-1804). Their chief work consists of two elaborate novels in the form of letters: *Sara Burgerhart* and *Willem Leevend*. Wolff and Deken are a little long-winded for the taste of our time but this shortcoming is compensated by their sharp, witty typifying of persons and conditions, by their feeling for human values, by their independent thinking and their humor.

There were also a number of philosophically trained prose writers: Hieronymus van Alphen (1746-1803) with his *Aesthetica*; Frans Hemsterhuis (1721-90), who wrote in French on philosophy and art; Paulus van Hemert; above all, Johannes Kinker.

Lyric elevation appears again in the early 19th c. in the work of two poets: Willem Bilderdijk\* and A. C. W. Staring.

Romanticism gave Netherlands intellectual life new possibilities and new force. Never before had it been so obvious that the Netherlands and Belgium lie on the point of intersection where great movements meet. The German, the French and the English Roman-

ticism made themselves felt: *Die Leiden des jungen Werther*; *La nouvelle Héloïse*; *Ossian*. After 1830, Byronism dominated. Willem Bilderdijk (1756-1831) is still a controversial figure. According to the general conception of poetry, there is little in his very comprehensive work that satisfies us, very little that stirs us. A few poems, short lyric experiments, we can still accept; but in the rest we are discouraged by his heavy, sometimes ridiculous rhetoric. But we find in his work a rich treasure of data about the events and still more about the intellectual trends of his day. He was without doubt of greater importance as a person than as an artist. When the French invaded the Netherlands in 1795, Bilderdijk left the country. As exile he sojourned in Hamburg, London, and Brunswick. But in 1806 he was tempted by favorable offers by the conquerors to return to the occupied Netherlands. The consequences of this weakness of character dominated the remainder of Bilderdijk's life. After the liberation of the country, he lived on an annuity given him by the Orangemen he had betrayed. Bilderdijk then established himself in Leiden and assembled around him a circle of young people, in whom he roused reactionary Christian principles and formed the nucleus from which the anti-revolutionary party, important in Netherlands politics, was to emerge.

Beside him, A. C. W. Staring is a modest figure, who occupied himself little with public life, but who in his lyric poetry, entirely free from the turgidity that spoilt Bilderdijk's work, showed himself to be an important, clean, and elegant poet.

The romantic novel was at that time practiced by Jacob van Lennep (1802-68) and Geertruida Bosboom-Toussaint (1812-86). Van Lennep's novels, influenced by Scott's, do not excel in beauty of language or portrayal of character, but won great popularity through their captivating narrative style. He is a born narrator, telling his story with such convic-

tion that it no longer matters what he has to tell. Mrs. Bosboom-Toussaint lacks this captivation. The pace of her novels is slow; frequently she allows herself to be betrayed into detailed speculations that interrupt the course of events. She is, however, an excellent stylist. Her best pages—as in the series (1846-55) presenting Robert Dudley's adventures—are written in a stately, rich, warm prose. Moreover she is a keen observer of human nature and of historic events.

Romanticism in the Netherlands found its crown and confirmation in the establishment of the monthly *De Gids* (1837—), begun by three young men, Aernout Drost,\* Reinier Bakhuizen van den Brink, and E. J. Potgieter\* (1808-75). Potgieter was the first great critic of Netherlands literature. He also wrote some stories, as well as significant, mostly philosophical and historical poems; but however we admire these, he derives his greatest significance from his intellectual leadership. He dominated the intellectual life of almost the entire 19th c. Potgieter was a merchant by profession; by his unimpeachable conduct and his noble conceptions of art and life, he won such prestige as few Netherlands writers after him have enjoyed. He lacked fire and imagination, but possessed a deep sobriety, a feeling for measure and balance, and a thorough knowledge of literature, old and new. His critical work was continued in another spirit but with the same conviction by Conrad Busken Huet\* (1826-86). Huet was originally a clergyman, sojourned in Java as collaborator on a daily from 1868 to 1876, then settled in Paris to write. Besides his innumerable essays and detailed critical introductions collected as *Literarische Phantasieën en Kritieken* he wrote lengthy works on the history of culture of which *Het Land van Rembrandt* is the most important. Another critic, Jacob Geel\* (1789-1862), was influential in simplifying Dutch prose, and ridding it of romantic bombast.

Nicolaas Beets (1814-1903), professor of theology in Leiden, wrote thousands of poems; but in modern anthologies only one poem has been preserved. But though rightly forgotten as rhymers, he continues to live through a collection of sketches of middle-class life, the still popular *Camera Obscura*. In the *Camera* Beets gave the first samples of Netherlands realism, which the romanticist Potgieter scornfully called "lust for copying daily life." But this genial, humorous realism has a special attraction for the Netherlands national character. During the entire 19th c. we find, besides the great romanticists, writers who practised Netherlands realism on Beets' model, but unfortunately not always with sufficient talent. Not until after 1900 do we see this sense for reality bring forth great art under the influence of French naturalism.

Beside the writers mentioned stands one who belongs to the very greatest not only of our country but of all Europe: Eduard Douwes Dekker,\* known under his pseudonym Multatuli (1820-87). During his life and after, he was the center of violent polemics; he has uninterruptedly belonged to the most widely read writers. In the years before the invasion, between 1930 and 1940, he was the central figure of the intellectual interest of the younger generation. The two principal figures of that time, Menno ter Braak and E. du Perron, were passionate Multatulians; the latter has devoted an important part of his life's work to Multatuli.

Eduard Douwes Dekker went to the Netherlands Indies in 1838 as official in the Civil Service. In 1846 he conflicted with the then ruling system and was dismissed. He settled down in Brussels where he wrote *Max Havelaar*, one of the pinnacles of Netherlands literature and of Netherlands prose. It is a rhapsodic book of fantastic wealth, carried by deep conviction and warm human passion. His second novel, *Woutertje Pieterse*, is the first and in the Netherlands unexcelled model of

child psychology. Innumerable shorter and longer reflections were collected, as *Ideen*.

Multatuli's influence has been incalculably great and spread over all domains. He freed Netherlands prose from the stateliness that quickly became rigidity. He wrote a living, flowing, infinitely varied, but always exact prose. He was first to use the ordinary word; he was natural and witty and passionate in a natural way. He combated all forms of hypocrisy and unworthiness and fought for freedom in living and thinking. To his contemporaries he was the personification of liberality and tolerance. Finally, the liberal and ethical government established to educate Indonesians in their own traditions and gradually to train them for self-government, is based on ideas ventilated by Multatuli.

Douwes Dekker, who spent the last years of his life in the neighborhood of Wiesbaden, returned regularly to the Netherlands to deliver his lectures. He had a fiery eloquence, based on a deep inner gravity. He was more than a great writer; he was a living element in Netherlands life, an active force, a leader who disciplined and pointed the way.

The term Movement of the Eighties is generally used to indicate a revival of literature brought about by a group of young writers assembled round the periodical *De Nieuwe Gids* (founded 1885). This literary revival, however, is a part of a general revival that took place in all domains of intellectual life; in painting, in architecture, in music, in politics. For the Movement of the Eighties coincides with the first heroic years of socialism in the Netherlands. We can characterize every attempt at rejuvenating and widening thought and action with a few names: in literature, Willem Kloos (1859-1930); in architecture, H. P. Berlage; in painting, W. Breitner; in music, Alphons Diepenbrock; in philosophy, G.T.P.J. Bolland; in politics, Domela Nieuwenhuis. Between 1870 and 1900 the Netherlands had a mag-



nificent, many-sided flowering in many respects comparable to the best years of the Golden Age.

The men of *De Nieuwe Gids* systematically made it seem as if by a miracle life and all its expressions had suddenly been radically changed, and that they alone were the originators of this revival. But we have already seen its great forerunner in Multatuli; among others that paved the way are Willem Warner van Lennep (not to be confused with the above-mentioned novelist, Jacob van Lennep); Carel Vosmaer; Simon Gorter; Jacob Winkler Prins; W. L. Penning; Marcellus Emants; Jacques Perk. Of these, Jacques Perk\* (1859-81) has the greatest importance, not so much for his work as for his influence. Dying at 22, Perk left behind a number of verses whose value was recognized by Carel Vosmaer but accurately estimated by Willem Kloos. By publishing them, himself writing an introduction, Kloos found in Perk a starting-point for his movement of revival.

Marcellus Emants (1848-1923) wrote two epic-philosophical poems, *Lilith* and *Godenschemering* (*Twilight of the Gods*), whose ideological content, poetic value, and austere form set them among the most significant in our literature. He also wrote novels, plays, and books of travel, uneven in value but never without significance. Among his novels there is at least one work of first rank, *Een Nagelaten Bekentenis*. Save for Multatuli, Emants is the strongest personality and the most singular figure of his time, less of the 19th than of the 20th c. The Netherlands naturalism of the School of the *Nieuwe Gids* originated in Emants' relentless criticism of man and society.

W. L. Penning (1840-1924) accords more with his time; despite the influence of Staring and Potgieter, his quality is distinctive and original. Some critics prefer his long narrative poems, particularly *Benjamins Vertellingen* with its sequel *Tom's Dagboek*. Others,

among whom the present writer belongs, much prefer his short lyric poems, from the collections *Kamermuziek* and *Levensavond*. Those that he wrote at a ripe old age are the most touching and deepest. During World War I Penning wrote a few topical verses of visionary beauty. His life and work, heartfelt, simple, deep, always rich in fine, playful humor, were determined to an important extent by the fact that he became blind at a relatively early age. It is reminiscence that lends all his work a quiet lustre.

In the Movement of the Eighties itself, what united the writers that founded the *Nieuwe Gids* and collaborated on it, was a negative force: their thorough aversion for the lesser gods, who talked in a higher tone than suited them and occupied more space than was their due. For the rest these writers were strong, sharply outlined personalities who elevated individualism to a fundamental principle. One can think of no greater contrasts, as man and as artist, than Willem Kloos and Albert Verwey (1865-1936); Kloos, a volcano, enveloped in a red glow, brought forth pure metal and worthless lava; Verwey, a wide, still lake apparently unmoved, but sheltering a rich life in its depth. Kloos, the hermit, Verwey, the man of the community; Kloos, a man of feeling, Verwey, a man of thought. If one compares their life's work as it now lies completed before us, one cannot imagine that these two writers were not merely contemporaries but came from the same intellectual and social milieu. Besides Kloos and Verwey, Herman Gorter (1864-1927) in his conscious glorification of communism, is a third entirely different, personality. The same is the case with the prose writers. Lodewijk van Deyssel and Jacobus van Looy have nothing in common in their personality or in their style.

One can therefore describe the Movement of the Eighties and the principles of the *Nieuwe Gids* only in very general terms,

which perforce give an incomplete picture of the wealth of life and art in those days. The *Nieuwe Gids* fought against false rhetoric, trite figures of speech, the unreal confusion of moral and aesthetic principles; it demanded uprightness and depth of feeling, clarity and pureness of thought, and above all a living form in harmony with the intention. The early characteristic and picturesque figure of the Movement of the Eighties was Kloos; the most important literary figure was Verwey; but the greatest lyric natural force, one of the greatest poets of the Netherlands language of all times, was Herman Gorter. His lyric, symbolic poem *Mei* represents one of the highest flights of the Netherlands spirit.

The most important prose writer of the group was Jacobus van Looy (1855-1930) a painter of great talent who at first tried to paint also in words but later, in his main work *De Wonderlijke Avonturen van Zebedeus* (in 3 parts), abandoned realism for a playful ironic fantasy.

Alloof, and solitary in his life, stood Frederik van Eeden (1860-1932), physician, world reformer, poet, playwright, novelist, critic, journalist. No writer of the *Nieuwe Gids* roused so much polemic. His old fellow-combatants turned against him; the public saw in him a dangerous instigator; and the younger spirits were repelled by his somewhat theatrical manner. Yet van Eeden, whatever his faults and shortcomings may have been, possessed great talents as a writer, and has left behind many a book that can defy time. His principal work consists of a lyric philosophical drama, *De Broeders*; a psychological novel, *Van de Koele Meeren des Doods*; and a prose allegory (in 3 parts), *De Kleine Johannes*, the first and most important part of which became very popular.

Realism and its extreme consequence naturalism accord with one side of the Netherlands national character; and we have in the Neth-

erlands, through all changing trends, an uninterrupted line of loving or critical portrayals of daily life. In the time of the *Nieuwe Gids*, and immediately after, the most important novelists in this line were Frans Coenen, Herman Robbers, Gerard van Eckeren, and three women of great talent: Top Naeff, Margot Scharren-Antink, and Carry Van Bruggen. But the most important novelist of the age, Louis Couperus (1863-1923), belongs neither to the original *Nieuwe Gids* group nor to the realistic school, in the limited sense. He wrote some novels that can indeed be called realistic—e.g. *Eline Vere*—but in his best work he rose above it; his most important book, *Van Oude Menschen, de Dingen die Voorbijgaan*, has inner secrets and tensions that fall entirely outside the range of an accurate portrayal of reality. Besides this, Couperus wrote a series of historic, fantastic books *De Berg van Licht*, *De Comedianten*, *Het Levende Schaakbord*, and an endless series of charming stories, fantasies, and causeries.

The *Nieuwe Gids* maintained real significance for our literature for scarce a decade. Its leader, Willem Kloos, deteriorated as artist and as man. The mutual bond was lost. But very soon a new generation of writers came to fill the thinned ranks. After 1900, three important poets and one great prose writer appeared: Henriette Roland Holst (b. 1869); P. C. Boutens (1870-1943); T. H. Leopold (1865-1925); and the novelist Arthur van Schendel (b. 1872).

Under the influence of Gorter, Henriette Roland Holst early turned to socialism, and dedicated a number of voluminous works to sociology. Much more significant, however, is her visionary poetry, which shouted the misery and hope of millions of yearning and humiliated fellow-beings, in the free flow of indomitable verse. Behind everything Henriette Roland Holst thought and did, we see her indestructible vision of a revived Eden where men will live in peace and friendship,

healthy and happy. Nowhere else has the ideal of the universal brotherhood of man been so convincingly, so passionately, sung in Netherlands literature. Gradually the world picture of the poetess became richer and deeper. Everything dogmatic in her was finally dissolved in a poignant yet always light humanity. Her collection *De Vrouw in het Woud*, born of communion with the deepest potentialities of her own soul, seems to have been the necessary preparation for the strong revival of her collection *Verzonken Grenzen*. Here the poetess for the first time consciously expresses herself regarding the relation of man to God. This theme continued to inspire her work. Her poems, both political and religious, are love lyrics. She loves a human being, human beings, humanity, God. Beside her, Boutens, the poet of the cool crystal form, was a somewhat absent-minded, haughty esthete. He requires careful reading; then one discerns what a deep, great lyric poet he is. Human emotion is always expressed in his poetry, but it is sublimated by what the critic Coster calls "a mystic sway over fate and suffering." The collection *Stemmen* (1907) perhaps contains his most beautiful poems; *Vergeten Liedjes*, his most charming. All his work is rich in subtle, hidden beauties. Boutens, who died during the occupation, is rightly classed among our classic poets; immediately after the liberation, his *Collected Works* was one of the first books to appear.

J. H. Leopold occasionally published a poem, instantly praised by connoisseurs. Not until 1913 was he persuaded to publish a collection. After his death, his work was collected, reviewed, and published by Professor P. N. van Eyck. His work is the poetry of a lonely man, the expression of a love that has become ethereal, of an aimless tenderness, which penetrates everything it meets, making it transient. Boutens well characterized Leopold's work when he said: "It is almost silence."

The great prose writer of his generation, perhaps the greatest the Netherlands has ever produced, is Arthur van Schendel, who wrote in sharp reaction against the impressionistic manner of writing and the naturalistic vision of a group of men during the 1880's. Van Schendel's life's work can be divided into two periods. In the first (1900-30), he chose preferably material from an imaginary Italian Renaissance. His two main problems were destiny and loneliness. His most important work is *Een Zwerver* (in 2 parts): *Een Zwerver Verliefd*; *Een Zwerver Verdwaald*. In the second period, Van Schendel chose Netherlands motifs of the 19th c., as pre-eminently in the trilogy of dark, deep, passionate novels, *Een Hollandsch Drama*, *De Rijke Man*; *Grauwe Vogels*. The first and third of these have appeared in English as *A House in Haarlem* and *Grey Birds*. Van Schendel has written about 30 novels, not one of which lacks beauty and deeper meaning. Furthermore he wrote 5 volumes of fantastic stories; a drama, *Pandorra*; and some collections of travel causeries. The narratives unveil quite another side of his nature. They are light, playful, wise, and witty and are evidence of van Schendel's unlimited ingenuity. Now over seventy, he still provides surprises. In 1944, for instance, he wrote his first poem, an epic presentation of the historic development of his country, *De Nederlanden*. Two of his books have acquired very great popularity: the already mentioned early work, *Een Zwerver* and that incomparable masterwork of Netherlands prose, *De Waterman*, of his second period.

Between 1905 and 1908 a new generation, consisting mainly of lyric poets, made its debut. Outstanding are three important figures: A. Roland Holst (b. 1888); J. C. Bloem (b. 1887); and P. N. van Eyck (b. 1887). When A. Roland Holst made his debut, in 1911, it was immediately clear that his verse had a breadth, lightness, and grace that gave

it a strong individuality amid that of his contemporaries, who struck a much heavier, more sombre tone. Holst is the poet of sea and wind, of dream islands, Elysian longing, cosmic passions. But even in his most unworldly poems he retains an undertone of deep, true humanity. J. C. Bloem's work consists of a few verses, less than a hundred, but not one would a reader want to miss. It is a work of sustained power, faultless and pure, in which each poem moves with clear inevitability. Bloem is the poet of a bitterness grown melodious. He mourns lost illusions, laments, failures, humiliation, loneliness; he compares poor everyday reality with the idealized delights and expectations of his youth, and feels defeated. His four collections of poems: *Het Verlangen*; *Media Vita*; *De Nederlaag* (*The Defeat*); *Sintels*—revealing titles!—are a unique testimony of human weakness, transformed by the miracle of poetry into greatness and light. P. N. van Eyck, Verwey's successor as professor in Leiden, wrote, especially during the years just before the invasion, a number of profound and sagacious essays. His collected poetic work, not yet estimated at its real value, bears evidence of a rich and fervent life, of heart and intellect; it is one of the best examples of philosophical poetic art and intellectual passion.

The most important prose writers of this generation are J. Grönlöh, who wrote but three long novelettes, of which two approach perfection in their clear formulation; and Reinier van Genderen Stort who after his best work, the novel *Kleine Inez*, lapsed into hopeless, irrational mannerism.

A group of younger poets preceded the so-called moderns, the expressionists or vitalists. This transition is made by J. W. F. Werumeus Buning (b. 1891); Victor van Vriesland (b. 1892); Herman van den Bergh (b. 1897) and M. Nijhoff (b. 1899); of these, the last is the greatest. He introduced into Netherlands lyricism a new tone and a new sentiment,

that may be defined as ecstatic objectivity. His influence on his younger contemporaries was very great, and still continues as an effective force in the post-War world.

The period between the two World Wars was one of rich intellectual life. In the first decade the figure of the lyric poet H. Marsman (1899–1940) dominated; in the second decade, that of the critic Menno Ter Braak (1902–40). In other words, between 1920 and 1930 the artist's attention was directed toward the regeneration of the world; between 1930 and 1940, toward the interpretation of the world. In most recent times, just before the invasion, there was a revived inclination, under the influence of French surrealism, to create a fantastic reality.

Three periodicals had an important function during this period: *Het Getij* (founded 1916; short lived); *De Vrije Bladen*; and *Forum*, founded as a reaction against *De Vrije Bladen*. Three great figures emerged from *De Vrije Bladen*: J. J. Slauerhoff (1898–1936); H. Marsman; Hendrik de Vries. *Forum* was the organ of Menno Ter Braak; E. du Perron (1899–1940); and S. Vestdijk (b. 1898). Round these principal figures assembled many excellent supporters and, as always, countless followers, imitators, epigones of weak personality and few talents. Over against the singing poetry of the *Vrije Bladen* or, to use a famous formula by Nijhoff, over against "the poem that sings itself loose from its meaning," the *Forum* provided the spoken poetry, the meaning, the *document humain*. The writers of *Forum* for the first time suggested the possibility of an unpoetic poetic art. E. du Perron emphatically called his collected poems *Parlando*. There were polemics over the opposition: form or man; and Menno Ter Braak, who had studied Nietzsche, glorified personality and conscious subjectivity. The fight of *Forum* employed the common word, as against the lofty rhetoric of the *Vrije Bladen*. The writers of *Forum* were aware of

the limitation both of their conceptions and of their influence.

Unpoetic poetry, glorification of the common word, supremacy of man over form, preference for irony, for expressions from the vernacular, and allusion to actuality, were necessary in the development of Netherlands literature, but they did not constitute the basis for a rich or profound intellectual life. The *Forum*-time was, as it were, a convalescent "cure." But meanwhile surrealism, from France, had exerted a tremendous influence. In the Netherlands it has produced two important poets: Gerrit Achterberg (b. 1906) and Ed. Hoornik (b. 1910). Achterberg, especially, is a remarkable poetic figure who now (1946) stands in the center of our literary life.

If we survey the development of Netherlands literature from 1920 to the present day we see that above the interplay of currents and counter currents, above groups and schools, there stands out as the literary genius of this time, S. Vestdijk (b. 1898). Originally a physician, he has devoted himself exclusively to literature since 1935 and in the course of ten years has produced a number of works that rouse the astonishment and admiration of his contemporaries. Vestdijk's energy and fertility are all but unlimited. During the occupation he spent several years in a German concentration camp. There, while death daily lay in wait for him, he wrote three hundred lyric poems, two philosophical works, and a number of novels. In 12 years, Vestdijk has written about 20 novels and groups of novelles, 10 collections of essays, one play, an epic poem, and countless lyric verses. He is a keen psychologist, a master at conjuring up historic atmosphere, in convincing and captivating narrative style. He makes his figures and situations live. One peak of his work is a great historic novel, *Het Vyfde Zegel* with El Greco as the central figure.

It is no exaggeration to say that S. Vestdijk has completely dominated the Netherlands

literature of the last ten years as poet, but in still greater measure as novelist, as critic, as theoretician. Among the very youngest prose writers is Adriaan van der Veen, with a tone entirely his own and his own imaginative world. These are characterized by a singular mixture of a keenly and ironically perceived reality and a youthful, lyric dream. After a number of short stories that attracted considerable attention, he completed (in New York, where he lived from 1940 to 1946) his great novel *Wij hebben Vleugels* (*Wings Have We*).

During the war and the occupation of the Netherlands, there was no question of a public intellectual and literary life, because all writers of any significance with but one exception turned passionately against the conqueror. Several of them have not survived the horror. H. Marsman was drowned in the Channel; Ter Braak committed suicide; Du Perron died as a result of the invasion; Jo Otten was killed; Jan Campert, Walter Brandlight, Willem Arondeus and more were shot by the enemy.

One can say, although little of what was written during those days has as yet seen the light of day, that the misery of that time brought the writers back to worldly reality. Of the metaphysical playfulness of the surrealists, little is left; on the other hand, we observe a rich flourishing of a long neglected genre, the battle poem. During the occupation, one new name came to the fore, that of the poet Bertus Aafjes. In the years ahead, the rich Netherlands spirit will continue to find expression in the literary arts.

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Overzicht van de ontwikkeling der Nederlandsche Letterkunde (Amsterdam), 1922-27; J. Greshoff, *Heart of Europe* (N.Y.); G. Kalff, *Het Lied in de Middeleeuwen* (Leiden) 1883; J. A. N. Knuttel, *Het Geestelijk Lied in de Nederlanden voor de Kerkhervorming* (Rotterdam), 1906; J. A. Worp, *Geschiedenis van het Drama en Tooneel in Nederland* (Groningen), 1904; L. Simons, *Het drama en tooneel in hun ontwikkeling* (Amsterdam), 1922-27; G. Kalff, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Let-*

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JAN GRESHOFF.

NEW BRITAIN—See Polynesian.

NEW CALEDONIA—See Polynesian.

NEW GUINEA—See Polynesian.

NEW HEBRIDES—See Polynesian.

NEW SOUTH WALES—See Australian Aborigine.

## NEW ZEALAND

NEW ZEALAND is the youngest of the British Dominions, having been established as a colony in 1840. For the first thirty or forty years of her existence as part of the British Empire, her inhabitants were almost entirely drawn from the British Isles and the early stages of writing in the country form an essentially expatriate literature. Some colonists were mere transients and such of these as wrote can hardly be considered as contributors to the literature of New Zealand. As a working definition of a New Zealand writer in the middle of last century, I should suggest that a New Zealand writer is one that identifies himself with the country. As the years progress the entrance qualification may well become a little stricter, but for the first fifty years writing in New Zealand was necessarily done by men and women that had been born elsewhere. If they accepted New Zealand as *their* country, either for a period or for life, their claim to inclusion is undeniable.

Writing in the first two decades was mainly factual in nature. The journal, the record, the diary and the history were more obvious mediums than imaginative or creative writing. Such records as Edward Jerminham Wake-

field's *Adventure in New Zealand* (1845) and F. E. Maning's\* *Old New Zealand* (1862) are now source books for social history, but their ability in narrative and straightforward unpretentious prose make them representative of the writing of their period. Two sheep-farmers of the sixties, Samuel Butler and Lady Mary Barker, both of whom were to become professional writers in England, elevated the plain narrative of the pioneering life into more shapely forms in Butler's *A First Year in the Canterbury Settlement* (1863) and Lady Barker's *Station Life in New Zealand* (1870). Before he left New Zealand, Butler had completed *Erewhon*, which though not published in book form until 1872 had appeared several years earlier in the Christchurch Press. Much of its scenery and background is derived from the New Zealand Alpine country and the whole idea of an "upside-down" world may well have been suggested by the novel conditions, social and physical, discovered by this sophisticated Cambridge undergraduate.

From the imaginative record of pioneering experience to the novel of pioneering life was a short step. Fact and fiction are indissolubly

blended in the early novel which began to appear in the sixties and seventies. The *Narrative of Edward Crewe* by W. M. Baines (1874) is an emigrant autobiography; Alexander Bathgate's *Waitaruna* (1881) and Vincent Pyke's *Wild Will Enderby* (1873) chronicle the events of the gold rush; and George Chamier's *Philosopher Dick* (1891) takes as its theme the pioneer sheep-farmer's struggle with new conditions in unbroken country. *Wild Will Enderby* has the distinction of being the first novel to be written, printed, and published in the country. All earlier novels had been published in London. These early novels are now difficult to procure, but a growing interest in New Zealand literature should bring them back into print for the critic and the social historian, for whom they contain much valuable raw material.

With the appearance of Katherine Mansfield,\* whose first important work was published in 1910, New Zealand produced a writer of world-wide and not merely local reputation. Katherine Mansfield was a second generation New Zealander. She left her native city of Wellington before she was twenty and established herself as a writer in London, never returning to her own country. She has few affinities with the pioneer-life novelists of the previous period, deriving her technique from English and European models. But it is significant that all her best work is a recreation of her own early life in New Zealand. Her best short stories and her longest book, *The Aloe*, turn away from the London and the Europe she knew and return to the Wellington suburb in which she had spent her childhood years. She is a writer who had to leave New Zealand because the young colony was still too immature to tolerate or support a creative artist but who could do no other than belong to the country of her birth. Her plans for a full-length novel on New Zealand died with her in 1922.

Though she is the country's greatest writer,

Katherine Mansfield has been curiously un-influential on other writers in New Zealand. The truth was that she short-circuited the somewhat slow development of the local novel and prose narrative. Most of the novelists and short-story writers of this century have derived rather from the pioneer-novelists of the 19th c. William Satchell's *The Greenstone Door* (1914) was the first novel to look back on the history of the country (in this story, the Maori Wars) and it occupies a place, strangely similar in literary unimportance and yet intrinsic significance, to Fenimore Cooper's *The Spy* in the development of the American novel. In the last two decades the pace has quickened and the writing of novels and short stories is no longer a novelty. In the twenties Jane Mander's *The Story of a New Zealand River* and Jean Devanny's *The Butcher's Shop* have sharply defined writing on the New Zealand scene. In the thirties, C. R. Allen, Alan Mulgan, Mary Scott and Robin Hyde added over a dozen novels to the list. John Guthrie's *The Little Country* portrayed sardonically though with melodrama the life of the small towns; and Nellie Scanlan, in her Pencarrow series, the gentilities of middle class Wellington. Ngaio Marsh successfully challenged the giants in detective fiction.

It has remained, however, for a group of writers in quite recent years to make the most significant moves forward in the prose narrative. *Man Alone* (1940) by John Mulgan is almost certainly the best New Zealand novel. The short story in the hands of Roderick Finlayson (*Brown Man's Burden*, *Sweet Beulah Land*, 1943) and Frank Sargeson (*A Man and his Wife*, 1940; *That Summer*, 1944) shows a sensitivity and a technical skill that combines as never before the insight into New Zealand of the earlier novelists with a standard of writing that is no longer amateur.

Poetry in New Zealand had a later start than prose. There were plenty of versifiers in

the poet's columns of the early newspapers but little of significance. The first outburst of real poetry coincided (and I do not think the coincidence is accidental) with a development of national feeling in the nineties. Jessie Mackay, Thomas Bracken (the author of the national song) and William Pember Reeves\* are naturally strongly influenced by Victorian English models. But they have left a group of poems that are genuine poetry, with an imagery and a spirit that are quite independent of their English origins:

The poets at the present day fall into two groups, an older and a younger. Doyen of the older group is Eileen Duggan, whose graceful lyricism and clean-cut language more than outweigh her technically unadventurous verse-forms. The award in 1940 of two Centennial poetry prizes to J. R. Hervey (*Selected Poems*, 1940; *New Poems*, 1942) brought to the notice of the reading public another older poet, whose combination of tradition and metaphysical intellectualism makes him New Zealand's most complete and accomplished poet. The younger group mostly began writing in the twenties and both their verse-forms and their sociological approach to poetry echo the disturbances of the depression period. A. R. D. Fairburn, Denis Glover, R. A. K. Mason and Allen Curnow have in the last two decades published some dozen volumes that prove them to be the most significant group of poets writing in the country. Curnow in particular has made great advances both as poet and critic, and his recent anthology, *New Zealand Verse 1923-1945*, is the best introduction to the verse of the last twenty years.

In other literary forms New Zealand has not always been so fortunate. In the essay she has suffered from too great imitation of the romantic essayists of the 19th c., but one writer, M. H. Holcroft, has in recent years

emerged as a prose writer and critical essayist of integrity and ability (*The Deepening Stream*, 1941; *The Waiting Hills*, 1943). D'Arcy Cresswell achieved a more than local success with his autobiography *The Poet's Progress* (1930). Some of the best writing done in the country in recent years has been, as might be expected of a country which is still not fully physically developed, on sociology, science, anthropology, economics, and history. William Pember Reeves' *The Long White Cloud* (1898) is still the best book on the country, but it has been well supplemented by the writings of such men as the Maori, Peter Buck, J. B. Condliffe, J. C. Beaglehole, and Oliver Duff. Guthrie-Smith's\* *Tutira* (1921) fits no literary category but is perhaps the best account yet written of the making of a New Zealander.

Literature in New Zealand has gone through the stages, long familiar in American writing, of the colonial period imitative of the mother-country, to a period of awakening national consciousness. The divided loyalty to two cultures has now largely disappeared and New Zealand in recent years has been able to look independently for material and inspiration both within the Dominion and outside in the Old World and the New without feeling guilty of high treason. The barriers before a developing national literature are physical now rather than mental and these arise mainly from the smallness of the population with its attendant difficulties of economic publication.

E. H. MacCormick, *Letters and Arts in New Zealand* (Wellington), 1940; G. H. Scholefield, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (Wellington), 1940; William Pember Reeves, *The Long White Cloud* (London), 1924; Allen Curnow, *A book of New Zealand Verse, 1923-1945* (Christchurch), 1945; *Annals of New Zealand Literature* (Wellington), 1936; E. M. Smith, *A History of New Zealand Fiction* (Wellington), 1940. See Polynesian.

IAN A. GORDON.



NEZ PERCÉ—*See* North American Native.NGALIA—*See* Australian Aborigine.NICARAGUAN—*See* Mexican; Spanish American.NIGERIAN—*See* African.NOOTKA—*See* North American Native.

## NORTH AMERICAN NATIVE

NORTH AMERICAN literature is in its entirety an oral literature; among all groups, both American Indian and Eskimo, all literary compositions circulated and were transmitted from one generation to the next by word of mouth. No systems of writing, only simple mnemonic devices such as pictographs, were known to the native population prior to the arrival of Europeans.

Poetry (songs and chants) and artistic prose forms (tales, speeches, prayers) are found in all groups.

Weakly developed, or dubiously native, or practically lacking are certain specialized prose forms: proverbs, riddles, puns, spoken verse, and the moralizing fable in which the moral serves as the basis for the story. Expressions that seem to be proverbial sayings have been noted for a few Plains tribes (the Crow, the Dakota), the Ojibwa of the Great Lakes region, the Eskimo, and the Tsimshian of the North Pacific Coast; but the proverb as developed in the Old World has only pale reflections in the New. Two riddles have been collected from the Labrador Eskimo; the Huron in 1639 posed riddles as part of a native ceremony; and more than a hundred riddles have been collected from the Ten'a (Koyukon), an Athabaskan tribe in Alaska. Several of these latter reflect native culture or local circumstances and are admirably conceived, e.g.: "We come upstream in red canoes—Salmon" or, "They look like a herd of deer lying down.—Bare spots in a snow-covered landscape." Since parallels for many of the American Indian riddles do not appear

in Old World collections, it may be that the practice is indigenous. A few true puns have been reported, also, for some groups. A Crow Indian belonging to the Sore-Lip clan, when asked what his clan affiliations were, at once replied in Crow, "As soon as you look at me, I am plainly revealed, you ought to know me. These lips of mine . . . are sore, I am a Sore-lip" (Lowie). Puns have been noted for the Navaho, Zuni, Coeur d'Alene, Dakota, and punning may be more widespread over the continent than it was formerly thought to be.

Likewise, a few examples of native spoken verse have been recorded for the Eskimo. Several examples of moralizing animal fables of the Aesop type have been collected from the Pueblo peoples of the Southwest and from some of the Plateau tribes, but these are post-European introductions by Catholic missionaries.

Lacking over the entire continent are epic poetry and dramatic presentations. Impersonation and clowning are common in ceremonies, and various groups have developed pantomimic performances especially in connection with rituals, but representation of myth plots or other material by human actors, using songs or sustained dialogue, has not been recorded.

The fundamental characteristic of all native North American literature is its rhythmic repetition. Whether this repetition is of content, or of form, or of both, varies according to the production—poem, tale, formal oration, prayer.

POETRY. Practically all native poetry is either

sung or chanted. Its distinguishing feature is its rhythmic repetition of formal units and content. Interlacing verse patterns, by either alternation of lines or repeated lines (e.g., *aababed aacded*) make for rhythmic repetition of form. Meaningless syllables, words, phrases, lines, stanzas, may be repeated, not once but many times; monotony in content often serves to emphasize the idea of the poem, which is the chief-center of interest. The repetition of identical or closely similar sounds arranged at regular intervals (rhyme) occurs only rarely.

**SONGS.** Songs are extremely concise; the words may merely allude to the idea or action which the song commemorates, hence the text often serves as little more than a mnemonic summary. The diction of songs often differs from that of ordinary speech, among both Eskimo and Indians; words are altered by elision, by the use of affixes, or by substitution of sounds. To secure the desired effect, words with musical qualities may be used to supplement those that have been altered. Archaic words and words borrowed from foreign languages are frequently encountered, especially in religious songs. Vocables are often used for preludes and refrains, or to fill out a measure; or words may be subordinated to the music so that the entire song text consists of one or several vocables. Tonality in simple form is achieved by using words or vocables in which open vowel sounds occur. Assonantal tone quality is frequent, and a conspicuous feature of songs. Onomatopoeia is widespread and seems to be used fairly frequently. Sense imagery is quite common; sources of imagery include topography, mode of life, occupations, and enterprises. Metaphorical figures are frequent in songs, and direct comparison in personification is universal. Parallelism or contrast of thought and structure are found less frequently. Intellectual character is lacking in song texts.

A Nootka song, sung by the Tsishaath group as it came dancing in to a feast given by a Nootka chief to celebrate his daughter's coming of age, embodies several of the formal points mentioned above, as well as illustrating the boasting, taunting quality of potlatch or feast songs of the North Pacific Coast peoples.

hɔ̃ . . . hɔ̃ . . . ʔɔ̃ . ʔɔ̃      qʷasasa·niš      ʔe . . .  
Ho      hooo      We are just thus. e . . .

hɔ̃ . . . ha·ŋa·w      hi·yiya . . . he . . .  
Ho . . . hangau      hiyiya . . . he

ʔona·hʔa·qlsa·imš      na·čo·k  
I shall be searching,      seeking

haw·hok      ma·tma·s      qʷasasa·niš  
The chiefs      of tribes.      We are just thus.

ʔa·ŋa·w      hi·yahɔ̃ . . .      hɔ̃ . . .  
Angaw      hiyaho      hoooo

qʷasasa·niš      ha·ŋa·w      hi·ya      he . . .  
We are just thus      hangaw      hiya      he

kipšilʔa·qlsa·imš  
I shall simply set my mouth in a grin

ʔa·i·hʔi      ma·tma·s      ʔa·ŋa·w  
at the big      tribes      angaw

hi·ya . . .      ho·ho·y      ʔa·who·wa  
hiya . . .      ho hoy      Awhowa

yi·yahɔ̃ .      ho·wa      yi·yahɔ̃ . ʔɔ̃ .  
yiyaho      howa      yiya hoo

naši·ʔa·li·s      qʷa·ʔalokʷi·s      haḥawili  
Look at me      the sort of wealth      I have

ʔa·w . . .      ay, naši·ʔe·li·s  
Aw . . .      ay, Look at me

qʷa·ʔalo·kʷi·s      haḥawili . . .  
the sort of wealth      I have.

Songs are sung as solos by men or women; in male and/or female chorus; more rarely, by a group of women "answering" a group of male singers. As a rule men sing more

frequently in public, and know more songs, than do women. Accurate rendition of songs is always desirable; in rendering ceremonial songs accuracy is generally so essential that if an error is made the ceremony may be considered invalidated. Songs are often, but not always, sung to the accompaniment of a musical instrument; percussion instruments, such as various types of drums and rattles, are most frequently used.

Songs vary from trifling ditties to long cycles taking a night or more to sing. Some are revealed in visions, some are dreamt, the composition of some is occasioned by unusual physical experiences on the part of the composer; many are handed down from one generation to the next or learned from their owners for a consideration. Some songs are individually owned, others are owned by social or religious groups, still others may be known and sung by any member of the tribe. Of all native art forms, songs probably command more interest, among all groups, than any other one form of artistic expression. Visitors to foreign tribes are attentive listeners to the songs of their hosts, and when travelers return home they are asked about the new songs they have heard, with what amounts to professional interest.

The kinds of songs sung by native North American groups are legion, since song enters into every phase of life; into work (hunting and fishing songs, farming and building songs, corn-grinding songs, war songs, songs used in treating the sick, etc.), into play (secular dance songs, love songs, gambling songs, welcome songs, feast songs, long narrative songs, etc.), and into social and religious life (clan songs, ritual songs for dances, at feasts, and numerous other religious ceremonies, sweathouse and other purificatory songs, vision songs used to summon spirit helpers, etc.). Nearly universal in North America is the literary device of inserting songs in tales (see below).

*Eskimo.* As might well be expected, localized peculiarities serve to differentiate the songs of the various North American groups. Among the Eskimo poetry and music not only command great interest, but are the outstanding native arts. Many religious song-poems are the compositions of the *angakoks* (male and female shamans) and are couched in the esoteric "angakok language," which employs words from dialects of other tribes, archaic forms of speech, and descriptive terms. However, there are also a great many old and recent secular songs with texts in the ordinary language. A strict form is followed in Eskimo songs; the composition is divided into lines of different length, alternating regularly. The construction of the song corresponds directly with that of the music, inasmuch as every melody is made up of rhythmic phrases. Assonance is employed; rhyme is not used. The traditional Eskimo refrain, "*ajo ajoha*," usually follows each stanza or each line. Countless songs have meaningful content and are highly poetic and imaginative. Descriptions of nature are frequent in them; there is also a subjective human element in many, with the emotions of the composer stressed. There are also many songs that consist only of vocables; others are mere nonsense ditties. Song topics cover a wide range—the early history of the group, the valiant deeds of ancestors, the ordinary affairs of life; there are songs concerning the hunt, kayaking and other boating songs, drum contest songs, songs about the return or departure of relatives, children's songs, lullabies, laments, women's songs, pre-suicide songs. Songs of mockery and satire are great favorites. A man bearing a grudge against another may challenge his adversary to a "duel"; the two opponents meet and sing "*nith*" songs about each other in public, the audience serving as jury.

Secular songs, at first sung only by the composer, may become generally popular in

the group as a whole. Magical songs in the angakok language are sung by the shamans when summoning spirit helpers to their aid during curing performances, in time of grave danger, or when banishing evil from the settlements at the great fall feast when Sedna, mistress of the Underworld, is driven away. Musical instruments most frequently used to accompany songs are the tambourine drum and the leather-covered hand rattle.

*Mackenzie-Yukon.* In contrast to the Eskimo, comparatively few songs have been recorded for the Indian groups in the Mackenzie-Yukon area. For the Kutchin, a western tribe, seven kinds have been noted—love, battle, mourning, victory, potlatch, lucky, and shaman's songs.

*North Pacific Coast.* North Pacific Coast peoples have a great interest in songs, and possess thousands of them, but the texts are usually extremely simple, consisting of (1) the introduction of a single word into a musical line, with the music carried on by a burden, (2) a purely formal enumeration of the powers of supernatural beings, (3) one or two short sentences of intelligible text, repeated and sung by the hour, (4) a few unintelligible words, either archaic or in a foreign language, repeated many times. Some song poems attain greater complexity, as for example the long compositions of the Kwakiutl in which the greatness of ancestors is described; but the two other large classes of Kwakiutl songs, love songs and ceremonial songs, consist of words or meaningless syllables repeated over and over, with few or no changes. Certain stylistic devices appear; in the burden of songs referring to supernatural beings, each supernatural is represented by its own characteristic syllables or motif: the cannibal spirit by *ham ham*, the grizzly bear by *hei hei*, and so on. Onomatopoeia is fairly frequent. References to the sea and to marine fauna are abundant in the songs. Songs are sung at feasts; before, during, and after pot-

latches; with dances, both ceremonial and social; at social gatherings; before and after wars; at puberty and wedding ceremonies; during treatment of the sick; during games; by young men in the evening (love songs); as lullabies for small children. Friendly contests are held in which singers from one tribe or band contend against singers from another, to determine which can remember the greatest number of songs or accurately repeat a new song after hearing it once. Some songs are dreamt, others deliberately composed, by either men or women. Some songs are inherited in families, but the right to sing them has to be established anew in each generation at a large feast (potlatch). Hand drums, rattles, whistles, sticks beaten on planks, or hand clapping is used to accompany songs.

*Plateau—California—Great Basin.* Among the Plateau peoples and those of California and the Great Basin, short, often meaningless, gambling songs and songs obtained while vision-questing are especially numerous. Both types are individually owned. The Cocur d'Alene, a Plateau tribe, insert many songs in their tales. Among the Paiute of the Basin the songs that occur in tales are recitative, each animal actor speaking according to a definite rhythm and tune, to which the text is adjusted.

*Southwest.* The poetry of many of the Southwestern tribes is complex, and is pervaded by metaphoric expression and a fine feeling for beauty. Many of the ceremonial songs of the Pueblo peoples and the Navaho, and the dream songs of the Maricopa, Yuma, Cocopa, etc., are sung as long fixed cycles, which may take an entire night to sing. Color terms and poetic descriptions of nature abound in the songs. Poetic figures of speech pervade Southwestern poetry and although these are often couched in stereotyped ceremonial forms, their beauty is nonetheless arresting as, e.g., in (1) a short Hopi Gray Flute Society

song performed in the Flute Ceremony held in August to induce rain:

he he..... e..... e..... e  
He he..... e..... e..... e

ha-a-o-o-o-o.....  
Ha-i-l.l....l.....

ha-o, ha-o, i-na-a-mu-u  
Hail! hail! my fathers

ma-shi-le-nangwu mung-wi-i-tu-u  
Grey flute chiefs

na-nan-i-vo.....o  
At the four world points

o.....o.....o.....ma-wu-tu-i  
clouds

wa-wai-ai i-na-a.....mu-u  
Call: want my fathers

na-nan-i-va-qö yo-o-i  
From the four world points rain

Na-na-kwu-sha-ni...i a-a  
Will start to come ah!

he-e-e..... pe...e...e...yo yo-o-o-o  
He-e-e hither yo-o-o-o

yo...o...o...o...o...oi-u-mü-mu-ti-ma-ni  
Rain— thunder it shall

yang-a...a...a  
yonder moving along

(or) all over, here, there

pe...e...e-yo  
Hither

yo...o...o...o...o...o...oi-ho-yo-yo-ti-ma-ni  
rain— moving will come

uyi sho-na..a-ki  
the plants among

ha-ka-me yang u...-yi sho-na-ka  
Everywhere far and near the plants among

ba-va-ta-la-wi-na-ni...i  
The earth will water-shine

e-e-e-e.....e.....e.....ye  
E-e-e-e.....e.....e.....ye

or in (2), a woman's corn-grinding song from Laguna pueblo:

(2) polaina, polaina  
Butterfly (archaic) butterfly

haikeotzionoho

Now fly away to the blossoms

kohodinishi (actually kochinishi)

Blue

koeshkasi

Yellow

haikeotzionoho

Now fly away to the blossoms

kukanishi

Red

kasheshi

White

haikeotzionoho

Now fly away to the blossoms

hanapurani

Now go! away!

polaina, polaina

Butterfly, butterfly

haikeotzionoho

Now fly away to the blossoms

hanapurani

Now go! away!

Ritual songs predominate among the Pueblos and Navaho; Zuni, for example, has little secular music except corn-grinding songs, a few lullabies, and children's play songs. As a rule, ritual songs contain many archaic, foreign, or distorted words, and meaningless or obsolete expressions. Vocables appear in nearly all songs, either as prelude or refrain or in the body of the songs. Onomatopoeia is frequent; antithetical statements are fairly common. The use of rhyme is very rare, rhythm being more often produced by the repetition of significant or meaningless syllables. Ritual songs must be sung in their

proper sequence; they should not be sung except as part of the rite to which they pertain, and they must always be rendered letter perfect.

*Plains—Eastern North America.* In the Plains, and in Eastern North America, secular and ritual songs abound; but they are not so complex, or so full of poetic imagery, as are Southwestern songs. Some rituals such as the Pawnee Hako, the Midewiwin of the Ojibwa and neighboring tribes, the Green Corn Ceremony of the Southeastern peoples, and the present-day Peyote ceremonies which many American Indian groups now hold, have several scores of songs connected with them. War songs, love songs, gambling songs, lullabies, vision songs, and other varieties of secular songs also abound. Great interest is generally manifested in songs; new songs from other tribes command attention. Although women have their own songs, both secular and ritual, it is upon men that the main burden of song rests, as elsewhere in North America.

*CHANTS.* Chanting seems to be widespread in North America; chanting of mythologic narratives such as origin, migration and culture-hero stories has been reported for the Eskimo, for Southern California groups, for the Navaho, Zuni, Pima, and Papago of the Southwest, for several Eastern groups (Fox, Delaware, Choctaw, possibly Shawnee). Prayers, which often have marked poetic rhythm and which lie on the borderline between poetry and prose, are chanted or intoned by some groups. Death wails and mourning wails, especially as developed by the Plains tribes where professional mourners were hired to wail, also amount to chants.

Many Eskimo chants of their poetic prose narratives dealing with origin material begin with a musical phrase and continue as a rhythmic recitation; others are recited in rhythmic phrases throughout. The narrator begins his tale in a monotonous low recita-

tive, slowly at first, then faster. Bodily gestures and action often accompany the performance, and if the chant is not rendered accurately the narrator is corrected by his listeners.

The Delaware *Walam Olum*, or record of creation and migration, is composed in rhythmic lines that were chanted. Tally sticks, with mnemonic symbols on them, helped the chanter to remember the lines of this fairly lengthy record.

*PROSE.* The rhythmic structure of native prose is less strict than that of native poetry, but rhythm is nonetheless present in marked degree, both in the prose narratives found in great abundance among North American groups, and in non-narrative prose forms such as public addresses, prayers, and formulae.

*TALES.* The rhythmic literature of any North American group will be found to consist of (1) tales relating to a distant past, which account for origins to a greater or lesser degree, (2) tales set in a more immediate past or in the living present, and (3) tales borrowed from European sources since the time of discovery. The supernatural enters into all three types, but since tales constitute the only body of "historical" information possessed by the tribes, they are narrated as fact. Fiction, as we conceive it, is not recognized in most groups, although some rather trifling stories may be told chiefly for amusement.

Tales vary in length from one or two hundred words to ten thousand or more. Loosely knit cycles, detailing the exploits and adventures of a particular character or characters, occur in every native mythology.

Rhythmic repetition, both in form and content, is characteristic of the tales. Each of three, four, or five brothers may undergo the same experiences, for example, and their adventures will be repeated verbatim down to the last detail for each brother. Other stylistic conventions usually followed in native nar-

ratives are: formalized beginnings and endings, frequent use of direct conversation between characters, the introduction of songs into the tales. These songs, either meaningful in content or composed of vocables, do not form the dramatic core of the tale, as do the songs in European cante-fables.

Explanations rationalizing customary behavior and natural phenomena are frequently inserted in tales, but are clearly not the primary reason for the stories themselves. The same rationalization often occurs attached to different tales, or versions of the same tale may be told by two groups, with different explanatory elements attached.

Actors in the tales are animal-human beings, humans, animals, supernatural beings (as water-monsters, thunder-birds, cannibal giants, dwarfs, deities, to mention only a few). Daily life and actions are reflected in the narratives, among some groups to a marked degree, among others less so. Stress is usually laid upon action rather than upon characterization or psychological situations, although there are some stories in which the actions recounted conform to certain definite characteristics of the hero or heroes of the place. Humor, often of a Rabelaisian variety, and irony, enter into many of the tales. Most of the tales are moralistic, in that deserving characters are usually rewarded, cruel or wicked ones outwitted or punished.

Some tales have diffused as entities from group to group. In many instances, however, the episodes that make up a tale have spread independently of the plot as a whole, and in different areas have been incorporated in totally different plots. The same is true for the smaller units, the elements or incidents that make up the episodes, which may diffuse independently of the episode as a whole. Some tale plots, and many episodes and incidents, are continentally distributed (as, e.g., the tale of Hoodwinked Dancers; the episodes of Loathly Bridegroom, Sky Window,

Symplegades, Escape to Stars; the incidents of Sky Rope, Supernatural Growth, Magic Contraction of Road, Looking Tabu). Other plots, episodes, and incidents have a more restricted distribution, many being widespread or fairly so among American Indian groups, but lacking among the Eskimo—the Orpheus tale is an example of such. Still other tales, episodes and incidents are known in only one region, or even to only one tribe within the region, as the tale *Trickster Joins Bulrushes in Dance* (Ojibwa, Plains Ojibwa) or *Contest between Men and Women* (Tübatulabal [California] only).

Tales, especially those set in the distant past, are usually told in the fall or winter-time, at night. Many groups have a definite tabu against narrating them in summertime, holding that a rattlesnake, bear, or other dangerous creature will bite the narrator or listeners, that snow will fall or rain will not fall, that narrator and listeners will become humpbacked, etc. Raconteurs are usually old men or old women; oftentimes they are "paid" for their storytelling by small presents of food, tobacco, or firewood. Good raconteurs enliven their tale telling with actions and gestures illustrating the story. It is usually obligatory for listeners to respond to the narrator's statements with frequent affirmative exclamations; when these responses are no longer forthcoming the raconteur concludes his storytelling for the night. In some parts of North America, tales display remarkable stability in general outline and detail and raconteurs are subject to correction if they do not adhere rigidly to the traditional form and content. In other areas, a raconteur's excellence is judged by his ability to combine stock episodes into novelistic tales based on native life, with much bona fide cultural detail included, as well as more fanciful material inconsistent with the actual cultural pattern.

Tales set in the far distant past deal in

some few cases with actual creation, more often with beginning or origins—of the world, of people, of animals, of natural phenomena—with events that occurred while the present world order was being established, and with the adventures and misadventures of an inconsistent, puzzling character, the trickster-transformer-culture hero. This character appears in the myths of all save one or two North American culture areas; also as the main character in loosely-knit cycles of humorous tales devoted to his adventures and (often) his companion's.

Wherever the trickster-transformer-culture hero appears, tales relating to the distant past have as their actors animal-human personages. These beings act, talk, and often live as humans, but possess animal characteristics and appear in either human or animal guise. At the end of the mythical age, when the present world order has been established, they become the animals and birds of today.

As a whole, creation and origin tales deal with types so impersonal that they do not represent any individual, hence characterization is usually weak. In the trickster tales it amounts merely to an embodiment, in the chief figure, of such abstract qualities as greed, lecherousness, ambition, stupidity.

Tales set in the more immediate past or in the actual present develop entirely or essentially in human society. Hero tales are widespread; a poor, dirty, ugly boy, usually an orphan, grows up to perform marvelous deeds; twin boys, or children of miraculous birth, are assigned superhuman tasks as tests, and accomplish them successfully. Tales of visits by humans to the upper world and to the afterworld are frequent, as are less fanciful tales of hunting trips, war parties, and a variety of other stories. The plots rest on a certain amount of characterization of individuals by their emotions and attributes, but the development of individual character does not proceed farther. Tribal mode of life is

much more fully reflected in these tales than it is in the myths of the pre-human age.

European tales appear now in nearly all North American collections, especially in those from tribes located in a belt extending from the Maritime Provinces across the continent to British Columbia (French: fairy, trickster, and noodle tales); in the Southwest (Spanish: fairy and noodle tales, stories of the saints, animal fables); in the Southeast (Negro: animal tales). Biblical stories of the flood, Adam and Eve, the nativity, etc., have also attained a wide distribution. The degree to which European material has been assimilated varies from almost complete adaptation to little or none.

*Eskimo.* Narrative material collected in different parts of the continent presents marked differences in content, theme, actors, formal structure. Eskimo mythology, for example, lacks entirely any world origin myths except in Western Alaska, where Raven Father has probably been borrowed from Indian mythologies to the South. Comparatively few origins of any natural phenomena are explained; the origin of the Eskimo and other peoples (Dog Husband), the origin of seals, whales, and salmon (Sedna and the Fulmar), and the origin of the sun and moon (Moon Brother and Sun Sister) are notable, and are also widespread, being told among the Eskimo from Greenland to Alaska. Actors in Eskimo origin stories are usually either human beings or animals, not animal-humans. No pre-human era is recognized. The trickster-transformer-culture hero does not appear in Eskimo mythology, and there are no trickster tales. Instead, Eskimo narratives deal chiefly with events occurring in human society; with adventurous trips made by shamans to upper and lower worlds; with visits by Eskimo hunters to fabulous peoples such as the Tornit (giants), the Adlet, who are half human, half dog, and the dwarfs; with encounters with witches, canni-



bals, and supernatural monsters such as the great worm, the sea weasel, the walrus dog; with less remarkable events such as wars, quarrels, hunting trips, famines, migrations, journeys, and early encounters with Europeans. A popular theme is that of the weak, despised boy who is bullied by a group of brothers, but who saves the settlement from disaster. The actors in these long, complex, novelistic tales are Inuit (Eskimo), supernatural beings, and animals. Eskimo life as lived today is often faithfully depicted. Few explanatory elements are included; such are usually relegated to a much briefer type of tale, the animal fable, which often amounts to little more than a formula. Songs and conversations are frequent in the longer tales and in the origin stories; erotic and obscene elements are not stressed. Origin material is chanted; it and other narrative material must be recited verbatim. Men narrate the long tales; women tell children short stories.

Eskimo dialogues form a class apart from the tales, and are an interesting specialization restricted to this people. Short, humorous speeches, often sung, form the nucleus for the bandying repartee of two or more characters in the dialogue. Sometimes these characters are human or supernatural beings; usually they are animals, sea-mammals, fishes or birds, with birds most frequently represented, and of the birds oftenest the raven. Dialogues are enlivened by the performer imitating the characters' calls, such as the raven's croaking or the gull's screaming, and by his using gestures.

*Mackenzie-Yukon.* In the Mackenzie-Yukon area south of the Eskimo, tales of the formation of the world after a flood (Flood and Earth Diving), and of an early animal-human era, occur; trickster tales are also narrated. The origin of death; the theft of fire, warmth, or light; the separation of earth and sky; are accounted for; often natural phenomena originate largely due to accident.

Various animals fill the role of trickster-transformer (Beaver, Kaska; Raven, Ten'a; Crow, Chipewyan) and by their perverse acts create confusion in the world order; there is a tendency, however, for the culture hero to be human in form. In tales about more recent times the heroes are usually human beings; a popular theme is that of a boy blessed with supernatural power, who performs marvelous deeds; another, that of animal-human marriages, and a third, the wanderings and adventures of a young woman (or a young man) who refuses to marry. Hunting trips, hunting prowess, encounters with enemy tribes and with Europeans are the subjects of more matter-of-fact narratives. Explanatory motifs are fairly frequent in all tales. Narratives reflect the simple hunting life of the people; however, in the western part of the area tales often concern wealthy people. Narratives are usually fairly short; obscene motifs occur, but are not stressed; songs are infrequently introduced; conversations are brief. The locale of the tales is generally established at the beginning; stereotyped phrases such as "then, at least this is fenced off" indicate the end of a story. Tales are usually told at night, in winter, by shamans or old men and women; some are told in camp to secure success in hunting.

*Plateau.* The great majority of Plateau tales concern the deeds and adventures of numerous animal-human beings who peopled the world before the Indians arrived. Explanations of origins, many of them unique to this area, are numerous; explanatory elements are often used as the basis of story plots. Origins (as of death) are the result of decisions made by animal councils, or of accidental happenings. Origin tales are often grouped around a single animal-human hero and form a loosely connected cycle of tales. Trickster cycles are very prominent in Plateau mythology; Coyote, greedy, erotic, ambitious, appears most frequently, with Fox as his

companion; but there are other tricksters too, as Old Man and the Three Brothers Hoggfennel. One of the most popular trickster themes throughout this region is that of the Bungling Host, in which the trickster visits various animals who display their peculiar powers in obtaining food, such as birds producing food by their songs, or animals by shooting or stabbing themselves. Later Trickster returns his host's invitation, and tries to provide food in the same way. He fails to do so, and usually narrowly escapes death in the attempt. Many land animals and birds, as well as personified natural phenomena (Sun, Moon, Cold, Rock, etc.) are the chief actors in the tales of the age before the Indians arrived. Relatively few tales have human actors; in these, fabulous beings, as well as humans, play important roles. European *märchen* are also told now; a few European animal fables have gained currency, but their moralistic basis has been discarded in favor of their use to explain the origins of certain animal characteristics. Among some Plateau tribes tales are highly localized, and may be very long; single myths or cycles up to 10,000 words in length have been collected in English; these are narrated during two or more successive nights. Formal phrases are used to introduce and end a story; during the narrative listeners respond with formal exclamations. Songs are frequently introduced into the tale, their words often in a foreign dialect. Animal actors are represented by distinctive speech characteristics; Skunk nasalizes in a high pitched voice, Bear slurs his consonants, Fox speaks with utmost clarity and directness, e.g., among the Nez Percé. Raconteurs further enliven their tale telling by using frequent gestures and bodily actions. Tales in this region show marked stability, tending to remain fixed units from one generation to the next. While there is no explicit insistence on letter-perfect accuracy in rendition, as among the Eskimo, if a narrator

wanders or diverges into irrelevancies, one of his auditors is likely to warn him that "his myth may float away" (Nez Percé).

*North Pacific Coast.* North Pacific Coast tribes have an extensive mythology consisting of a great mass of origin tales of disconnected character concerning the origin of the world and of animals, the origin of village communities and social groups, and the origin of religious ceremonies; in addition there are tales that develop entirely or essentially in human society, and some few introduced from Europe.

Tales of the mythical, pre-human age have animal-human beings as their chief actors; trickster-transformer cycles are long and detailed, with emphasis laid on the many acts of transformation by the central character. In the north the trickster-transformer-culture hero is Raven, a greedy, gluttonous creature who tries to obtain food without effort. Farther south it is the erotic Mink, who attempts to obtain girls and as many of his friends' wives as possible. Still farther south it is Bluejay, ambitious to outdo his betters in games, war, and the hunt. Sea, as well as land, animal-persons have prominent roles in the myths. The origin tales of village communities are often highly diversified or even contradictory in content, even within the same tribe, since they are chiefly the result of individual thought. Among the Bella Coola, however, the chiefs have systematized the mythology so that, while it is complex, it is not full of contradictory concepts. The Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island have hundreds of origin myths for their numerous social divisions and secret societies; these myths are all cut to one pattern, so that one particular type of origin story appears in an endless number of variants in this tribe. In the stories dealing with human society, tales of lazy children that are deserted, but who receive supernatural aid and can thus help their people in distress, tales of the poor man that attains a

high position, tales of chiefs that try to outdo each other in feats to increase their social standing, tales of visits to the sky and journeys across the ocean to fabulous countries, tales of marriages between humans and supernatural beings, are numerous. Many fabulous beings also appear in these tales, the double-headed serpent and the giant thunderbird being among the most notable. All essential features of daily life are mirrored in such narratives; Tsimshian and Kwakiutl tales, e.g., give much information about villages, houses, sea and land hunts, and social relations.

*California-Great Basin.* Central California mythology (Miwok, Yokuts, Salinan, Coastanoan, Coast Miwok, Patwin) emphasizes world creation myths. An already existent high god (in the northern half of the area), or Eagle or other animals (in the southern half) create the earth by inducing animals to dive for mud beneath the primeval waters; the small particles of dirt obtained are used to form an island, which becomes the earth. Migration tales are practically lacking. The origin of people and of cultural items receives scant attention, and relatively few explanatory elements occur, but controversies over the conditions of human life are part of the mythology. The culture hero-trickster-transformer is not an important character, although trickster tales are not entirely absent. In California as elsewhere a pre-human, animal era is postulated and many of the tales told relate to the animal-human beings of this age (Wolf, Mountain Lion, Bat, Coyote, Roadrunner, and other birds and animals). Prairie Falcon as hero and Eagle as chief are distinctively Californian. The Growing or Rising Rock tale, tales of single contests rather than multiple tests, and the incident of revival by submersion, are also distinctive to the area. Also popular are the continentally distributed Orpheus myths, the fairly widespread dispute between Lizard and Coyote

over the shape of the human hand, the controversy over the origin of death, and the Theft of Fire and Theft of the Sun myths. Songs are used in tales, but only to a moderate extent. California tribes northwest and northeast of the nuclear area show marked similarities in their mythologies with North Pacific Coast and Plateau peoples; California tribes south of the nuclear area show similarities with the Yuman tribes of the Southwest; while eastern California groups affiliate, as far as tales are concerned, with Great Basin groups (A. H. Gayton, *Areal Affiliations of California Folktales*, *American Anthropologist* 37: 582-97, 1935). In this latter area, that of the *Great Basin*, tales of the pre-human animal age are almost the only ones told, and of such, trickster tales are overwhelmingly predominant. No interest is evinced in a creator, little in the creation of the world, only a moderate amount in the origin of people, and little in the origin of cultural items. Culture hero tales are virtually lacking; transformer tales entirely so. The highly popular, all-prevalent trickster tales are generally short, consisting of a single incident; plain speech and obscenity are regular features; songs are seldom introduced into them. Coyote, greedy, lecherous, stupid, cruel, is the trickster par excellence throughout the Basin; he is often accompanied by his cooperative-competitive brother, Wolf. Rabbit or Cottontail is another popular character in parts of the Basin. A great many of the trickster tales told in the Basin are also told elsewhere on the continent, but nowhere else in North America does one find so much emphasis laid on the trickster as in this area, or as many of the same tales told about him by all groups within the area, as in the Basin.

*Southwest.* Southwestern groups such as Pueblo peoples, the Navaho, the Pima, and Papago, and some Apache divisions, possess large bodies of mythology notable for complex origin myths and hero tales, long novel-

istic narratives, many European *märchen* and noodle tales and animal fables, children's stories, and true accounts of wars, meetings with Mexicans, Americans, etc. A few Pueblo groups, notably Zuni, have a creation myth; but in the main origin tales describe the emergence of the people, who are led upward by deities or supernatural beings from a lower world, the subsequent travels of the people, and the deeds of supernatural heroes (often twin boys), who rid the world of monsters, obtain ceremonial objects, and give the people useful arts and rites connected with war, weather control, etc. Many current rituals are explained and justified in these myths, and the origin cycles of many of the Southwestern peoples have been elaborated and systematized by priests into more or less coherent wholes. No pre-human animal age is postulated among the groups mentioned above, but among all Apache groups and in a few Pueblos, notably at Taos, Coyote trickster tales are popular; such are probably of comparatively late introduction in Pueblo mythology.

Southwestern, novelistic tales, of which there are many among the Pueblo peoples, are fictionalized versions of native life, in which stock elements and incidents are used to build up plot sequences concerned with certain popular themes. Great originality is permitted the narrator in the combination of elements to form new tales, or to achieve a different emphasis in old ones; the familiar plots are reworked and told of different characters. Narrators are free to incorporate in their stories as many, and as minute, cultural itemizations as they choose or are able to; conciseness in tale telling is not a goal of narrators. Certain details, such as greeting formulas, must always be included, and localization is imperative. Not only are the characters and locality almost always specifically mentioned at the beginning of a tale, but certain places are scenes for certain kinds

of incidents. Great freedom is allowed in the adaptation of stories to explanations of the origins of phenomena; in no other North American mythologies are there so many and such unstandardized explanatory elements, both in native and in European tales.

Children's tales are brief; a few sentences accompanying nursery songs. European tales derive chiefly from Spanish sources; the old ones have become well, sometimes strikingly, adapted to the native cultural setting, while recent ones are as yet comparatively unasimilated. Animal fables concern animals who talk, but are animals and lead animal lives; onomatopoeic songs occur frequently in these tales, many of which are quite moralistic in tone.

Among Southwestern peoples of simpler cultures, such as the Yuman and some Apache groups, the emergence myth is not told and the familiar concept of the animal-human age prevails. Origin stories concern the flood and subsequent establishment of the present world order, either by Coyote or by a named deity. Coyote's companion, in origin and trickster tales, is Wolf. Hero-tales, with named personages, are fairly numerous; all the Apache groups have, in addition to Coyote, a culture hero frequently referred to as "Killer of Enemies," who is attended by a subordinate, "Child of the Water." Interest in incident, in magic and trickery, and in obscenity, sexual or otherwise, is evident in many of the tales which, in contrast to Pueblo narratives, are of relatively simple construction with little attempt made by narrators to adhere consistently either to plotting or to character delineation.

*Plains.* Plains Indian mythologies are concerned with the formation and ordering of the world by animal-human or superhuman figures, with the adventures of trickster-culture heroes, with the origins of ceremonies, and with the deeds of heroes that are either born with supernatural powers or endowed

with them in vision quests. In parts of the Plains the origin of death, length of day and night, etc., are determined by animal councils, rather than by accident or by individual characters. The trickster cycle is prominent in Plains mythologies, and contains many erotic or obscene tales. The trickster-culture hero may be either an animal (Old Man Coyote, Crow Indians) or a named being in human form (Old Man, Blackfoot; Inkumni, Assiniboin; Ishtiniki, Ponca). In many Plains mythologies Rabbit is also an important animal actor in tales. Great interest is shown by the northern Plains tribes in origin tales, for ceremonies connected with individually-owned paladiums (sacred bundles). No great originality marks many such origin tales; among the Blackfoot, for example, ritualistic tales relating to bundle origins are all variants of one particular type of story. Among the Southern Caddo tribes, origin stories of the stars predominate; the Pawnee have a well developed star lore in their elaborate and systematized mythology.

Hero tales, of which there are many fairly long ones, narrate the deeds of twin boys or single individuals, often of miraculous birth, who perform marvelous feats, rid the earth of monsters, take long and difficult journeys, etc. Tales dealing with human beings often have many marvelous happenings in them also; a goodly number concern poor orphan children, deserted children, or adults in distress who gain supernatural protectors and are granted power as great hunters or warriors. These supernatural encounters and the acquisition of power by poor persons are two of the most popular themes in Plains folklore; other favorites are extraordinary marriages (humans to animals, humans to stars) and the test theme, which in this area often takes the form of son-in-law tests. Few migration stories are told, and European tales are also fairly rare. Some narratives exclusively concerned with human beings are given pseudo-historic backgrounds;

and accounts of actual raids and adventures of men on war parties are not infrequent.

*Eastern Woodlands.* Among the Eastern Woodlands tribes stories of the flood and the pre-human animal age are told, but myths concerning the origin of the world, of people, of plants, of useful arts and ceremonies tend to be the subject of long connected narratives in which deities in human form play leading roles. The human aspect of the culture-hero-trickster, and his benefactions to mankind, rather than his deeds as a trickster or transformer, are emphasized, especially among the more easterly tribes. Manabozho or Nanabush, of the Ojibwa, Ottawa, and related tribes, institutes the Grand Medicine Society as culture hero; as trickster, in the form of the Great Hare, he urinates on maple trees and thus spoils their sap; Wisaka of the Potawatomi, Sauk, Fox, etc., is a culture hero in human form who, with the aid of earth-diving animals, fashions the world and tells people how to live, but who also, as a human, plays tricks on his grandmother, and on various animals; Glooscap of the Penobscot, Micmac, Malecite, and other Northeastern Algonquians is a culture hero in human form who has few, if any, of the attributes of a trickster.

Mention of a Supreme Deity or Great Spirit occurs in several mythologies, but this being delegates creation to lesser deities, and is not an active character in the mythologies. The principle of dualism enters into many of the creation tales; an evil spirit, now identified with the devil, actively opposes the wishes of the culture hero. Among the Iroquois and the present-day Shawnee the creator is envisaged as a female deity who, with her grandson (Shawnee) or sons (Iroquois), plays an active role on earth during the period of the first creation. Migration tales are not prominent in Iroquois and Algonquian mythology. Fairly long origin myths are told for each of the social divisions within tribes, for various cultural items such as canoes, horses, cere-

monies; these may or may not integrate with the cosmological myths.

Many supernatural beings enter into the post-creation narratives; the Algonquian-speaking tribes make frequent mention of a horned water serpent and of the thunderbirds who, in this region, are often depicted as small boys that use backward speech. The actors in many Iroquois tales are human villains—wicked uncles or brothers, and cannibalistic mothers—and fantastic supernatural objects such as flying heads. Tales of animal-human marriages and of visits to the afterworld are frequent; the Orpheus myth was recorded early (17th c.) in the region and is widespread among both Algonquian and Iroquoian tribes.

*Southeast.* Several Southeastern mythologies (Creek, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Alibamu, etc.) are notable for their lengthy emergence-migration myths; these differ from the Southwestern emergence-migration narratives in that deities or supernaturals do not accompany the people in their emergence from a hole in the ground and on their subsequent travels until they find the spot where they are to settle. The Cherokee, Yuchi, and other more easterly tribes do not have this type of origin myth, but the more usual flood and animal earth-diving tale; several Southeastern cosmogonies also stress the part played by the Sun, or the son of Sun, as supreme deity or culture hero. The interest of the Cherokee lies chiefly in tales concerning the origins of the stars, and the mythology of this tribe, like that of the Pawnee of the Southern Plains, is rich in star-lore.

A second striking feature of Southeastern mythology is its plethora of animal tales. Wildcat, Raccoon, Fox, Opossum, Rabbit, Terrapin and many other animals and birds are the actors in serious creation myths, in trickster-type tales, in Negro-Indian tar-baby and other stories. Human beings appear as actors in some of the animal tales, but rather rarely,

and relatively few tales are told that have human actors in them exclusively. The actors in the animal tales, although they talk like humans, otherwise behave like animals, as is the case in the Southwestern animal tales.

Among Southeastern tales dealing with human beings the Orpheus narrative, and the story of the man who rode out to sea on the back of an alligator, are notable. Nearly all the tribes in Eastern North America tell several tales concerning their first meetings with Europeans, including the Old World story of the Treaty of the Oxhide Strip; tales of intra-tribal disputes as to which of the groups was first created also appear rather frequently in both Eastern Woodlands and Southeastern mythologies.

Accurate recording of North American Indian tales has been going on for well over half a century, and the material thus collected has long been the subject of distributional studies, made either for purposes of historical reconstruction, to determine archetypal forms, or as ends in themselves. Native tales have also been studied from the psychoanalytic viewpoint as representations of the collective unconscious, expressions of wish fulfillment, etc. Several collections have been analyzed for the light that tales throw on a tribe's total culture pattern. A few stylistic studies have been made; some work has been done on the stability of myths among various groups. The total number of North American Indian tales that have been recorded in text and translation, or directly in English, and that are preserved in published or manuscript collections probably runs into the tens of thousands. A limited number have been recorded by phonograph.

*SPEECHES.* Oratory was a recognized art among all North American groups, and to be a good speaker carried as much prestige in many tribes as success in the hunt or bravery in warfare. Power for oratory, as for hunting

or war, was often bestowed in visions or dreams.

From the material that has been recorded in text, it is apparent that in exhortative speeches, as in all other native literary forms, rhythmic repetition is a fundamental feature. Some tribes develop a rhythmic form by adding a strongly accented final syllable to each word. Repetitive listing of, e.g., greetings, or directions, to each class of people in the group being addressed, is characteristic in speeches. This repetitive listing may continue throughout the speech, and the address conclude with a comprehensive summary. Descriptive imagery, in the form of stereotyped phrases, occurs frequently; metaphorical expressions are frequent; euphemisms such as "playing" (fighting), "hungry for soup" (eager for scalps), "taking a rest" or "lying down" (dead), and numerous others, are often and widely used. Gestures are employed while speaking. The occasions for delivering speeches are numerous. In many groups a fairly stylized harangue was given early each morning by the chief or chief's speaker, directing the people to their activities for the day. Council meetings are par excellence a time for speeches. Visiting guests were usually met outside the village by a speaker representing the host tribe, who formally welcomed the visitors and told them where to go. Speeches detailing war honors were recited upon various occasions; funeral speeches still are common among some groups, etc. The office of speaker was in many tribes a regular elective or appointive office. Societies also had regularly appointed heralds or spokesmen.

**PRAYERS AND FORMULAS.** Spoken prayers run a gamut from very short requests for supernatural aid, voiced daily in private by individuals, to long formalized poetic compositions of complicated pattern that must be recited letter perfect in order to be effective, and are chanted or intoned by priests as part of elaborate rituals. Prayers may or may not

be accompanied by offerings. Like all other literary forms, they follow definite tribal styles in structure, content, manner of delivery. Formulae are generally brief (some Navaho formulae consist of a person's sacred name only, or a combination of sacred names), must always be recited verbatim, are sacred and powerful in themselves, need not be addressed to specific deities or supernatural beings. Many prayers are formulaic in that their content is unalterable, their function compulsive, not supplicatory; this is especially true among the Navaho and Pueblo peoples of the Southwest, and among the Eskimo, Mackenzie, California, and Basin peoples. On the Plains and among the Eastern tribes formulae are used, but prayers, though often part of ritual, are not formulaic. Their content is more or less set, their patterns well established, but they are not compulsive compositions learned verbatim. Rather they are semi-extempore supplications voicing thanks, humility, and repeated requests that the deities take pity on the suppliants, who are weak and "pitiful people."

Prayers often contain obsolete or special words; regular or stereotyped phrases are common; there is much repetitive listing of ritual acts, natural phenomena, tribal rules of living. Openings and endings are often highly stylized. The structure of prayers varies from group to group; Zuni prayers, e.g., consist of three sections, always in the same order: a statement of the occasion, a description of the offering, and the request. Most Navaho prayers also have three divisions, invocation, petition, benediction. Formal prayers are often delivered in long periods. They may either be spoken or be chanted; manner of delivery varies. A Zuni priest delivers prayers as monologue; the Navaho also use monologue prayers, but the best known form is that of a litany, the chanter speaking one sentence of the prayer at a time, the patient repeating each sentence after him. Long, well

integrated prayers occur in some Pueblo myths.

Some tribes, notably the Cherokee, have transcribed their prayers into native syllabic writing since the coming of Europeans. Cherokee written prayers generally consist of two parts: (1) directions for a practical bringing about of certain results, (2) a magical incantation or spell designed to bring supernatural forces to bear to effect desired results. In addition to their written formulae, the Cherokee also have prayers of a more extemporaneous caste delivered at ceremonies and on other occasions.

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ERMINIE W. VOEGELIN.

## NORWEGIAN

THE FIRST truly articulate element in the life of the Norwegian people was the allodial (absolute ownership) nobility of the agrarian pioneer times, the group that had its golden noontide in what we now term the Viking age.

There are some farmsteads in Norway that undoubtedly go back to the bronze and even to the younger stone age; but the scattered families that lived here and there, mainly along the coast, at the beginning of the Christian era, can hardly be said to have occupied the land. The agrarian pioneer period began in earnest with the coming of adequate tools and implements, mostly of iron make. The land remained virgin soil until the sickle, the scythe, the spade, the primitive plow, and especially the axe and the sword became familiar to the hand of the North-Europeans.

The early stage of settlement lasted from about the 2d to the end of the 6th c. During

this period the basic farmstead came into being, the *gard*, which forms the central pattern of the economic and the social as well as the cultural and the religious life of the Norwegian communities for at least fifteen centuries. The skaldic poetry is the song of the Viking hall; the saga is the narrative of family allodial traditions, and the Eddic religion is preeminently the cult of the middle and upper stratas of agrarian landowners.

We take a brief glance at the *gard* of a *hersi*, a member of the lower nobility. As we come sailing in through the fjord, some time in autumn, after the summer expedition to other lands, we see first of all the boathouses along the shore. The ground slopes gently upward to a bulky mountain in the rear of the landscape. In a commanding position lies the hall. Strung out in line with it, or grouped about the farmyard, lie the other buildings, generally a considerable number, for each



timbered house is equivalent to a large room, and the farm, aside from being a residence, is also the multi-branched factory of this kinship-group of people. The public farmyard in the center, or the road in front of the strung-out houses, is called the *tun*, a word generically the same as the English *town*, although the Norwegian settlement was by farmstead, not by village. In the center of the farmyard rose a mighty tree—preferably an ash: the *tun*-tree. It was holy, because it symbolized the continuity of family life upon these acres, as the world-ash, Yggdrasil, symbolized in the ancient religion the continuity and the regeneration of all cultivated life upon earth. At all festive times libations were poured to the spirit of the family ash.

The hall was the grand assembly, and also the colorful banquet room of the estate. Built on a rectangular pattern, with a rather large entry in one end, it had the so-called long fires burning in the middle, from one end of the hall to the other, fires maintained as long as people were in the room, for they served to light the hall as well as to heat it. On each side of the fires, a row of elaborately decorated pillars gave support to the structure of the roof. On each side of the hall, between the pillars and the timber wall, tables were set up when the food was to be served. The men sat on benches along the main walls, the less distinguished down by the door, and the leaders near the king or the chieftain, who was elevated on a high seat midway along the wall. This throne-like bench had in front of it two pillars, sometimes with attached arm-rests, all elaborately carved, and looked upon as sacred. If a family changed residence, the pillars of the high seat were commonly taken to the new home. On the opposite side of the hall was a corresponding high seat for the most honored guest, and there too the men were seated on benches according to rank. On the timbers of the walls, elaborate tapestries were hung, and there were knobs for the

shields and the accoutrements of the warriors.

The *eldhus*, or "fire-house," was a separate building near the hall. It was equipped to be a place where cooking, baking, brewing, and in general all foodmaking might be done. It was a favorite place during the long fall and winter evenings, for many of the other buildings had poor light and no heat.

There were special sleeping quarters, *bur* or bowers. The bed chamber was generally on the second level, a storeroom being on the ground floor. Around the bed chamber ran an elaborately carved balcony, so constructed that the occupants of the building had good views of the courtyard but could not themselves be observed from the outside. The stairways that led to the sleeping quarters might be pulled up, so that the bower became a little fortress.

There were storehouses for the many kinds of staple foods that had to be kept on the farm all the year round. They were called *stabbur* and were built of massive timbers. Commonly they stood on bulky corner posts, a foot or two from the ground. Like the bower, they had a central safety room surrounded by an outer closed porch which ran all around the building and gave it the security of a double-walled strong room. In the spring of the year, the question of how much meat or cheese or bread was left in the *stabbur* often determined the alternative between life and death.

The more distant flanks of the farmcourt had buildings used for a variety of purposes. Sheds and lean-tos provided working quarters for the various craftsmen. There were shoemaker and carpenter shops. The blacksmith had his forge, which was indeed very significant, for the early northern civilization rested on the work of the iron smith more than on the craft of any other man, and art in general was often identified with the product of the smithy. The god Odin was said to be a master craftsman, and poetry was called the art of the wordsmith.

A requisite in every Old Norse farm com-

munity was the bathhouse, in which the steam baths were taken. The men especially thought they were hardening themselves physically when, after the profuse perspiration of the steam bath, they could run into the cold snow or into the waters of the fjord.

The outer fringe of the community was formed by the barns and the haylofts. In connection with these buildings many of the workers had their sleeping quarters, because the animal heat gave them a more endurable temperature in winter. On the edges of the cultivated land lived the cottagers and the slaves. Nearly every farm had a vast stretch of hinterland—woods and hay and pasture-lands to be used mainly in the summer—a region immensely significant to the ingathering economy of the early centuries, for, with the exception of the bread grain, the animal husbandry constituted the most important element in the making of a livelihood.

The sketch here drawn of the *gard* community needs a reservation or two. If the farm was located in one of the eastern valleys, the boat was less significant, although many even there kept boats in the rivers and on the lakes. Prior to the 7th c., the practice tended to the erection of one single row of buildings—in effect, the space between two immensely long walls partitioned into eight or ten or more rooms. This practice is very general throughout the history of Iceland, because of the lack of structural timber, the outer walls being built of stone and clay, one of them often dug back into a hillside. For the same reason as in Iceland, this type of building was more prevalent in western Norway than in the eastern valleys and the lowlands around the Oslofjord.

The period between the 2d and the 7th c. exhibited the characteristic of a pioneer community much more than the aristocratic Viking age. The Germanic center was found on the southern shores of the Baltic and the North Sea. From this general region the land-

hungry tribesmen moved either south into the territories of the Roman empire or north and west into the sparsely settled regions of Scandinavia and the western islands. The Danish and the Swedish settlements predominate until about 600 A.D. From then on the Norwegian scene, including the Western Islands, Iceland, and Greenland, comes into the foreground.

Prior to the 7th c. the more cultivated religion of Scandinavia consisted of a cult associated with the vitalistic conception that the growing life is holy. Generation in nature, in animals, in man is everywhere considered to be the locus of divinity, sex and blood being the particular currents of the holy energy. The sun as a father and the earth as a mother can be traced in many of the earliest beliefs and practices. The gods called the *wanir* in the Eddic mythology are undoubtedly the fertility deities of the less aristocratic and less heroic period before the 7th c. A.D. The lower paganism consisted, as it always does, of a mass of intertwining local and tribal superstitions and practices, many of which had no rational basis whatever.

Until the 7th c. the more cultivated worship took place at great out-of-doors altars called *horg*. The pagan temple known to us from the Viking period is an imitation and an adaptation of the Christian church. The architectural structure of the temple came to the North in the 7th c. We must therefore conclude that a considerable knowledge of Christianity was spread throughout the Scandinavian world for some three centuries prior to the time of the Christian king's victory in the days of Olaf the Saint.

The literature of the allodial Viking nobility was nearly altogether oral in form, although some of the runic inscriptions come very near being worthy of mention as poetry.

Most typical and also most widely spread throughout the country was the poetry of the bards, principally known as the *skaldic* verse.

It consisted of eulogistic or descriptive lines, recited by word of mouth on some festive occasion. Very likely the intonation of the poem or the lay was similar to what we know as the chant. The royal bards lived at the court more or less indefinitely, although such a literary artist had no difficulty in moving from one country to another. He was generally honored and listened to with high respect no matter where he came, be it in Scandinavia or in certain portions of the British Isles.

Because the allodial Viking nobility prized their own social station and gloried in their prowess as warriors, the poetry of the bards is lacking in the strains of pathos and charity. It is the proud speech of proud men. The clash and din of battle ring through it; the shouts of hail to the victor echo in its lines; the hope of promotion to the companionship of the gods is frequently expressed. But such a hope is basically that of being in the warlike company of a king greater than any here on the visible earth.

The bards, who themselves were often powerful chieftains and nearly always members of the allodial nobility class, graded their poems in accordance with the social station of the men to whom they were directed. The rank of one of these eulogies depended not only upon what had been said but fully as much on how it had been said. The highest type of skaldic verse was characterized by extreme ornateness, an excessive use of metaphor, involved sentence structure, and allusions that could be understood only by the thoroughly initiated. Hence it cannot be said that the poetry of the Viking bards is great in point of effortless simplicity or poignant human feeling. But it proves that the northerners had attained a very high level of cultural form in the realm of oral literature. It is, however, weak in the romantic qualities of yearning and of dream.

The skaldic poetry of Norway harbored one large purpose that can only by sufferance be

spoken of as a goal of poetry. It aimed very often to record the genealogy of a family or a kinship group. Such an effort was made by the Agder poet Tjodolf\* of Kvine when he wrote his *Genealogy of the Ynglings* in the interest of the clan to which his king, Harald the Fairhaired, belonged. Such an effort was also made by the bard Eyvind Skaldaspillir\* when he wrote the *Genealogy of the Hålogaland Earls* in the interest of that other great family upon which the early monarchy rested, the family of the Lade chieftains. In this capacity the poetry of the bards served as the groundwork of history. Indeed, the greater portion of Snorri Sturluson's remarkable 13th c. work, the *Heimskringla*, consists of a brilliant account written on the basis of evidence left in the skaldic verse.

The most famous bards of a strictly Norwegian designation were the two I have mentioned—Tjodolf and Eyvind—from the courts of Harald the Fairhaired and his son Håkon the Good. Among their poems are Tjodolf's *Autumn Song* and Eyvind's *Memorial to King Haakon*. But their contemporary, Thorbjörn Hornklovi,\* has left us works of equally striking imagination and power. The majority of the Icelandic skalds of the 10th and the 11th c. also lived and wrote in the Norwegian scene, being in the main attached to the court of the king of Norway.

Most of the extant skaldic poetry is now ascribed to known literary artists. But there was a kindred and tangent form of verse, the makers of which are totally anonymous. We must suppose that a vast body of religious legend and superstition was formed during the Viking period; especially when we study the growth of the Norwegian fairy tale and the more recent folk legends, many elements of which, more especially those of the mountain trolls, go back to the pagan mind.

The religion of the Viking centuries was an expression of aristocratic attitudes formed in a day when the ownership of land became

associated with heroic deeds on the sea and abroad. Sea kings arose; adventurers became famous throughout the realms of the North and the Baltic seas. The so-called Eddic poetry is written in the Homeric vein. The group of lays dealing with the exploits of Rhineland and Burgundy heroes corresponds in a measure to the songs about the Greeks at Troy. The events are a little beyond the horizon of history, although we know that elements of fact must be present. The characters loom in the distance much as a chain of vast mountains in the blue, beyond a nearer ridge more clearly visible.

In addition to the *Lays of the Heroes*, the Eddic collection includes a group called the *Lays of the Gods*, the names used being supplied by modern editors, from whom the order of the poems in the *Edda* also stems. The *Lays of the Gods* are made up of a cosmological work known as the *Voluspo* or the *Prophecy of the Seeress*, a wisdom poem entitled the *Sayings of the High One*, and numerous versified accounts of the deeds and the problems of the Viking gods. We must not suppose that these pagan lays give us any complete picture of the religion of the ancient period, for it is certain that gods like Odin, Thor, Frey, and Balder had their special strongholds and their particular devotees. As warriors the Vikings principally called upon Thor or the cunning Odin, but as tillers of the soil they were the devotees of Frey. The lower classes had little or no share in the Eddic ideology and the Eddic lore.

This *Poetic Edda* is a collection of verse composed between the years 700 and 1100 A.D. The collection as we now have it was probably made not far from the year 1200. It was discovered in 1643 by the Icelandic bishop Brynjolfur Sveinsson. The name *Edda* is a modern echo of a 13th c. volume on poetics written by Snorri Sturluson and may mean "the book about poetry" or the "Oddi book," that is, the book written at Oddi in Iceland.

The Eddic verse is infinitely more simple and lucid than the poetry of the Viking bards. Principally in the *Voluspo*, there are scenes of unforgettable majesty and grandeur. Some of the narrative poems are indeed masterpieces of graphic storytelling, worthy to be associated with the prose narratives of some of the sagas. We cannot be sure about the religious function of the *Lays of the Gods*. Since we know that the Viking temple was a banquet hall in which the leaders on earth sat down to sup with the leaders of the heavenly realm, it is not at all unlikely that poetry of this nature was spoken or chanted in connection with the sacrifices. In the *Holy of Holies* the priest or lay chieftain probably spoke or mumbled various magic formulas as he sprinkled the blood upon the image of the god; but in the outer hall where the men were seated very much as at their family banquets, it must have been quite natural to chant this poetry in recognition of the divine presence. We must also recognize that a large body of similar poems may have been lost when the White Christ and the Christian king finally triumphed over the pagan deities, Odin, Thor, and Frey.

The ancient pagan literature included an impressive body of legend and of story. How well the story was told in its oral form we cannot say, because the prose narrative usually does not attain to the rhythmic fixity of a poem, and none of the sagas was committed to writing earlier than the mid-12th c. But it is certain that the modern Norwegian fairy-tale contains a layer of pagan tradition, chiefly associated with the stories of trolls and ogres. There must in the early Middle Ages have been a vast number of tales in circulation, some dealing with sacred places, others with men and events, for lower paganism teemed with superstition and imaginative explanations of the phenomena of life. But of this lower paganism we have only indirect knowledge, since the pagan aristocracy frowned at

its crude notions, never allowing it a place in the realm of literary composition.

The Old Norse poetry flourished at the court of Harald the Fairhaired during the late 9th and the nearly 10th c. With the coming of the two kings, Olaf the First or Olaf Trygvason, and Olaf the Second or Saint Olaf, the Viking aristocracy relinquished its power and distinction in favor of national unity as promoted by the king and the church. It may seem strange that we should grant the church credit for national aspirations in northern Europe; but during the 11th c. the Roman element in the church was not especially significant. The earliest churches in Norway were royal chapels, and the new religion was used as a counterweight on the part of the kings against the entrenched might of the pagan allodial nobility. Consequently it is an apt saying that the 11th c. marks the victory of kings and the King of Kings.

The literary significance of this first Christian century in the Norse realm is confined to some amplifications of the regional law codes, some epigonic skaldic poetry, rudimentary sagas about the holiness of the Christian kings—the two Olafs—and some Christian legends coming to Norway with these kings and their chief supporters, the court priests from England.

The 12th and the 13th c. constitute, on the other hand, the greatest golden age of Norwegian letters prior to the 19th c. In the middle of the 12th c. the archbishopric of Nidaros was established. During that same agitated time, monasteries sprang up in remarkable abundance. Churches were built; the hierarchy was organized; the ecclesiastic law established the rights and the privileges of religious bodies and individuals of the holy orders. Indeed the North took on the mood and the color of Europe as we know it in the days of Innocent the Third.

The 12th c. was especially a period of confusion, in spite of its tremendous energy. The

old provincial aristocracy still exercised great power in the political affairs of the land. Often the throne was sought as the tool by which aristocratic pretenders could gain dominion. On the other hand, the new church priesthood also began to acquire a mighty influence. The tug of war between the hereditary Norwegian aristocracy and King Sverre Sigurdson marked a definite central conflict of interest, and the subsequent struggle between the crown and the church also gave evidence of sociological dislocations of potent meaning both to the present and to the future.

With the ascension of Haakon the Old to the throne of Norway early in the 13th c. a balance was struck. Peace ensued; prosperity abounded; Norway became a part of the continental order.

Yet the literary achievement of the time is to be explained as a remarkable fusion of the old pagan aristocracy with the new ecclesiastical personnel of the land. The fact that the principal leaders of a diocese or a monastic order were commonly of the native stock and sprung from the aristocratic class of landowners, allowed the tradition to be maintained. In Iceland particularly, where settlement was recent and a distinguished social isolation came to be practiced, the growth of the church proceeded in friendly step with the progress of the local and the national gentry.

The most original literary product of the northern society of the time is the saga. It has its origin in the same type of tribal and family interest as we find in the *Old Testament* and elsewhere. The many genealogies of the Biblical literature are rudimentary sagas, and the book of *Judges* might justifiably be compared with such a work as the *Sturlungasaga* of Iceland.

The first sagas are sagas of the kings, and the greatest of all the sagas is the *Heimskringla*, written by Snorri Sturluson in the 13th c. as a history of the Norwegian royal

house, more particularly of the two central monarchs, the Christian Olafs.

Aside from the *Heimskringla* the classical saga embraces the Icelandic family histories, but practically all of the sagas have their roots in a cultural and sociological homeland which is mainly the western coast of Norway.

It should always be kept in mind that on a parallel with the more secular family stories there were both in Iceland and in Norway sagas of bishops, of abbots, of saints, and of pretenders. Some of the accounts are edifying, but others are expressive of grossness and thirst for selfish might.

The more specific church literature of the period was in some instances intended to be the effulgence of the glory of God, as when the poet spoke of the ray that came into the cathedral of Nidaros at the time it was dedicated, how it filled the whole sanctuary with a sweet fragrance, and how this same ray from the divine being had come down to the people of European lands by way of Christ and lately by saints like the holy king Olaf Haraldson. But the poetry could also be narrative, intended rather to serve as an aid to instruction where systematic textbooks were rarely used. The story was often an epitome of Christian history, an outline of the plan of salvation, or a semi-dramatic rendering of the passion of Christ.

From the late 13th c. onward the homilies of the church became increasingly significant as the written expression of the time.

If we were to ask why the centuries between the reign of Haakon the Old and the coming of the Lutheran reformation are universally accepted as a period of decline in the countries of the European North, it might first be pointed out that the old allodial gentry of the Viking period was no longer creatively original. In an ever increasing degree the newer aristocracy merged with the corresponding class on the European continent. In such a merging the economic power, the social

standard, the linguistic facility, and the artistic taste would all have the determining bulk and quality in the lands to the south. In proportion, therefore, as the continent developed a European aristocracy with family contacts from Spain to Russia, in that proportion the creative initiative of the Norwegian allodial barons diminished. And in proportion as the continent developed a European church with material interests in every quarter of non-Russian Europe and a more and more standardized pattern of thought and behavior, in that direct proportion the initiative of Norwegian ecclesiastical leaders was reduced.

Definitely associated with the decline of the native aristocracy is the decline of the royal house. In a very striking manner the northern kings and princes began to rest their eyes on one section of the horizon—the southern hills and lowlands. Scandinavians began to think of a royal unionism embracing all of the North, and with this unionism came dynastic contacts with German princely houses, Mecklenburg, Oldenburg, Holstein. No longer could a *Heimskringla* be written to the glory of a specifically Norwegian royal family.

The Hanseatic League dominated commerce, and the general dependence upon continental goods and crafts is very striking from the 14th c. onwards. Nor is it overcome during the period of the Reformation. We have to come to the rise of the Dutch and the English before we again find the Norwegians looking out upon the great western expanse of the ocean. But when that reorientation finally took place, it laid the foundation for a second golden age in Norwegian literature.

But the circumstance that aristocratic, courtly, and ecclesiastical letters declined during the late centuries of the Middle Ages is not to be understood as a bald assertion that nothing of permanent significance grew during this time. To be sure the European world of scholasticism and of church-dominated universities could not recognize as art and literary

craft the popular telling of fairy and troll stories. Nor could the arbiters of taste sanction the folk dance, with its attendant ballad singing. Nevertheless the later centuries of the Middle Ages have been able to fill what seemed a distressing gap—fill it with the gay song of amorous boys and girls in the play of magic summer evenings; fill it with stalking monsters and Christian magic; fill it with the terror and the hope that dwelled not in the breasts of the nobles but in the hearts of the common Norwegian farmer of the valley and the fjord.

The medieval ballad was, of course, in a much higher degree than the fairytale a written form of art. Broadly speaking, the ballad was the orchestra of the medieval group dance. Its soft, swaying tones melted into the whole living melody of knighthood and chivalry. Although it too had its European tone and standard, it took on much of local and national color. The earliest known reference to the ringdance in the northern Scandinavian lands is a note from 1118 in an Icelandic work. The ballad accompanied the ringdance; but neither of these two forms of expression was predominantly favored during the 12th and the 13th c., when Christianity was young and the monastic institutions were growing. At least in its northern setting, the ballad was a flower growing in an old and well decayed soil. The song as well as the dance gave vent to romantic sentiment. In the Viking civilization women had no basic joy or function except in their relation to the home. Consequently loyalty was a greater word in the early family context than sentiment or romance could be. With the ballad came a note less family determined, a note more European in its nearest associations. The dance on the greensward or by the manor gate was social in its behavioristic pattern, but anti-social as far as the guardians of religion and Christian ethics could see. Almost every conscientious priest looked upon the ringdance with the

same scowling mien a modern parson takes on in the presence of jazz or jive.

Just because the ballad was so intimately tied up with the dance and the revelry of an indulgent aristocracy, this form of literature is not of exceptional richness in Norway. Denmark is the great ballad country in Scandinavia, for it then held the strategic position in Scandinavian society. The Danish aristocracy was by all odds the most striking and the wealthiest in the European North. The Norwegian ballad has few distinctive lines. Chiefly worth mention is the prevalence of troll ballads, of which the originality stems from paganism, inasmuch as the trolls are derivatives of gods and giants that stalk the pages of the Eddic poetry. The fact that the troll ballad is uniformly drawn to illustrate the victory of Christianity will be recognized as a part of the medieval mind; but the Christian element is European, only the troll is in possession of characteristic native traits.

The principal distinctiveness of the ballad in point of literary quality and structure will be found in the soft, lilting cadence of the verse, and in the use of refrain, the latter being in the nature of a chorus that the dancers repeated.

The Danes began to collect their ballads in the 16th c., but the Norwegians did not undertake the strictly literary work connected with the ballads and the fairytales until the middle decades of the 19th. In this circumstance we may see another proof that the most prolific area of the Old Norse period had lost its cultural initiative. The Icelanders became dependent upon the Norwegians, while the Norwegians in turn looked toward southern Scandinavia; and the entire northern region of Europe was oriented toward Germany.

The Norwegian fairytales have in their structure and content distinguishable layers, much as there are layers in a geological deposit. The most recent belongs to the 17th and the 18th c. It is characterized by a sociological

stress; the hero is of lowly origin—an Askeladd—but he wins the princess and half the kingdom by reason of his secret genius, which is essentially the mental quality of wonder and the romantic element of natural good fortune. The other two layers were deposited in the Middle Ages. The troll in the fairytale has its accompaniment in the troll ballad; indeed, the pagan element of the troll is the most original and the most imaginative in the Norwegian tales. The other element stems from the Christian thought-life of the Middle Ages; it is common to the European scene. Principally it expresses itself in a structural emphasis of numbers, chiefly the number three, which arranges the entire fairytale in an order of climax: an axe, a spade, a walnut; or the hero passing through a copper, a silver, and a gold forest. Ultimately this number structure goes beyond Christianity, but it came to the north as a part of it. More strictly ecclesiastical is the magic power of the Christian symbols. The church bells will blast the power of the trolls, and a word of *Scripture* can foil the most sinister plan of the ogres. Although the Christian magic is not on a much higher level than the pagan magic, which bound an evil spirit by passing steel over it, the fairytale magic is expressive of the victory Christianity achieved over the Eddic religion, for the church symbols are holy and potent while the remnants of paganism are a part of Satan's own empire.

The Norwegian fairytale had these two periods of growth: the time from the late 13th to the late 15th c., and the time between the Thirty Years' War and the French revolution. The fairytale as the Norwegians produced it is highly imaginative, excellently told, and deeply imbedded in the life of the folk. In the 19th c. it joined with the saga and the folk melodies to play a determining role in the national renaissance in literature as well as in music, painting, and almost every other form of art.

It must be said that the Lutheranism that came to Scandinavia in the 16th c. is not especially attractive. It was a product of a German struggle; in Germany it had had certain very significant cultural implications, of which we need mention only the excellent translations of the *Bible* and the many powerful hymns. But to Norway the Reformation did not mean any reinstatement of the native or the vernacular. Quite the opposite. It meant the lowest ebb of both the Icelandic and the Norwegian culture. It meant specifically the elevation of South-Scandinavian rulers and groups to dominion in the North, so that what had hitherto been partly continental German and partly Roman now became altogether German except insofar as Luther and his followers went back to apostolic Christianity and *Old Testament* Jewry. The period from 1537 to the end of the 16th c. is in almost every respect the darkest in the history of Norway.

It is necessary briefly to mention one other consideration. The Reformation was introduced by the kings; there was little democratic preparation for it. The churches were often stripped of their gold and silver, their sacred vessels, their ornaments, their shrines. The monasteries were dissolved altogether, the properties being confiscated by the crown. Under such circumstances the ordinary agrarian citizen lost faith in the moral order upon which he had relied; nothing was sacred any longer. Moral standards were brought low indeed; superstition experienced a heyday; intolerance flourished; witchburning became a practice condoned by even the educated classes.

But when all is said this period of ferment, of foam and grime and eyes wide with fear, this period too, even in the North, had in it elements of great significance. It marked the advent of the printed word. Printing presses were set up in Copenhagen very early, and they served Norway and Iceland as well—



Norway did not have her own printer or publisher until the mid-17th c. The printers brought to the North specifically copies of the Bible; during the second half of the 16th c. came the new hymnaries, and very early the *Small Catechism* of Martin Luther joined to make the great triumvirate of early Scandinavian Protestantism.

There are some indications that even secular letters were cultivated here and there in Norway during the 16th c. The city of Bergen had, during the saga period, ranked as the leading community of the nation. That position had been maintained during the Hanseatic ascendancy, although the distinction had not always been fraught with national meaning. Bergen existed, in fact, under something like extra-territorial law, for the benefit of the German merchants and their crafts organizations. But even in the 16th c. the city on the western coast led the country in point of cultural leadership, and it was in Bergen that the Reformation church most quickly became established.

The leading Protestant clergyman of the century was the bishop Geble Pederssøn of the Bergen diocese, and his right-hand man in the field of education was the lecturer in theology at the Bergen Cathedral school, Absalon Pederssøn Beyer. Characteristically for the period, Beyer had been educated at the universities of Copenhagen and Wittenberg. Throughout the third quarter of the 16th c. he taught in Bergen, becoming known as the Lutheran humanist of his age. He wrote a topographical and nationally analytic *Description of Norway* which marks rather clearly the extent of Norse decline but nevertheless gives vent to a personal hope for the future. He also kept an extensive diary, *Liber Bergensis Capituli*, embracing moral precepts, keen observations, and suggestive interpretations of his era.

A second literary clergyman stalks with determined mien across the age, the Agder pastor

Peder Claussøn Friis. His preaching was of the frontier type, and his experiences included some knifeplay. But withal there was in the Reverend Friis a great concern for his people and his country. He also was essentially a humanist, and he also wrote a topographical work; but, more particularly, he made the first significant modern translation of the *Heimskringla* of Snorri Sturluson. Both the language and the cultural tone of Norway had by then varied so greatly from the best spirit of the saga age that Friis's translation acted at once as a great historical-educational impetus and as a mirror by which the people could see the nation in terms of their forebears. To the renaissance of the 19th c. Peder Claussøn Friis thus became a genuine forerunner.

The time between the Lutheran reformation of the 16th c. and the national Norwegian renaissance of the 19th is characterized by a political and social order known as royal absolutism. In the northern lands the power of the Church was shattered; her great wealth was taken over by the King's government; her independent educational system was made part of the state bureaucracy; her system of appointments and ecclesiastical advancement was abolished, in favor of pastors by the secular grace of the King.

The new type reached its maturity and its adequate form in 1660 when the sovereign of western Scandinavia, the monarch in Copenhagen, broke the opposition of the nobility and declared his governmental power absolute. From a literary standpoint the period of absolutism meant chiefly two significant developments: First, the University of Copenhagen, which had been largely a church institution, became a royal university for the training of the government bureaucracy, civil, military, or ecclesiastical. Secondly, the theatre and the drama in general became royal. By the 18th c. the Royal Theatre of Copenhagen was not only famous but without any serious com-

petitor in the entire realm. In this trend the northern countries followed the lead of the greater European powers.

During the 17th c. two literary figures partially express the significant intellectual changes of their time: Petter Dass,\* and Dortha Engelbrektsdatter. Like Beyer and Friis, Dass was a theologian. Initiated into a life of hardship by a long term of service as pastor among the fishermen of Nordland, he finally obtained the ample country parish of Alstahaug. He never considered his verse-making as even an attempt at the fine art of letters. His verses came easily, and he scattered his poems about in the fjords and on the islands. Homely poetry, graphically realistic lines, rugged nature, deep friendliness toward the people, simplicity in his religious trust—of such things Dass was made, and indeed the combined effect is that of a man of size if not of gentility. He is by all odds the first important bard of modern Norway.

Dass's poems, especially such as the *Trumpet of Nordland*, belong to the folk and to the religious tradition, rather than to any university culture in royal Copenhagen. He sings of the moods of nature in the summer glory and the wintry gloom. He tells of the various occupations on sea and on land, is not afraid to portray the filth and the earthbound existence of his people, and he makes the reader partake of a fare that he can relish, an air that he can quaff in deep draughts, a humanity that wells up from the clear source of life. Dass also wrote some religious verse, chiefly didactic, songs to aid the young in memorizing Luther's catechism. The other representative of the 17th c., Dortha Engelbrektsdatter, produced religious poetry exclusively. The sentiment in her verses, in our day we should call religious sentimentality. But her hymns were highly esteemed, and some of them have been accepted into the permanent treasure house of northern hymnody. The excessive shedding of tears is not unnatural to the mood

of certain Lutheran movements of the 17th and the 18th c.

Following the death of Martin Luther, and especially during the bitter religious struggles of the 17th c., the insistence upon a rigidly defined system of doctrine characterized the thinking and the discussion of the northern lands. The consequent aridity of the established church stimulated the growth of pietism. But the stress on virtue and rationality was of a piece with a mental liberation that had been gathering force from as far back as the Italian Renaissance.

In the united kingdom of western Scandinavia the most influential and the most adequate representative of the enlightenment was the dramatist Ludvig Holberg.\* Although he was born in Norway and spent his most impressionable years in his native land, he truly represents that western Scandinavian kingdom which had as its capital the ancient city of Copenhagen on the Sound, and which in addition to Denmark also included Norway and the duchies of Slesvig and Holstein. I merely wish to point out here that even as Iceland during the late Middle Ages became increasingly dependent on the mother country, Norway, so the regions of northern Scandinavia became dependent upon southern Scandinavia, a trend in the economic and cultural life that also threatened to make all of western Scandinavia the intellectual vassal of Germanic central Europe. Holberg is the savior of the Danish-Norwegian language. His insistence upon its use in the literary production of the time, and his fervent effort to keep it pure, expressive, and vigorous, signaled a great national revival both in Denmark and in Norway.

It has already been stressed that when religious and feudalistic medievalism passed, the absolute kings dominated the European scene for more than two centuries. Culturally the period is strongest in the drama, which had its home in the Royal Theatre, and intel-

lectually the lead passed more and more from the church to the royal university.

The very nature of the historical development made it quite reasonable indeed to the people of the 18th c. that they should have a common state or royal university in Copenhagen. The Norwegian students were in the habit of organizing their own student society, where provincial or separatistic oratory might well be heard at the same time that sharp lances were thrown at the ruling class, but in the main the cultural distinction of the ancient city, often referred to as the Athens of the North, was recognized throughout the united kingdom. Indeed the common western Scandinavian tradition, in some of its forms, continues to be strong in our own day.

The leaders of the Norwegian society in Copenhagen were the sons of men in the accepted professions, pastors, doctors, lawyers, military officers, the children intent upon following in the footsteps of their sires. Among these were Johan Herman Wessel,\* Johan Nordahl Brun, Peter Harboe Frimann and his brother Claus, Niels Krog Bredal, Jonas Rein. The society flourished ca. 1770, but weakened toward the end of the century, when Norway began to agitate more insistently for her own university. The chief literary contributions of the society lay in the fields of the drama and in the principles of criticism to which the members adhered. In general the Norwegian students leaned more toward the side of French classicism than did especially such Danish writers as the poet Ewald.

In Norwegian circles north of the Skagerrack the literary tradition followed the trend marked by Beyer and Friis; that is to say, the writers drew upon valley and fjord lore to give them subjects and their deepest mood. Such a group was found at Volda in Sunnmøre, from which came men like the pastor Hans Ström, the progressive farmer and politician Sivert Aarflot, and later the great

language reformer of the 19th c., Ivar Aasen.\*

In the majestic valley of Gudbrandsdal, the literary interest stemmed indeed from the ancient Norse families. In the 18th c. the poet Edward Storm, son of a Vaagaa pastor, gave to Norway powerful and charming songs many people still love, songs that share the eternal emotion of a Robert Burns. The enchanting summers of the Norwegian mountains are to Storm an everlasting miracle of beauty. Other worthy poets are Simon Fougner and Peter Christopher Stenersen.

In the northern city of Trondheim, memories of a great archepiscopal church era were still strong, and even during the early Protestant centuries the city had a significant cathedral school and a royal academy of science. Although the art of imaginative writing was not cultivated to a high degree, Trondheim had distinguished scholars and essayists, above all the historian Gerhard Schöning.

In Oslo, Christian Tullin flourished during the middle decades of the century. A lover of nature and a believer in the Rousseauian principles in literature, he became the most distinguished lyric romanticist of his native land, though overshadowed by the great genius of the following decade, Henrik Wergeland.\*

In 1809 Sweden lost to Russia the control of the archduchy of Finland. When Jean Baptiste Bernadotte was elected crown prince of Sweden in 1812, the understanding was that he could make an alliance with Napoleon and wrest the duchy back from the czar. Destiny provided just the opposite. Bernadotte joined the Allies, and by the treaty of Kiel, in 1814, the king of Denmark, Norway and Slesvig-Holstein, for a slight compensation on the German border, ceded his right to the throne of Norway. By this transaction the so-called peninsular system came into being as the pet child of Bernadotte, who was now called Charles John.

The system involved three principal points:

that Finland belonged within the political sphere of Russia; that Denmark belonged within the sphere of Germany; and that only by making the peninsula one nation could Scandinavia proper be large and strong enough to maintain its integrity.

The peninsular system lasted from 1814 to 1905.

Culturally the change was nothing short of revolutionary. Norway obtained a large degree of political freedom; she came quickly to have in Oslo a national center, a city growing with almost American speed throughout the hundred years. All sorts of vigorous institutions were established: the *storting* (Parliament), national university, national theatres, national art galleries and schools of music—all within the knowledge and memory of a generation.

Of supreme importance was the intellectual vigor to come from the Royal University in Oslo. Although at first it had to rely on teachers brought from Copenhagen, stimulating young scholars had by 1830 taken over key positions and were busy planning the national campaign of this resurrection century. In 1825 John Sebastian Welhaven\* and Henrik Wergeland matriculated at the university, and a few years later Anton Martin Schweigaard, Frederik Stang, and Peter Andreas Munch were transforming the faculty both in mind and in spirit.

In the university circles, lyric poetry was for the time being dominant, but in the country at large the interest in drama and play production had carried over from the time when the Norwegian bureaucracy had taken their academic training in Copenhagen. Norway herself had no distinguished theatre until 1828, when the Christiania Theatre at Bank Square was founded.

Both in the capital of the nation and throughout the provinces, there were numerous dramatic clubs of a private nature. Some had little theatres of their own, whose chief

purpose lay in the social entertainment they provided. The personnel of such private groups was recruited from the homes of the clergy, the teachers in secondary and higher schools, officers of local army units, judges and attorneys, all of whom continued to be officeholders. They constituted in the aggregate whatever pretension to aristocracy the country might show. In that fact lies also the reason why private dramatic clubs generally took their cue from Copenhagen or even from Paris. The amateurs were lovers of the game and seekers of gentility.

Some in Norway even at this time cultivated the romantic novel and the short story. They were, however, not typically Norwegian romanticists, for they had their eyes on Rousseau and his Europeans. A writer like Maurits Hansen could on occasion tell a story from the Norwegian folk life, but more frequently he let his imagination range all the way to Palmyra and Aladdin. The Norwegians had to be born again through the resurrection of the saga and the Eddic poetry, not to speak of the folk and fairy tales, the ballads, and the national hymn, before their life could find expression in the genial peasant stories of Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson.

Immediately following the Napoleonic wars, Norway was thrown into a long and severe economic depression, which in some respects permanently altered the industrial and commercial structure of the nation. There can be little doubt that, in the main, separation from Denmark meant greater prosperity in Norway, for the Norwegians were anxious to try their fortunes in the various enterprises of international commerce. But the reorganization of banking and finance took the greater portion of two decades. By a generous coincidence the recovery was felt just as the two great cultural leaders, Wergeland and Welhaven, began to dominate the spotlight.

To be a student leader was in those days to engage in a heated debate on the question of

national attitudes. There were few other political forums of note, and the people at large gave a ready ear to young and old in the new academic center of the land. Wergeland argued that culture is basically national, individual, or personal in character. At least in his earlier stages, he was inclined to minimize the significance of form, deeming emotion and imagination far more vital. Essentially romantic in point of view as well as in temperament, he would not admit that tedious learning might be necessary to basic cultural development.

Wergeland therefore made a virtue of the revolution of 1814. He desired to be free from Denmark not only in matters political but also in the intellectual field. And although he was a romanticist, he did not, as many others were inclined to do, look toward Germany for inspiration and literary authority. Rather he sought the companionship of the English and the French, his visit to these two western kingdoms being of cardinal importance in his life.

Above all Wergeland desired to reunite the Norway of the 19th c. with the splendid nation of saga times. It was he that developed the formula, that Norwegian history consists of two authentic ends divided by a foreign and corrupt middle. To melt away this un-Norwegian section, to weld the new and the old together, was beyond all other considerations what Wergeland tried to do.

Johan Sebastian Welhaven also belonged to the academically trained bureaucracy of his native land. Both he and Wergeland came from a clergyman's home, although it was consistent with his theory and attitude that the young Henrik traced his family name to Verkland in the province of Sogn, a typical peasant community. Welhaven's background was more distinctly that of the intellectual aristocracy of his time.

In the view of Norway's intelligentsia, form is of major, perhaps supreme significance in

the development of culture. The spirit does not exist before the form is; rather it comes into being as the creative mind achieves a break-through in the discipline of a structural pattern. Culture must be looked upon as a laborious training in the use of the essential form symbols, one generation adding its mite to what has been handed down to it by its sires.

Obviously this view makes culture universal, intellectual, aristocratic, with eminent stress upon continuities. Welhaven desired to continue the association with Denmark, because it meant to him the entire growth of his people's culture in modern times. He was not, like Wergeland, assured that an ancient genius lived in the valleys and the fjords of the country. Consistent with the general cultural attitude, he also desired to orientate the new nation toward Central Europe, toward a gentle romanticism of idealized ballad and upland story.

Wergeland labored energetically during the 1830's to spread enlightenment among the common folk, to strengthen the political integrity of the electorate, and to lay the whole broad basis of a democratic polity. He threw off numerous lyric poems with breathless speed, wrote the vast Miltonian religious epic, *Creation, Man, and the Messiah*; he even found time to compose light farces to be used chiefly against his political enemies.

Especially among the intelligentsia Wergeland had many bitter enemies, who accused him of serving the interests of literary crudity and ignorance, not to say bigotry. But during the last year of his life, when tuberculosis slowly robbed him of his energies, the Norwegian people began to understand the greatness of heart and the depth of spirit he possessed. The poetry he wrote during these last months proved a golden treasure to the entire nation. There has never been in Norway another lyric poet with equal wing span, never one with his god-like concern for men and na-

ture alike. Writing until his pen dropped from his powerless fingers, Wergeland is one of the world's most inspiring examples of spiritual majesty, of a soul's power to transcend even death.

Welhaven had a somewhat different fortune. He was appointed a professor at the university and continued to play a large role even during the fifties and the sixties. He mellowed with age, grew calm and lofty. Unlike his great contemporary opponent, he did not produce an abundance of verse. Someone remarked about him that when he found a subject he worked it with chisel and plane and lathe until it was perfect, but also until it had lost some of its ruggedness and its impressive size. Indisputably, Welhaven is one of the greatest masters of form Norwegian poetry can show. The gentle flow of his lines, and the nostalgic mood of his reminiscent verse, contain the everlasting pleasure of dream and of sustained charm.

Both Wergeland and Welhaven were university men of the late twenties and the thirties. Just in their day another type of intellectual leader came on the stage of the young country. The common school had been reorganized, with the result that teachers were greatly in demand. Largely religious in its purposes, the grade instruction was supervised by the state pastors, each in his appointed parish. These clergymen in turn became vitally interested in the training of men that could meet the new demands upon the educational system. During the 1830's, a number of teachers' seminars were founded, principally small groups that met in the parsonage and trained under the guidance of an inspired churchman. Mainly because the seminar opened the door to brilliant farmer boys, who rarely had the means or the educational requisites to enter the university, the training given by individual pastors brought out a number of national leaders, some of the highest caliber. Many of them found their way

into the *storthing*, and distinguished poets, such as Vinje\* and Garborg,\* reached their destiny by way of the teachers' seminar.

Both Wergeland and Welhaven were also journalists. Both edited newspapers of a propagandist nature; both were convinced of the tremendous significance of the press in the intellectual growth of their time. Indeed, Norwegians were experiencing, in the period following Kiel and Eidsvoll, the first great expansion in publishing. There had been small journals in the 18th c., but they had been the instruments of the everpresent royal absolutism; they had been, with the royal university and the royal theatre, a need and an expression of the bureaucracy that dominated the affairs of the country. In 1819 the *Morgenbladet*, a vigorous political daily, was founded, and before long there mushroomed forth in the capital and in every town and village in the country journals of every description, the greater portion being, however, either conservative along the line of Welhaven's *Den Constitutionelle* or radical in the spirit of Wergeland's *Statsborgeren* (*The Citizen*). Here too was a school beside the regular university, a school that trained many a political leader and many a fevered young talent of the period. Hardly a struggling intellectual of the 19th c. but at some time or other edited a journal of his own.

These tendencies are so many arms reaching forward and upward in trust and hope. But the national consciousness of the time also embraced meanings principally to be found in the collective memories, either of the country at large or of provinces that had in a vital measure retained the deep rhythms and the long-time values of folk life. The interest in folk music, fairytales, ballads, and indeed the sagas and the Old Norse mythology was not original or new. Great enthusiasm had already been shown in this type of labor, both in Denmark and in Germany; the Norwegian students that had taken their

academic degrees at Copenhagen were no strangers to the movement.

The significant change in mood and in basic evaluation must be understood in the light of what had happened in 1814. The study of these national treasures might now be undertaken with Oslo as a center. There was a national university; there were the beginnings of a national theatre; there was the Norwegian parliament; there was the residence of the king. All the thoughts of the nation drifted naturally up to Oslo, where the rights of the people were to be defined and the new intellectual life to show its most significant tendency and power. Oslo, as the capital of a young and vigorous state, acted as a throbbing heart in an eager body. The nation awaited its rapturous breathing.

We cannot readily understand the significance of the folkloristic development in Norway unless we see in it a reflex action. The agrarian countryside owned and possessed cultural treasures of immense worth; but the agrarian population itself was like the man that owned the field where a great prize was hidden; he had no conception of its value. True enough, the owners of ancient homesteads loved their traditions and customs, but these were generally looked upon as local and family sagas. Few realized what Norwegian folk culture could mean, once it could be brought with symbolic power into the life of the entire nation. For this reason the work of collecting and editing took on immense significance. The scholars that treated the folk art of Norway at the same time shot it through with a meaningful symbolism not a little akin to that which Luther achieved in his translation of the *Bible*.

In 1839 Ludvig Mathias Lindeman became organist at Our Savior's Church in Oslo. His father was a distinguished musician, and Ludvig had brothers that also devoted their lives to the art. It was therefore natural that the Lindeman name should become identified

with the revival of Norwegian church and folk music. During the 1840's he began collecting the upcountry melodies, a work he continued throughout the rest of his life, with the financial support of the state. Ludvig Lindeman wrote down ballads, folk dances, and popular hymns in great number, a total of about 2,000 being published by the end of the century. The undertaking revolutionized the music world of Norway, many of the deeply emotional tunes in a minor key expressing the pining melancholy as well as the hope and yearning in the people's heart. Before Lindeman died, in 1887, Rikard Nordraak and Edvard Grieg had appeared, to carry the popular melodies forward on the wings of genius. Lindeman himself was a creditable composer; he wrote the melody to the grand Norwegian hymn, *Built on the Rock the Church Doth Stand*.

Simultaneously with Lindeman's effort to collect and arrange the Norwegian folk melodies, the two scholars Pēter Christen Asbjørnsen and Jōrgen Moe began to collect the Norwegian fairytales. These were, as I have said, in a special degree national and culturally dynamic, because they stemmed from the Old Norse pagan mythology, having grown branches and crown in the late Middle Ages and the early modern centuries. The Norwegian variety of this European folk art is distinguished by its grotesque but fascinating mountain trolls.

The partnership of Asbjørnsen and Moe, which had matured during the thirties, became very active at the turn of the decade. In 1841 appeared the first modest collection of fairytales, new and more ambitious volumes appearing in 1842, 1843, and 1844. From then onward additional tales of this order were published every year. The stories were in due time illustrated by some of the greatest of Norway's painters, principally Theodore Kittelsen and Erik Werenskiold, until the classic two-volume edition became

the treasured property of Norwegians everywhere.

The collecting of the fairytales was in no way a simple matter. Or perhaps we should say that it was not a simple matter to give this literature back to the nation in such a form that it might become a genuinely popular treasure of the people. The stories had lived their long lives in the dress of valley and fjord dialects. In many instances the language rooted way down into the Old Norse, but it needed to be given some artistic treatment if it were to sing in the minds of the growing generation throughout the land. Asbjørnsen was a brilliant storyteller. His work comprised chiefly the narrative part of the task. Jørgen Moe grew into a recognized lyric and religious poet. Together they took a line the country immediately appreciated. But it should be mentioned that the Norwegian language itself during the 19th c. moved so strongly in the direction of the Old Norse that the later editions of the fairytales have been brought back more nearly to the original dialect form, although the specific manner of telling them still belongs to Asbjørnsen and Moe.

These folk treasures from the valleys and the fjords thus came back in a garb that the entire citizenry recognized as their true national costume. The Norwegian ballads had a similar fortune, but their story is at many points a different one. The European ballad had a recognized form from the beginning. The song and the dance, with which the ballad regularly associated, had taken their rise in the knighthood of the Middle Ages. In a sense the ballad was an upper class rather than a folk literature. Indeed, scholars connected with the university in Copenhagen had worked with the Danish ballads since the days of the Reformation. But the Norwegian ballads or folk songs had been taken over by the ordinary boys and girls of the agrarian upcountry and had been preserved as a folk

treasure, especially in the province of Telemark. Yet they could not be given the same literary treatment as the fairytale; rhyme and rhythm had to be recognized. Most scholars would say that the ballads should be left as nearly in the dialect form as possible in order that their musical qualities might not suffer; even small changes by an indelicate hand might have disastrous consequences.

The work of collecting and editing the ballads of Norway was done in the 1850's principally by the pastor Magnus Brostrup Landstad, of Telemark province, otherwise distinguished as one of the greatest hymn-writers of the period. His edition of 1852 was not entirely successful, the old songs having been made too sophisticated. Ultimately Professor Moltke Moe, the son of Jørgen Moe—perhaps the greatest folkloristic scholar of the age—in cooperation with Professor Knut Liestøl brought out a definitive edition of Norway's ballad literature.

In all these tasks, a basic question of language made the problem difficult. The Old Norse classic vernacular had been chiefly a northwestern Scandinavian and a North-Atlantic speech; but during the late Middle Ages and as far into the modern era as Holberg, the South-Scandinavian and the Low German influences had threatened to swallow up the Norse entirely. Holberg spent a lifetime counteracting these tendencies. When Norway separated from Denmark, the feeling grew that Norwegians too ought to bring their literary style into harmony with the national tradition. Many advocates of a partial return to the Old Norse appeared, among them Henrik Wergeland, but the heart of the problem was not reached until the middle of the century, when the general study of Old Norse gained recognition in educational circles.

Even the most fervent nationalists saw that the modern language of Norway is too far removed from the language of the sagas to



make a forced return to the Old Norse at all practical. But many argued that the upcountry dialects were direct blood and bone of the classic hero vernacular. They contended that South-Scandinavian influences were confined to the Eastland and the southern coastal rim. If one could make a study of elements common to the language of the inland valleys and the Westland fjords, it should be possible to find a modern norm in the dialects, a common denominator that might possess not only a basic vocabulary but also the classic tonal qualities of a national speech. During the 1840's, Ivar Aasen, an unassuming farmer lad from the Sunnmøre province, traveled from community to community gathering what he thought to be the national vocabulary. Toward the end of the decade he published his *Grammar of the Norwegian Folk Language*, a truly epoch-making achievement. He was eagerly joined by talented upland poets, who used the native forms with telling effect in their verse. Among them were two men of rare genius, Aasmund Vinje and Arne Garborg. In their own field they continued the work of Henrik Wergeland. The New Norse language, with its splendid rugged cadences, gradually won the country; it has now been adopted by a goodly majority and has in addition drawn the Dano-Norwegian speech in the same national direction, until modern Norse unity of expression is all but an accomplished fact.

It was one thing, however, to use the dialect-colored vernacular in writing poetry and national songs. For centuries the folkloristic growths had maintained a style and melody that made an unfailing impression even on babes in the cradle. It was quite another matter to refashion the prose of the country; to catch anew the saga's vigorous directness, packing verb and subject tightly together, wasting not a syllable, calling a spade a spade.

About the mid-19th c. the brilliant Nor-

wegian historian Peter Andreas Munch wrote to one of his friends, "You cannot imagine with what enthusiasm the students at our university now throw their energies into the study of Old Norse." Up to that time the people of Norway had read the sagas chiefly in the warmly felt but linguistically inadequate Danish translations of the scholar Niels Mathias Petersen. Wergeland met the classics in this dress, and although Björnson and Ibsen may have had a little sense of the original language, they too must have relied upon Petersen. It was not until well toward the end of the century, when the great victories of the New Norse language movement had been won, that the present excellent saga versions came into being. Indeed some of the very best are from the 20th c.

But the revival of the saga gave rise in the mind of Björnson to a conviction that the modern novel could be written in a prose stemming directly from the ancient literature, and having at the same time the lively readiness and adequacy of a present-day tongue.

Björnson\* adopted Wergeland's theory of the two authentic portions of Norwegian history separated by an alien middle. With great energy the disciple began the welding enterprise death had prevented Wergeland from undertaking. Björnson was remarkably versatile both as a literary man and as a political and cultural leader. He wrote very fine dramas, a number of first-class novels, and a goodly portion of the undying national poetry. The poetry was often used in the heat of the political struggle, but his early dramas and novels were brought out with a definite historical plan and purpose. He intended the plays to bring saga life and character onto the national stage of his era. The audience was to be made aware of its kinship with heroes; it was to be made proud of its forebears; it was to become acquainted with the rhythm and the virile energy of the ancient families.

The alternating current in Björnson's pro-

duction is shown in the appearance of the drama *Between the Battles* in 1856 and the novel *Synnöve Solbakken* in 1857. In the play Björnson goes back to the hero king, Sverre Sigurdson; in the peasant story he brings the reader into a Norwegian farm home in Romsdal. Indeed all the peasant novels are designed to portray the countrymen on homesteads in the valley or along the fjord as lineal descendants of the saga folk. The alien link has been sawed away.

The prose style of *Synnöve Solbakken* proved a fascinating surprise to mid-century readers. There were charm and idealism in the book; there was a romantic glory in an unsullied nature and a spontaneous nature child. But especially had the author made the Norwegian language sing a new song; a deep and genuine undertone echoing the national voice had once more come into the cultivated prose of the land. It has been argued that folk song and fairytale regenerated the speech of Norway. There is much truth in the statement. It is, however, even more true to say that Björnson is the great grandson of Snorri Sturluson and the people of the Icelandic family sagas.

When Björnson came to Oslo from the Romsdal pastor's home, he met Henrik Ibsen, his senior by four years. That was in 1850. On the second day of January the same year, the famous violinist Ole Bull had dedicated the Bergen National Stage, in which he took great interest and pride. In 1851 Ibsen was called to work at the Bergen playhouse, and before the decade was drawing to a close he and Björnson stood in the lead of the movement directed not only toward the creation of a national drama but also toward the cultivation of a significant national theatre in the country.

Henrik Ibsen\* worked as a leader of the national movement for more than a decade. In 1857 he was made director of the Norwegian Theatre in Oslo, an enterprise started

parallel to Bull's theatre in Bergen but more directly in protest against the Danish orientation of the Christiania Theatre. Ibsen followed the rules of the time in using the saga and the folklore as basic material for the new dramatic art. He wrote historical plays and saga dramas; he also drew on the ballads in works such as *St. John's Night*, *Olaf Liljekrans*, and *The Feast at Solhoug*. But he also belonged to the Scandinavian movement of the fifties and the early sixties. Much of his poetry is written for the Scandinavian conventions of those years. In general it may be said that throughout his nationalistic and Scandinavian period, he was restless and uncertain of his talent. Far from being a born political leader in a class with Björnson, he rather shrank from contact with the crowd. In the middle sixties he broke away from the work in the theatre and devoted all his energies to the writing of dramas. His talent was characterized by an intense inwardness and a preoccupation with the problems of the individual personality. In the quartet of plays, *The Pretenders*, *Brand*, *Peer Gynt*, and *Emperor and Galilean*, he brought the Norwegian drama forward to leadership in the world, although it took the European public another ten years to recognize his genius.

The central problem in these ethical religious plays is that of the life ideal, the creative and functional meaning of talents in a world still in the making. Ibsen is also trying to find a more satisfying expression for his religious yearning than he had been able to give in his earlier youth. Ringing phrases such as "All or nothing" and "The Third Kingdom" represent the final condensation of his thought on these insistent but perplexing subjects.

It is a rather striking coincidence in the national life of Norway that Björnson achieved his definitive success as a theatre manager during those very years of the sixties when Ibsen broke through all hindrances.

and gave the world an art of unrivaled intellectual intensity. By 1870 the folklore of the nation had been made into a national possession; by the same year the two giants had lifted the conscious art of the Norwegian renaissance to the highest point in modern times.

During the 1870's the cultural life of which Björnson and Ibsen had become leading exponents underwent a distinct change in mood and tone. Not that the great folkloristic conquest ceased to be valued. On the contrary, it found its way progressively into the schools of the land from the university down to the little one-room structure in the valley or by the fjord. Not that the national emphasis was less decided in politics and in letters. In most respects it was quite the other way, for in 1884 the Norwegian Liberal Party won its epoch-making victory over royal prerogative and established once for all the principle that "Norway is a nation; it shall be one people"—one people governing itself with prudence and expressing its inner genius untrammelled, untouched by fear or favor.

Yet the weather vane had turned. The wind was blowing from another direction. During the great national romantic revival the public mind had been turned inward, in contemplation of itself, its nature and its objectives. From time to time it had not failed to thrill with pride as scholars laid bare one treasure after another to the public eye. In the seventies, attention gradually swung to the wider world, to the new ideas coming in fast from the workshops of western Europe, and to the social problems incident to the growing metropolitan industrial society. Many of the keener minds were brought to realize that at the moment when the folk revolution took place in the Germanic world there was also about to take place a vast social and intellectual revolution in the western world at large.

The change is indicated by some of the reading done at the time. Anxious young

country teachers like Arne Garborg\* were perusing Darwin's *Origin of Species*. The broad socialistic program of the middle century had been impressed upon the workers and stimulated their hope. Before long the writings of Karl Marx were to have a new gospel effect upon a European world ripe unto the harvest.

In the early seventies, Björnson, having made his residence for a decade in various parts of Europe, came home to Norway and settled on his Aulestad farm in Gudbrandsdal. During the years between 1875 and 1880 he changed his mind on matters of religion. Hitherto an optimistic Grundtvigian Christian, he now championed the evolutionary doctrine, to which he gave poetic expression in one of his most sublime poems, *Honor to Life's Eternal Springtime*. Simultaneously he cast away much of his romantic literary ballast and began to write novels of an argumentative character. In a good many respects, the change did not improve his literary style. But Björnson the national champion continued to live and to labor; in love of country and in the superabundance of life and curiosity he remained the old captivating personality.

Ibsen was too great a mind and too individualistic to follow in the footsteps of his illustrious contemporary. But he came under the same European influences as Björnson, and there was a parallelism of growth in their inner development. During the late seventies, Ibsen captured the European stage and made it very nearly his domain, with dramas such as *Pillars of Society*, *A Doll's House*, and—just beyond the decade—*Ghosts*. The vigorous social attack in plays equally known for directness and suggestive inwardness, gave him a newness that took Europe by storm.

But the old grand writers were being joined now by a band of younger literary artists, notably Arne Garborg, Alexander Kielland,\* and Gunnar Heiberg, not to speak of Jonas Lie,\* who had written charming and very

refreshing novels since 1870. Indeed Lie could in some fields produce a novel far better than Björnson's; especially in stories of sea life and in fairytales of the North. Garborg was an incisive critic and one of the greatest writers of national inspirational poetry, some of which is best grouped with hymnology and some in the genre of nature descriptions, sad and deeply meditative. He also wrote thesis novels in which he came as near to French naturalism as any Norwegian writer. Finally he was a stimulating and prophetic leader of the vernacular language renaissance. At his death in 1924 it was said that he was the most luminous Norwegian mind of his age, and that may prove to be the judgment of history.

Alexander Kielland and Gunnar Heiberg were intellectual aristocrats, with extraordinary sensitiveness and fine perception of psychological nuances; but they did not carry the national gospel forward in prophetic agony as Garborg did. During the eighties, Kielland disarmed every skeptical reader and made himself known as a sort of brilliant duellist whose rapier-like thrusts could find the enemy and yet be followed with the instant pleasure it gives to watch a virtuoso. Gunnar Heiberg was chiefly a dramatist, an admirer of Ibsen. It might be said, I think, that the theme of *Love's Comedy* is central to Heiberg's writings. His lyric dramas portraying the inability of man to harmonize the glory of eros with temporal expediency have an inner glow and a stylistically perfected symbolism that seem timeless.

Early in the 1890's, another group of significant young writers came upon the national scene, at least one of them soon to step out upon the arena of world literature. Knut Hamsun\* has been variously estimated. For a time his people set him very nearly above all criticism; then he swore allegiance to a Nazi fatherland, and most Norwegians felt an urge to burn his works. From the stand-

point of artistry he remains great, no matter what his political vagaries may be. He introduced a Dostoyevskian type of novel into Norway. He fused nature and lyric passion in the life of strange, asocial individuals. He let the fine undertones of his remarkable linguistic instrument run their cadences into every sensitive reader's heart. There is no denying that he was and is an artist by the grace of God.

Neo-romanticism is the tag frequently given this type of literature. The older romanticism was national and folkloristic, at least within the Scandinavian field. The romanticism of the nineties was a psychological sensitiveness usually expressed in terms of rare individuals. The language was charged with music and color. The style was of the kind that impresses the member of an artists' guild rather than a common reader. Lace-curtained prettiness, a sensitive blue anemone on a grave—of such was the romanticism of the nineties.

In this group are men such as Hans Kinck\* and Sigbjørn Obstfelder. Kinck was an extremely productive writer of novels, most of them difficult to appreciate, but many with sections of great beauty and clairvoyant insight. Obstfelder is more frail, but his poetry is as representative of the decade as any other poetry written, unless it be that of Vilhelm Krag.

During the last decade of the century, Ibsen finished his day of labor in a series of retrospective dramas. Björnson continued to write during the first ten years of the 20th c. but he too had completed the major portion of his task.

The First World War marks a point of division between the first and the second stage of the contemporary drama. Until the war the realistic social novel in the production of Sigrid Undset,\* Olaf Duun,\* Johan Bojer,\* Peter Egge, and other writers was not unlike that of the 19th c.; perhaps nearest that of the 1870's. These writers have indeed

continued into our day, have in fact dominated the picture. But from the beginning of the 1920's the socialistic labor gospel became ever stronger. The emotional surge in young writers such as Nordahl Grieg is of indignation mingled with pity. In the second World War, practically all these writers surged into a high and gripping spirit of national fervor. Socialism, originally a class and group gospel, has now made peace with the elemental drives and needs of folk life. That growth, that identification, that commitment may quite possibly be the lasting spiritual achievement of World War II.

Among the younger writers of the 1920's and 30's, we ought to mention, in addition to Nordahl Grieg,\* the poet Arnulf Överland,\* the novelists Johan Falkberget,\* Sigurd Hoel, Ronald Fangen, Kristofer Uppdal, Oskar Braaten, Sigurd Christiansen, Magnhild Haalke, Arthur Omre. Likewise the poets Collett Vogt, Herman Wildenvey, Olaf Bull, Gunnar Reiss-Andersen, Olaf Aukrust.

The soul-stirring war poems evoked by the Hitler attack on Norway gave promise of a new day in Norwegian literature, a day in which the social gospel will be restated in terms of high moral and spiritual resolution. The soil has been plowed deeply during recent years, and there is every sign that the nation has emerged from the ordeal more cre-

ative and more consciously devoted to its cultural task.

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THEODORE JORGENSEN.

NUBIAN—See Ethiopic.

OAXACA—See Mexican.

OCCITANIAN—See Catalan.

OCEANIA—See Polynesian.

OJIBWA—See North American Native.

ONA—See South American Indian.

ORINOCO—See South American Indian.

ORIYA—See Indian.

OSMANLI—See Turkish.

OTTAWA—See North American Native.

OTTOMAN—See Turkish.

PAIUTE—See North American Native.

PALESTINIAN — See Arabic; Aramaic; Hebrew.

PALI—See Indian.

PALMYRENE—See Aramaic.

PANJABI—See Indian.

PANO—See South American Indian.

PAPAGO—See North American Native.

PAPUAN—See Australian Aborigine.

PARAGUAYAN—See Spanish American.

PATAGONIAN — See South American Indian.

PATWIN—See North American Native.

PAWNEE—See North American Native.

PENOBSCOT—See North American Native.

## P E R S I A N

IRAN for many years was known to the Western World as Persia, because of the historical preeminence of the province of Pārsa (in Greek, Persis, now Fārs—whence the language today is called Fārsī.<sup>1</sup> Old Persian is the mother tongue of both Middle Persian (Pahlāvi) and Modern Persian (Fārsī). The relation of Old and Modern Persian presents something of a parallel to that of Anglo-Saxon and Modern English: an analytical language developing from one highly inflectional. Modern Persian has also been influenced by the introduction of Arabic words, especially in the written language.

It was from Pārsa that the Achaemenians under Cyrus in 550 B.C. conquered the Medes of Western Iran, and established a dynasty that lasted until 330 B.C., when the last Darius was overthrown by Alexander the Great. No records of the Medes themselves have been preserved; we know that they had chronicles, from mention in the *Bible*; other references are found in Assyrian inscriptions and in Greek (Herodotus). The Achaemenian (Old Persian) literary remains are mainly edicts and proclamations. These were graven in a cuneiform script. Assyrian and Accadian are also cuneiform, but their symbols are ideograms, like Egyptian and Chinese; whereas

Old Persian had already become syllabic. The syllabary contains 36 characters, of which 3 are vowel signs. In addition, there are 4 ideograms (for the common expressions 'king,' 'land,' 'earth,' 'Ahura Mazda'), 2 word-dividers, and 18 numerical signs.

After Alexander, Iran lay under foreign domination until the Sasanian dynasty drove out the Parthians in 226 A.D. The Sasanians flourished for four centuries, during which time Pahlāvi was the official language, until the Arab invasion in 635 and the death of Yazdigird III, the last Sasanian king, in 652. Although the Arabs held official control until the sacking of Baghdad in 1258 by the Mongols under Hulāgū Khān, this control was but nominal from the time of the Šaffārid dynasty, established in 867, the period when Modern Persian began. The language of Iran, during the Sasanian period, was modified by many Semitic forms, mainly Chaldean, as later it was admixed with Arabic.

The earliest inscriptions, while mainly of historical interest, are simple, straightforward, and dignified in expression. They are often direct pronouncements: "Says Darius the King: This kingdom which Gaumāta the Magian took from Cambyzes, this kingdom from of old was in our family . . ." "Says Darius the King: By the grace of Ahura Mazda these countries respected my laws."

Both Old Persian and Avestan are closely related to Sanskrit, and belong to the Indo-European family of languages. Avesta is the

<sup>1</sup> The system of transliteration here employed is that approved by the International Oriental Congress of 1894; save that the Persian pronunciation calls for the following modifications: th=š; z=z; d=z; dh=z; w=w or v.

language of the oldest writings of the Zoroastrians. At what period Zoroaster\* spread his views, no certain information tells; it is now generally believed that he began his activity in Bactria (western Iran), and died ca. 583 B.C. The *Gāthās* is the only portion of the *Avesta* supposed to contain his own words, the remainder having been destroyed in Alexander's invasion; and even the material possessed by the Sasanians has been largely lost. The Pahlavī *Dīnkard* (*Religious Acts*), a 9th c. treatise, tells us the *Avesta* was divided into three groups: the *gāsanīk*, mainly religious; the *dātīk*, legal, for the laity; and the *hātak-mānsarīk*, scientific. The surviving fragments are of five types: (1) the *Yasna*, mainly hymns to divine beings, including the *Gāthās*. Its 72 chapters correspond to the 72 strands in the ritual girdle (*kushti*) of the Zoroastrian. (2) the *Vispered*, supplementary ritual formulas. (3) the *Vendīdād*, describing the creation of the good by Ahura Mazda (Ormuzd) and of the evil by Angra Manyu (Ahriman), and giving purification rites and penances. (4) The *Yashts*, hymns to the angels that preside over the days of the month. (The Zoroastrian calendar had 12 months of 30 days, with an intercalated 5 days, the *gāthās*. (5) the *Khorda* (little) *Avesta*, a prayerbook for lay use, compiled by Ādharpādī Mahraspand in the reign of Shāpūr II (310-379). With the literature around it, the work is known as the *Zend o Avesta* (*Zend*, commentary; *Avesta*, base, support). It has no great literary distinction, though of major historical and religious import.

Little material from the Parthian period remains, though toward its end (ca. 215) was born Mānī, whose effort to blend Zoroastrian and Christian elements produced the long influential (to the 13th c.) religion of Manichaeism, documents of which have been preserved.

*Pahlavī literature.* Outside of traces on coins,

and other inscriptions, Pahlavī writing begins with translations of the *Avesta* and with religious commentaries, of which the most important are the *Dīnkard*, mentioned above; the *Dātistān-e Dīnīk* (*Religious Opinions*) of Mānūshchīhar, in the late 9th c.; the *Shikand-gūmānīk Vījār* (*Doubt-dispelling Explanation*) of the same period; the *Bundahishn* (*Ground-giving*), an early manual set in its present form in the 12th c.; the *Dīnā-ye Mainyo-ye Khirad* (*Opinions of the Spirit of Wisdom*); and the narrative *Book of Arda Virāf*.

The Zoroastrian priests, the sole guardians of Pahlavī literature after the fall of the Sasanian dynasty, were little concerned with non-religious texts; few, therefore, have survived. Among those extant are the *Tale of Khosraw-e Kavādhān and his Page*, perhaps the oldest hero story of the period (ca. 500 A.D.); the *Kārnāmak-e Artakhsatr-e Pāpakān* (*Deeds of Ardashīr-e Bābakān*), a story (ca. 600 A.D.) of the first Sasanian monarch; the *Cities of Iran*; the *Wonders of Sagistān*; a Pahlavī-Pāzend glossary; a book on chess. There are also fragments preserved and doubtless many tales now lost, that were later combined into the epic story of early Iranian history, the *Shahnama* (*Book of Kings*), lost versions of which from the 8th c. are referred to, the present form of which was begun in the late 10th c. by Daqīqī and completed (1010) by Firdausi.

Although song and poetry doubtless flourished in the Sasanian courts, there are only legends as to their origin. One story tells that the first verses in Persian were a couplet composed by the King Bahrām Gūr (420-438) and his mistress Delārām. More circumstantial is the story of Bārbad, minstrel at the court of Khosraw Parvīz (590-627). The King so loved his horse Shabdīz that he vowed to kill anyone that told him of its death. The newsbearer was Bārbad; he sang a song hinting the fact; the king cried "Shabdīz is dead!"

—"It is the King that says so" . . . and the minstrel had saved his life. The names alone of other minstrels—Āfārīn, Khosrawānī—have come down to us, out of the Sasanian period.

*Modern Persian.* The two centuries following the Arab conquest were marked by the gradual conversion of the Iranians to Islam. With the new religion the scribes (*dāpūr*) abandoned the old and cumbersome script for the more practical Arabic. For some time, however, Pahlavī continued side by side with the modern form, especially among those that retained the Zoroastrian faith. Much of Persian wisdom—including the system of accounts and the *divān* (treasury; later used—somewhat like the Greek *thesaurus*—of a collection of a poet's work, usually arranged alphabetically by the rhymes)—was taken over by the Arabs. Thus what the Western World knows as Arabic science has many Iranian elements.

Toward the end of the 7th c. the rule of the Umayyad Caliphs grew more turbulent, until in 748 Marwān II—despite the vigorous warnings, in prose and in celebrated verse, of Naṣr ibn Sayyār, governor of Khorasan—was overcome by the 'Abbāsīd leader Abū Muslim, himself a native of Khorasan, who established the 'Abbāsīd dynasty. To the Persians, however, this meant a greater share in the government councils, including the creation of the office of Vazīr (vizier) or chief-executive, made eminent through the noble Persian family of the Magian, Barmak, whose sons (Barmecides) were cultured and wise administrators (752–804). Through them Persian customs were revived and influence increased, through the caliphates of Al-Hādī Mūsā (b. 760, ruled 785–6), Hārūn al Rashīd (760–809), and Al-Ma'mūn (786–815). In the field of religion, the Arabs accepted a great scholar whatever his racial background; Arab unconcern in non-religious works left the field of literature free for Persian ploughing. During all this time, however, down to the despoiling of Baghdad (1258) by the Mongols, Arabic

was almost the only language of prose expression. For the two centuries following the Arab invasion, indeed, (mid 7th–mid 9th c.) Arabic served as the sole literary medium in Iran. Hence, during these and the succeeding centuries, a large portion of the Arabic literature was produced by Persians; such works represent the intellectual activity of the Persians during this period, and reveal many of the important and characteristic manifestations of their genius. Ever since the Arab conquest, writing in Arabic (the language of the *Koran*) was considered a sign of learning and piety in Iran, and as recently as 30 or 40 years ago most of the religious works were still composed in Arabic.

Many of these early writers in Arabic are known. The translation of *Kalīla and Dimna* by 'Abdullāh Ibn al-Muqaffa' \* (d. 757) is extant. The Persian Hammād ibn Sābūr (Shāpūr) al-Rāwīya (d. ca. 775) edited the ancient Arabic poems the *Mu'allaqāt*. Muslim ibn al-Walīd (d. 803) was court poet of Hārūn al-Rashīd, whose sons were taught by the Persian grammarian 'Alī ibn Hamza al-Kesā'i (d. 805). Other poets of Rashīd's court are the writer of love songs, Al-'Abbās ibn al-Aḥnaf; and the brilliant Abū Nuwās, whose adventures spice the pages of the *Arabian Nights*, in sharp contrast to the simple and pious verses of the noted poet Abu al-'Atāhiya (d. 828). Other cultured men of Rashīd's day include the philologist Al-Aṣma'i (d. 831); the historians Ibn Qutayba (d. 828) and Al-Wāqīdī (d. 823) with his secretary Ibn Sa'd (d. 845). Somewhat later, Abū Tammām (d. 846), himself a poet, collected in *Hamāsa* a great body of ancient Arabic poetry.

Among the purely religious expressions are the sayings of the mystic Rābi'a al-'Adawīyya (d. 753), a forerunner of the Ṣūfī; her pious utterances—"He is not sincere in faith that doth not, in the contemplation of the Lord, forget His chastening"—were widely quoted.

Persian literature, in its own tongue, re-



awoke with the lessening of the Arab power; first in Khorasan, the province farthest from Baghdad; more widely during the Sāmānid dynasty (874-999) and thereafter. Still in Arabic are the *Kitāb al-Muʿannamārīn* (*Book of the Long-Lived*) of Abū Ḥāṭim of Sistan (d. ca. 864); the *Kitāb al-Bukhalā* (*Book of the Misers*) of ʿAmr ibn Baḥr, al-Jāḥiẓ (the pop-eyed; d. 869); and several collections of traditions, notably the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī (d. 870). Toward the close of the 10th c., the culture of the period was summed up in several works. Prime among these are the 51 anonymous tracts of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā (Brethren of Purity), a group of philosophers seeking to preserve accumulated wisdom. In 976 Abū ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Kātib (the scribe) of Khwarazm wrote the *Maṣāṭiḥ al-ʿUlūm* (*Keys to the Sciences*); and in 988 Abu al-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Warrāq (the copyist), better known as Ibn Abī Yaʿqūb al-Nadīm, wrote the *Fihrist* (*Index*) of 10 *maqālāt* (discourses), an extensive account of earlier writers and (mostly lost) works.

The tendency of the poets to use Persian for their verse had by now become dominant; even in the Arabic poetry collected by Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Malik al Saʿalibī (the fox-fur trader) of Nishapur (861-1038) in *Yatīmat al-Dahr* (*Unique Pearl of the Age*), the references constantly assume a knowledge of the Persian language and customs. Our main knowledge of the poetry in Persian comes from the *Chahār Maqāla* (*Four Discourses*; ca. 1155) of Nizāmī-ye ʿArūzī of Samarqand, and especially from the *Lubāb al-ʿAlbāb* (*Marrow of Understanding*; early 13th c.) of Muḥammad ʿAwfi. The latter lists 286 Persian poets of the period, of whom 164 are professional poets.

Earliest of these are Ḥanzala of Bādghīs; Firūz-e Mashriqī; and Abū Salik of Gurgan, of each of whom we have but two or three couplets. More important is Shahīd of Balkh,

whose few preserved couplets indicate a melancholy strain. Most significant, the first great poet of the time, in Abū ʿAbdullāh Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad al-Rawdhakī, known as Rūdagī (d. 940), a deft poet and charming singer whose verses are said to have totaled 300,000 couplets. His work is esteemed by early Persian critics as of great beauty; his some 250 extant couplets show him of sweetness and power. Also significant is the work of Daqīqī (Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Daqīqī of Tus; d. 952). He wrote love poems, poems in praise of wine, and 1,000 couplets of the *Book of Kings*, later completed by Firdausi. The work of Manṣūr ibn ʿAlī al-Mantiqī of Ray shows an increasing use of rhetorical devices, as of the figure *ḥusn-e taʿlīl* (ascription of causes: the stars tremble [twinkle] because they fear the conqueror's sword).

Among the non-professional poets of the time were the Sāmānid King Manṣūr II ibn Nūḥ (997-999); the poet and patron the Ziyārid Qābūs ibn Washmgīr, called Shams al-Maʿālī (Sun of the Heights; ruled 976-1012); Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna (b. 969; 999-1030), from whose invitation Avicenna fled to Qābūs.

Even Persian prose had many of the adornments of poetry. It is of three sorts: (1) *ʿarī*, naked, simple—for the most part not found save in recent use; (2) metrical (*murajjaz*); (3) rhymed (*musajjaʿ*) but without meter. Chief among the varieties of poetry are (1) the comparatively short *ghazal* (ode); (2) the longer *qaṣīda* (elegy), popularized by the Arab poet al-Mutanabbī (905-965); (3) a fragment of this, the *qitʿa*. These three have the same rhyme throughout the poem. The *bayt* is the line unit; a half-line or hemistich (important in the complex devices of the verse) is called a *miṣrāʿ*. More intricate rhymes are used in (4) the *dū-baytī*, later *rubāʿī*, quatrain (plural *rubāʿiyyāt*), in which some 24 meters may be used; (5) the "maṣnavī"

(continuous rhyming couplets), of which the only verses preserved from the early period are the 1,000 lines of *Daqīqī* used in Firdausi's *Shahnama*; but it is the favorite form for long poems in Persian. Figures of speech, in greater number and more fanciful than in English, run through all these works, both poetry and prose.

The courts of Ghazna, Isfahan, Bukhara, Tabaristan, Khiva, and other centers vied with one another in encouraging men of letters, many of whom—Abū Maṣṣūr; Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī (973–1048)—traveled from court to court, finding honor, dedicating successive works to various princely patrons.

In philosophy and medicine, the work of Avicenna\* (Ibn Sīnā, 980–1037) exercised a tremendous influence over both Arabic and European thinkers. He wrote two romances, *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* and *Salāmān and Absāl*; and a number of graceful Persian quatrains—one of which, beginning "Up from earth's Centre through the Seventh Gate," Fitzgerald has slipped among Omar Khayyam's.

The first collection of *maqāmāt* (seances) was written by Badī' al-Zamān-e Hamadānī (969–1008) in Nishapur; they were later imitated by al-Ḥarīrī. These were in Arabic; the chief poets in Persian were four: 'Unṣurī; Asadī; 'Asjadī; and the greatest, Firdausi, of world renown.

'Unṣurī (Abu al-Qāsim Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad, d. ca. 1050), chief of "400 poets attendant upon" Sulṭān Maḥmūd, was an elegant versifier. Of 'Asjadī (Abū Nazar 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Maṣṣūr) little survives, save praise of him by later poets. The prose study of prosody of Farrokhī (Abu al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Jūlūgh) is lost, but his *divān* survives, with vigorous *qaṣīdas*. On Firdausi's coming to Ghazna, these poets found him so well versed in early Persian history and so skilled in poetry, that they recommended him (the story goes) to complete the *Shahnama*, the *Book of Kings*. Ferdawsī (Firdausi\*; Abu al-Qāsim Ḥasan

ibn 'Alī of Tus; 935–1025) finished the 60,000 couplets of the poem when he was almost 80. It is a full account of the legendary and historical rulers of Iran to the Arab conquest; vigorous, spirited in the movement of its battle scenes, so fervent in its patriotism that Firdausi wrote another poem, a "maṣnavī" on Joseph and Potiphar's wife (*Yūsuf and Zulaykhā*) to show the Arab rulers that other stories interested him too. Disappointed in the reward Sulṭān Maḥmūd bestowed on him for his major work, Firdausi wrote a sharp satire on the Sultan, and fled. His masterpiece, despite the orthodox Sultan's objections to its patriotic zeal, stands as the national epic of Iran.

Of about the same period is Asadī (Abū Naṣr Aḥmed ibn Maṣṣūr of Tus; d. ca. 1040), first to write the *munāzara* (strife poem), somewhat similar to the European debate poem, on such subjects as spear and bow, day and night, Arab and Persian. His son, 'Alī ibn Aḥmed al-Asadī, wrote a 10,000 line heroic poem, the *Garshāsp-nāma*, in imitation of the *Shahnama*; also the *Lughat-e Furs*, the oldest extant Persian lexicon. Among the minor poets of Firdausi's time, one that then enjoyed high repute, though little of his work remains, is Kesā'ī (b. 953), who wrote religious poetry and love songs.

Power passed from Ghazna to the Seljūq Turks. The minister Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn Ishāq, the Nizām al-Mulk (1018–92; his murder was the first prominent act of the new Order of the Assassins), was a patron of the arts, and author of a *Siyāsat-nāma* (*Book on the Art of Government*; 1092) written at the request of his Caliph, Malikshāh, in clear and dignified prose. More important is Naṣīr-e Khosraw (b. 1003), about whom many legends have grown, to whom many works are ascribed. Actually his are the *Safar-nāma* (*Book of Travels*) in prose; and, in verse, the *Divān*, the *Rawshanā'ī-nāma* (*Book of Light*), and the *Sa'ādat-nāma* (*Book of Felicity*). The

story of his travels, including the holy pilgrimage, is told in clear and simple style. After most of his travels, at the age of 50, he wrote the poems in his *Divān*, which are fervently (Ismā'ili) religious, and scorn the pleasures (and the poets) of the court. Rich in learned references, they are also original, and—rare in those troubled times—outspoken and fearless.

Four writers of this period made popular the distinctively Persian form, the *rubā'īyyāt*. Bābā Ṭāhir 'Uryān of Hamadan (early 11th c.) wrote dialect quatrains in an irregular form. Abū Sa'īd Abu al-Khayr (967–1049), the Ṣūfī (mystic), used the form for philosophical and religious speculations; the popularity of his quatrains helped to spread mysticism in Iran. His verses—though their thoughts have come to us through others—will sound familiar to Western readers:

Said I, 'To whom belongs thy Beauty?' He  
Replied, 'Since only I exist, to Me;  
Lover, Beloved, and Love in one am I:  
Beauty, the Mirror, and the eyes that see!'

The Shaykh Abū Ismā'il 'Abdullāh Anṣārī of Herat (1006–88) wrote the pious, prose *Munājāt* (*Supplications*), as well as *rubā'īyyāt*. One of his quatrains ends with the neat figure:

Strive to be like the pupil of thine eye:  
To see all else, but not thyself to see.

Greater than these three both in the quality of his quatrains and in world repute is 'Omar ibn Ibrāhīm Khayyām (the Tentmaker), or Omar Khayyām\* (d. 1123), free-thinker, mathematician, and astronomer, as well as author of the quatrains made world-famous through the English version of Edward Fitzgerald. A great number of the quatrains ascribed to Omar, however, are probably the work of any of a score of other Persian poets.

The *rubā'ī* is a favorite form; the practice of philosophical speculation in figured analogy and polished verse was widespread. The earliest manuscript of Omar's *Rubā'īyyāt*, containing but 158 quatrains, was copied three centuries after his death. To the Western World, however, he symbolizes the mystic, but life-loving Persian poet at his best:

I sent my soul through the Invisible  
Some letter of that After-life to spell:  
And by and by my soul return'd to me  
And answer'd "I myself am Heav'n and Hell."

Not all the poets of the period wrote in mystic vein. Qatrān of Tabriz strove for polished effects in difficult forms—such as double rhyme, wherein each line, while carrying along the usual correspondences of meter and rhyme with other lines, also rhymes its last word, a monosyllable, with the final syllable of the word before. Ascribed to Fakhr al-Dīn As'ad of Gurgan is the poetic romance *Vis and Rāmīn* (ca. 1048), employing the *hazaj* meter (— — — —, four times), which thereafter has been used for romantic "*maṣnavī*," the heroic poems using the *mutaqārib* (— — — —, — — — —, — — — —, — — — —) octameter. A lost romance, *Wāmiq and 'Azzā*, was composed ca. 1050 by Faṣīḥī of Gurgan in *mutaqārib*.

Faṣīḥī's royal patron, 'Unṣur al-Ma'ālī Kaykāwūs, himself wrote a lengthy prose *Qābūs-nāma* (*Book of Conduct*), the 44 chapters of which give information and advice on all subjects: purchasing slaves; drinking wine; granting favors; medicine, poetry, astronomy; God, and religious and filial piety; the use of the hot bath; generosity. The book is enlivened with many anecdotes and quatrains, most of the latter original. The prose is not ornate, yet carefully wrought; straightforward, simple, its humor enriched by proverbs: A house with two mistresses is unswept—and maxims: Seek a favor of a stingy man only when he is drunk.

A number of encyclopedic works appeared: the *Nuzhāt-nāma-ye 'Alā'ī* of Shāhmardān ibn Abu al-Khayr (late 11th c.), similar to the earlier one of Avicenna; the survey of religions, *Bayān al-Adyān* (1092), by Abu al-Ma'ālī Muḥammad 'Ubaydullāh; the slightly earlier historical work of Kardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār*; the book on the Šūfis by 'Alī ibn 'Osmān al-Gollābī al-Hujwīrī, *Kashf al-Mahjūb* (*Revelation of the Occult*). Abu al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Māwardī (d. 1058) wrote on ethics and law. Chief of the thinkers of the period was Imām Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī (1059-1111), who supplanted philosophical concern in Islam by elevating mysticism to a devotional system, and whose writings and influence won him the name of Ḥujjat al-Islām (The Proof of Islam). Of his 70 works, the most important is an Arabic study, *Ihyā' al-'Ulūm al-Dīn* (*Revival of the Religious Sciences*), popular in its Persian form, *Kīmīyā-ye Sa'ādat* (*The Alchemy of Happiness*). Somewhat later (1110) came the important encyclopedia of medicine, *Zakhīra-ye Khwārazmshāhī*; the *Maqāmāt* (*Seances*) of Ḥamīdī (the Qāzī Ḥamīd al-Dīn Abū Bakr of Balkh), a Persian imitation of earlier Arabic works, but noted for its debates, its riddles, its legal and mystical speculations, in carefully wrought and elaborate euphuistic form; and the translation into Persian (ca. 1145), in eloquent and most popular prose, by Nizām al-Dīn Abu al-Ma'ālī Naṣrullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamid, of the famous *Book of Kalīla and Dimna*.

The mystical poet Sanā'ī (Abu al-Majd Majdūd ibn Ādam; d. ca. 1150) wrote a *Divān* and 7 "maṣnāvīs," of which the greatest is the *Ḥadīqat al-Ḥaḥīqat* (*Garden of Truth*). This is a mystical ethical poem of some 11,000 lines, ranging in its ten books from praise of God and of the Sultan to discussions of reason, astronomy, carelessness, love, and the author's own condition. It is written in rather slow-moving style, though it contains some

interesting parables, including the well-known story of the blind men describing an elephant. The varied poems in the *Divān* are more pleasantly written. Little is known of the work of Abū Bakr Azraqī save some verses in praise of his overlord. Mas'ūd-e Sa'd-e Salmān is known chiefly for the sad *Habsiyyāt* (*Songs of Captivity*), written during 12 years' imprisonment by the Sultān Ibrāhīm of Ghazna, for intrigue with the Seljūq King Malikshāh. At this rival's court, the chief poet was Amīr Mu'izzī (d. 1148; his name taken from the King's title Mu'izz al-Dīn, Glorifier of Religion). Mu'izzī excelled in the *ghazal* and the *qaṣīda*, with fresh use of simile in adroitly interwoven verses. From him stem many of the images that became the stock in trade of Persian love poetry: 'sugar-raining rubies' (sweet lips); 'pearl-giving shell' (tearful eye); a form like the cypress; black, fragrant hair like musk.

Rashīd al-Dīn Vaṭvāt (the Swallow; Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Jalīl al-'Omārī; ca. 1095-1182) wrote several prose works—*Ṣad Kalīma* (*The Hundred Sayings*); *Ḥadā'iq al-Siḥr* (*Gardens of Magic*), a valuable study of prosody—as well as a *Divān* of some 15,000 lines. These are distinguished for their elaborate adornment and ornate style; his panegyrics are exaggerated, with fanciful figures—he wrote one *qaṣīda* with the figure *tarṣī'* in every line: every word in the first *miṣrā'* (half-line) rhymes with the corresponding word in the second. Contending with Vaṭvāt—they wrote even coarser attacks on one another than was the custom—was Adīb-e Šābir (d. 1147), whose style was vigorous if not violent.

Much of the life of the time is known from the vivid prose *Chahār Maqāla* (*Four Discourses*) of the court-poet Aḥmad ibn 'Omar ibn 'Alī, Najm al-Dīn, known as Nizāmī-ye 'Arūzī (the Prosodist) of Samarqand. Of the many minor poets of the period, best are perhaps 'Abd al-Vāsi' al-Jabālī, whose graceful *qaṣīda* of praise drew the attention

of King Sanjar; the satirical and Rabelaisian Sūzanī of Nasaf (Muḥammad ibn 'Alī); the poetess Maḥsatī, whose adventures seem to have been as lively as her quatrains.

Anvarī of Khāvarān (also called Khāvarī; d. ca. 1190) is probably the greatest Persian panegyric poet, though his few *qaṣīdas* that are not songs of praise are also of rare beauty. Anvarī tells that he abandoned learning because he found poetry more profitable; he despised the insincerity of the court, upon which he battered. His most interesting poem, translated as *The Tears of Khorasan*, gives a vivid account of the rebellion of the Ghuzz (1154-57), who for two years, as the poet laments, held Sanjar captive.

Much more obscure are the *qaṣīdas* of Afzal al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī of Shīrvān, known as Khāqānī (1106-86); especially coarse are those attacking his first tutor and father-in-law. His odes and quatrains are less vigorous, but also less deft, than his *qaṣīdas*; but even his *ḥabsiyya* (prison-poem) is artificial in construction. His work is representative of the height of Persian overwrought ornamentation, farfetched figure, deliberate obscurity.

The greatest writer of poetic romances, "maṣnavī," is Abū Muḥammad Ilyās Nizām al-Dīn, of Ganja (known as Nizāmī\*; 1140-1203). His *Khamṣa* (Quintet) of poems comprises the *Makhzan al-Asrār* (Storehouse of Mysteries; ca. 1165); the romance of *Khosraw and Shīrīn* (1175); of *Laylā and Majnūn* (1188); of *Alexander the Great* (1191); and the *Haft Paykar* (Seven Portraits; 1198). Though he inscribed his poems to rulers of the day, Nizāmī kept free of the courts, their lavish display, their false praise, their intrigues. Although he wrote some shorter poems, this *Panj Ganj* (Five Treasures) set Nizāmī in the first rank. The first is, in the main, a series of mystical discourses; the others tell legendary stories, less epic than amorous. *Khosraw and Shīrīn* is in *hazaj* hexameter

couplets. The story of *Laylā and Majnūn*, in colorful Persian verse, with its chief figures desert Arabs remote from court, became one of the most popular tales in the Near East. The "seven portraits," of seven most beautiful princesses, are discovered by Prince Bahrām Gūr in a secret room of his castle; he journeys on seven successive days to the seven far regions where they reside. The poem contains the anecdote—told of Bahrām's favorite handmaid, then in disgrace—of the carrying of a calf up and down a flight of stairs every day, until at length she is carrying the full-grown cow. These poems of Nizāmī were deservedly popular; for, in addition to their charming and adventurous stories, they are the product of an original and noble spirit, with dignity and beauty of expression.

Somewhat less noted than these last three poets is Zahir al-Dīn Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad of Fāryāb (end of 12th c.). He too wrote panegyrics at several courts, but seems to have enjoyed both the life and the polished, rather routine verse he composed. He seems a more unprincipled poet, with at least less bitterness or self-scorn at his begging, and considerable abuse of his rivals. When money no longer flowed freely toward him, Zahir would move to another court, and mingle new praises with satires of his former patron. He is representative of scores of court poets even more obsequious than he.

During the Mongol rule, in the 13th c., considerable work in prose was written. Outstanding is the history of the Muslim world to 1230, *al-Kāmil* (The Perfect), by Ibn al-Aṣir (ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn al-Aṣir al-Jazarī; 1160-1233), the first great authority in its field. Closely following it came another work, also in Arabic (though first in Syriac by the same hand), by the Christian Barhebraeus (son of a Jew; Yuhannā Abu al-Faraj; 1226-86), who carried the story of the world from Adam to the year 1284. Even fuller in its account of the Mongol conquests is the Persian *Ṭabaqāt-e*

Nāṣirī (1260) by Minhāj-e Sirāj of Gurgan (b. ca. 1193).

Many biographers flourished in the period, chief of whom—if not of all Muslim biographers—is Ibn Khallikān (1211–82), with his *Wafayāt al-A'yan* (*Memorials of Men of Note*; 1256–74). Other works presented lives of special groups of men, philosophers, physicians; the value of Muḥammad 'Awfi's *Lubāb al-Albāb* (*The Marrow of Understanding*; lives of Persian poets) is marred by the poor taste and haphazard nature of the selection, and the elaborate rhetorical and verbal devices of the style.

Mystical poetry likewise flourished. Its greatest exponent in Arabic was Ibn al-Fārid (Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Hafṣ 'Omar; ca. 1170–1235); in Persian, Jalāl al-Dīn-e Rūmī\* (1207–31). Rūmī considered his master in mystical verse to be Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (Abū Ṭalib Muḥammad ibn Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm; ca. 1130–1230). Of 'Aṭṭār's 114 (?) works, including his prose *Memoirs of the Saints* and the maxims of his frequently reprinted *Book of Counsels*, he is best known for a poetical mystical allegory, *Manṭiq al-Ṭayr* (*Language of the Birds*), wherein the birds represent the Ṣūfis and their quest, Simorgh, the truth. It is a sort of winged *Pilgrim's Progress*, as the birds—a score of species are presented in detail—seek to avoid the quest, then follow through the valleys of Search, Love, Knowledge, Independence, Unification, Amazement, Annihilation, before finding Simorgh and their true selves.

The “maṣnavī” of Jalāl al-Dīn-e Rūmī (known as Mawlānā, Master) is the greatest mystic poem of Persia. Its six books of some 26,000 couplets took over a decade (1261–73) to complete. Written in the *ramal* meter (— u — —, — u — —, — u —, in each half line), it gives, according to the author, “the roots of the roots of the roots of the Religion.” In simple language it presents mystical discussions interspersed with relevant anecdotes.

Rūmī also wrote a *Divān* in memory of one of his teachers, Shams-e Tabrīz, at whose death he adopted the felt hat and wide cloak still characteristic of the dervishes.

More generally popular is the quite different poet, Sa'dī\* of Shiraz (Musharraf al-Dīn ibn Muṣṭafī al-Dīn 'Abdullāh; 1184–1291). His long life was marked by extensive travel, during which he garnered the delightful tales and illustrative anecdotes that adorn his *Gulistān* (*Rose Garden*) and his *Būstān* (*Orchard*). Sa'dī is worldly wise; his piety has a smooth cloak of commonsense; the “morals” of his tales are often more practical than ethical. He wrote poems in many styles; in Urdu and in Persian dialects; but he is at his best in the *qaṣida* and the *ghazal*, which he handles with dexterity and with polished but not over-refined beauty. Amid a host of poets of the period, Sa'dī sings supreme.

*The Tartar Period: 1265–1500.* The period of Mongol control of Iran did not interrupt the flow of historical writings. Among the chief of these are “Āṣār al-Bilād” (*Monuments of the Lands*), in Arabic, by Zakariyyā ibn Muḥammad al-Qazvinī (d. 1283); the Persian *Tārīkh-e Jahān-gushā* (*History of the World Conqueror*: Chingīz [Genghis] Khān; 1260), by 'Aṭā Malik-e Juwaynī; the great survey of the physician and statesman, Rashīd al-Dīn Faḡlullāh, the *Jāmi' al-Tavārikh* (*Compendium of Histories*). This last was begun at the order of Ghāzān Khān, to preserve the record of the achievements of the Mongols in Iran. Other works, and numerous polished letters, show Rashīd al-Dīn a man of vigor and firm conviction. Even more effective were the many works of Ḥamdullāh Mustawfī of Kazvin (b. ca. 1281). His *Tārīkh-e Guzīda* (*Select History*; 1330) begins with the Creation and in scarce 170,000 words comes to his own days; but it is a vivid manual, with much fresh material in the later sections. His *Zafar-nāma* (*Book of Victory*; 1335), dedicated to Rashīd al-Dīn's son, then Prime

Minister, continues in 75,000 couplets the story of Firdausi's *Shahnama*, with the history of the Arabs (from Muḥammad's day), the Iranians, and the Mongols. The description of the Mongol ravage of the author's birthplace, Kazvin, is particularly graphic. The third extant work of Ḥamdullāh Mustawfi is the geographical *Nuzhat al-Qulūb* (*Heart's Delight*; ca. 1340); its first two discourses discuss the heavens, and man; the third presents the geography of Iran and the neighboring countries, and is a mine of information concerning conditions in medieval Iran. These are but the chief of a great host of volumes.

The Mongols were succeeded by the Tartars, their first great leader the renowned Tīmūr-e Lang (Tīmūr the Lame: Tamerlane; 1336-1405), during whose regime prose writings continued in a constant flow, with even more flowery style and greater disregard for historical accuracy. Shamb-e Ghāzānī (Mawlānā Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī) wrote the story of Tīmūr for that conqueror, another *Zafar-nāma* (ca. 1414); far more vivid—though also more extravagantly decorative and verbose—is the similarly entitled *Book of Victory* (1424) of Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī (d. 1455), highly praised by later historians but over-ornate in style. In this period, too, the Ḥurūfi (Literalist) sect arose, promulgated by Faẓlullāh of Astarabad (d. 1402) in his *Jāvidān-e Kabīr* (*The Great Eternal*).

More pertinent is the one great non-historical prose work of the period, the thoroughgoing study of Persian prosody, *Mi'yār-e Jamālī* (*Measure of Beauty*; 1344), of which the fourth section, on diction, explains unusual words by using them in *qaṣīdas*.

The center of literary activity shifted, in the 15th c., with the Sultans Shāhrokh (d. 1447) and the great Abu al-Ghāzī Ḥusayn (1473-1506), to Herat. In general, however, the style of prose writings was inferior to that of the years before, and with the increased regard

for artificiality of form came a lessened concern for authenticity of story. In Herat, Faṣīhī of Khwāf (1372-1442?) wrote a useful *Mujmal* (*Compendium*) of history and biography. Also born (1413) in Herat was Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq called of Samarqand, whose history covers 170 years, from the birth (1304) of Abū Sa'īd, last Mongol ruler of Iran. A *History of Herat* was written (1470) by the poet and letter-writer, Mu'īn al-Dīn Muḥammad of Isfizar. The most noted general history written at this time, the *Rawzat al-Ṣafā*, was begun by Mīrkhwānd (Muḥammad ibn Khwānd Shāh ibn Maḥmūd; d. 1498), finished by his grandson Khwāndamīr (d. 1535), and later brought down to 1850 by Hidāyat (Rizā-qulī Khān).

Among the biographical studies, collections of lives—usually brought to the author's own time, with long, exaggerated accounts of his friends and his patron—stands that of the poet Jāmī,\* an account of 611 Ṣūfī saints, called *Nafahāt al-Uns* (*Breath of Fellowship*; 1476). It is, despite its mystic subjects, a much more direct book, clearer and more vivid in style, than most of the prose works of the time. Jāmī wrote two other prose works: a mystical treatise *Lawā'ih* (*Effulgences*), which frequently breaks into quatrains; and a commentary, *Ashī'at al-Lamā'at* (*Rays of the Flashes*) on the *Lamā'at* of the poet 'Irāqī.

Information regarding the poets comes from two important works: the *Tazkirat al-Shu'arā* (*Memoirs of the Poets*) by Amīr Dawlatshāh (d. 1494?), arranged in 7 *tabaqāt* (generations); and the *Majālis al-Nafā'is* of Mīr 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī, himself a considerable patron of poets, who deals mainly with contemporary writers. His book is written in the Eastern Turkī dialect. Toward the end of the century, a number of books written in Turkī are prominent, especially the *Bābur-nāma* (*Book of Bābur*), memoirs of the Emperor exceptionally free from affectation, a frank and lively picture of the customs and activities of his day;

and probably the most honest autobiography ever penned by royal hand.

The domination of the Mongols and Tartars, while it did not check the prose writers of Iran, seemed actually to give impetus to the poets. Throughout the three centuries (as indeed through all Persian history) they wrote in great profusion; much of their work in this era ranks with the greatest in the language. In fact, from the 13th well into the 19th c., Persian was frequently the literary language of Afghans and Turks; and there was a large body of Persian writing in India, by both native Persians (fleeing the Mongol rule) and native Indians alike. Thus Amīr Khosraw (1253-1324), son of a refugee, composed almost 500,000 Persian lines at Delhi. The poems of Majd al-Dīn Hamkar, in addition to panegyrics of the famous Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad the Ṣāhib-Dīvān and others, include many quatrains of vehement abuse, and of clever word-play, especially punning. Chief among the early poets of this period is 'Irāqī (Fakhr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm of Hamadan; d. 1289), who went early to India, where his pious and mystic poems were interrupted by a thereafter persistent strain of love poetry. Many of his *ghazals*—written also in Egypt and Syria—are tender and delicately turned; others combine his praise of wine with more erotic strains. His lyric poetry abounds in figures and clever turns, making frequent use of refrain.

'Irāqī also wrote a "maṣnavī" poem, *Ushshāq-nāma* (*Book of Lovers*). His prose *Lam'a'āt*, to which Jāmī wrote a commentary mentioned above, is studded with poems, which Jāmī praises for their subtlety and deftness, as well as for the lights (*lam'a'āt*: flashes) of ecstasy the work enkindles. In this book, 'Irāqī's love and his mysticism intertwine.

Contemporary was Shayk Abū Ḥamid Awḥad al-Dīn of Kerman, who in his "maṣnavī" poem *Miṣbāḥ al-Arwāḥ* (*The Lamp of Spirits*) and in his quatrains con-

tented himself with portraying the outer forms of things, rather than probing to the inner spirit. His disciple, Awḥādī of Maragha (d. 1338), wrote *Jām-e Jam* (*The Cup of Jāmshīd*), a "world-showing glass" of great and immediate popularity. Ṣūfī thought is presented in the still popular "maṣnavī," the *Gulshan-e Rāz* (*Rose Garden of Mystery*) by Sa'd al-Dīn Maḥmūd-e Shabistārī (d. 1320). The poem, written to answer questions as to the mystics' doctrine—e.g., "If Knower and Known are one pure essence, what is the inspiration in this handful of dust?" "Why is thought sometimes a sin, sometimes a duty?"—is enlivened by its digressions and illustrative parables. Maḥmūd-e Shabistārī has also written a mystical work in prose, the *Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn* (*Certain Truth*), with 8 chapters corresponding to the 8 gates of Paradise. Ḥamām al-Dīn of Tabriz (1198?-1314) wrote the heaven-seeking *Haft Iqlīm* (*Seven Regions*).

The period from 1335 to 1405 was one of the most tumultuous in Persian history. The rivalry of many princes, however, the vying splendor of their courts, gave stimulus and warm hospitality to many poets, who might indeed dwell for a while with one lordly patron, then seek other beauty and favor. Of the hundreds of versifiers of this age, a number rose to poetry of lofty worth.

Ibn Yamīn (Amīr Maḥmūd ibn Amīr Yamīn al-Dīn Ṭughrā'ī; d. 1368) is best remembered for his ethical and mystical *Muqaṭṭa'āt* (*Fragments*), with its glimpse of evolution:

"From the void of non-being to this dwelling-house of clay

I came, and rose from stone to plant . . ."

Khwājū of Kerman (Kamāl al-Dīn Abu al-'Aṭā Maḥmūd ibn 'Alī ibn Maḥmūd; 1281-1342?) wrote a *Khamṣa* (*Quintet*) of "maṣnavīs," and a varied *Dīvān*. The five



"*maṣnavīs*," mainly mystical (*Garden of Lights; Book of Perfection*), are modeled on the *Khamisa* of Nizāmī of Ganja. Some of Khwājū's shorter poems are delicately turned and gracefully expressed.

The works of 'Ubayd-e Zākānī (Nizām al-Dīn 'Ubaydullāh; d. 1371) are vivid, often coarse, satire. His prose *Akhlāq al-Ashrāf* (*Ethics of the Nobles*) is sharp with irony and wit. Each of its 7 chapters treats of the old, then the current, conception of a virtue, the new being of course its denial or distortion. Of courage, e.g., he avers:

If one kill his adversary, he will have on his shoulders the burden of innocent blood, and will sooner or later meet punishment. If, on the other hand, he is slain, his adversary has doomed himself to Hell. How can a wise man enter upon an action with such alternatives? What proof, indeed, is clearer than this, that for every wedding, dance, or festival whereat delicate cates, sweetmeats, robes of honor, and wealth are displayed, minstrels and jesters, gallants and gaillards are sought out; whereas when arrows and spears are the prospective entertainment, some stupid fool is persuaded that he is a man, a hero, a vanquisher of hosts, a captain courageous, and is thus induced to confront the swords . . .

The serious poems of 'Ubayd-e Zākānī rise to noble heights; but the poet tells scornfully that renown and reward come with buffooning and ribaldry; he seems to have renounced the serious role for satire (a fantastic dialogue, *Rīsh-nāma, Book of the Beard*) and for obscenity (*Risāla-ye Delgushā, The Joyous Treatise: Arabic and Persian anecdotes and hazaliyyāt, facetiae*). He also wrote '*Ushshāq-nāma* (*Book of Lovers*); and a "*maṣnavī*" poem, *Mūsh o Gorbe* (*The Mouse and the Cat*), satirizing religious pretense. His prose *Ta'rifāt* (*Definitions*) anticipates *The Devil's Dictionary* of the American, Ambrose Bierce,

with its cynical comments: *the ignorant man*, favorite of fortune; *thought*, that which wearies men to no purpose; *the lady*, she that has many lovers; *the house-wife*, she that has few; *the virtuous*, she that is content with one; *the virgin*, a name for that which does not exist.

'Imād-e Kermānī ('Imād al-Dīn Faqīh of Kerman; d. 1372) was the successful rival of Ḥāfiz for favor at the court of Shāh Shujā' of the Muzaffarī dynasty. He wrote several "*maṣnavīs*," and a *Divān*, freer than much of the verse of the time from padding and verbosity. Salmān of Sava (Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Salmān ibn 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad; 1300-76), praised by Ḥāfiz who had attacked 'Imād, wrote in many forms, but is noted chiefly for his graceful panegyrics to Queen Delshād Khātūn and her son Shayk Uvays (king 1356-74) of the Ilkhānī dynasty. His *qaṣīdas* are fluent, with apt turns of phrase and polished diction, and clever handling of rhyme. Both these poets, however—as all other poets of Iran—are overshadowed by their great contemporary, Ḥāfiz of Shiraz.

Ḥāfiz\* (Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāfiz called Lisān al-Ghayb, the tongue of the unseen, and Tarjumān al-Asrār, interpreter of mysteries; ca. 1320-89) is the greatest lyric poet of Iran. Though highly esteemed even in his own day, and invited by many rulers, he seldom left his native city, Shiraz, nor ever tired of celebrating the beauty of its women, its river, its rose gardens, its promenade. Best in the *ghazal*, Ḥāfiz wrote many rousing verses of the joys of wine. His equally acclaimed love poems are delicate in their beauty, almost chaste in their diction—with a restraint unusual in Persian love poetry—and impeccable in form.

The poet had a rich background from which to draw allusions; he knew the *Qur'an* (*Koran*) by heart, and had read widely among the earlier poets. While on occasion he brought his talents to the praise of contempo-

rary princes, he was neither obsequious in his encomiums nor bitter and satiric—from a distance, as the practice was—when disappointed at the reception of his work, in the shifting favors of the time. His city, Shiraz, was bloodily besieged six times during his days, yet few personal references cloud the wider range of Ḥāfiz' thought and fancy, as Gertrude Bell points out in a contrast of the Persian poet and his Italian contemporary, Dante.\* An apparently casual comment of Ḥāfiz may have deeper implications, as his remark that there is no music to which both the drunk and the sober can dance.

The *ghazals* of the poet range widely in theme and form. Not infrequently, he will take half a line, or a couplet, from an earlier poet's *Divān*, to give it a fresh turn of thought or a new graceful finish. So popular has Ḥāfiz been among Persians that—as the names given him show—his verses, like those of the Roman Virgil,\* have been used for augury. To many editions of his works, a *fāl-nāma* (book of omens) is prefixed, in the form of tables of squares, each space containing the first letter of a hemistich (half-line), to which in the *Divān* the reader then turns to learn his fortune.

The delight of the Persians in word-play is illustrated by an anecdote of Ḥāfiz. The great conqueror Timūr sent for him, enraged:

"When it cost me many lives to take, and years of labor to build, my cities of Samarqand and Bukhara, how can a wretched beggar like you say that you would give them for the mole on the cheek of a Turkish girl of Shiraz!"

"Your Majesty, I have been misquoted," said Ḥāfiz at once, with great presence of mind. "I said, not *Samarqand o Bukhārā*, but *se man qand o do khormārā* (3 measures of sugar and two dates)." Timūr rewarded him for the deft evasion.

Following Ḥāfiz, and praised by him, came Kamāl of Khojand (Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Mas'ūd;

d. 1400?), whose *ghazals* are for the most part 7 lines long. He had a forthright manly style, but was perhaps excessively prone to the Persian poet's habit of boastfulness. The pantheistic poet Maghribī (Muḥammad Shīrin Maghribī of Tabriz; ca. 1350–1407) is somewhat less flowery than other mystics, in his development of the theme: "What are the parts? The manifestations of the Whole. What are the things? The shadows of the Names." Bushaq (Abū Ishāq, called Aṭ'ima: Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad-e Ḥallāj of Shiraz; d. 1416) wrote most of his verses in celebration of gastronomic delights; he parodied the mystical rhapsodies of Shāh Ni'matullāh-e Māhānī of Kerman, preferring to praise of the Lord praise of the Lord's bounty as vouchsafed to the sensitive and appreciative palate. His *Kanz al-Ishtihā* (*Treasures of Appetite*) in a wide variety of forms lauds a great variety of dishes. Even when he turns to other thoughts, as to his love, he "cooked a meal garnished with verbal artifices and rhetorical devices, and baked in the oven of reflection with the dough of deliberation a loaf" for "my silver-bosomed sweetheart, my moon-faced darling, whose eyes are like almonds, whose lips are like sugar, whose chin is like an orange, whose breasts are like pomegranates, whose mouth is like a pistachio nut, smooth-tongued, melodious of utterance, lithe as a fish, sweet-voiced, with a mole like musk; even as the poet says:

By reason of the smiles from the salt-cellar of  
her mouth

Blood flows from the heart as from a salted  
kabāb."

The poet of food had fellow in the poet of clothes, Nizām al-Dīn Maḥmūd Qārī of Yazd, another of a group of parodists then flourishing. He wrote a mock epic *Jang-nāma-ye Mūyīna vo Kattān* (*Book of the War of Hair-cloth and Cotton*), and in many forms on many subjects, such as praise of earlier poets,

he spoke in terms of cloth and clothing. Many other poets, and countless versifiers, added their waves of conventional verses to the ocean of writing.

This current of parody was part of a flow toward artifice, that in the years ahead reached the highest peak, even for Persian, of artificiality and elaborate adornment. Conventionality in thought was expected; the variety was sought in form, in all the devices by which a writer—for the practice was, if possible, carried even farther in prose—can lend distinction, or diversion, or distraction, in gloss of far-fetched figure and phrasing, to his style.

The first two poets of these years—like the greatest, Jāmī—are comparatively free from this elaborately ornate style, and from the tendency to work riddles and acrostics into the pattern of the verse. Shāh Sayyid Ni'matullāh of Kerman (1330-1431), king of dervishes, wrote many Ṣūfī tracts, as well as a *Divān*, which includes many visionary prophecies and pantheistic verses, some written as late as his 97th year. Qāsim al-Anvār (1356-1433) was likewise a mystic; his "maṣnavī" poems and those in his *Divān* are mainly pious echoings of religious and ethical thought.

Kātibī of Nishapur (d. 1435) wrote varied and ornate *ghazals* and *qaṣīdas*, his inventiveness winning contemporary praise but setting dubious example. He was fond of metrical tricks (as double-rhyme) and word-play, which give glitter to his "maṣnavīs," as *Husn o 'Ishq* (*Love and Beauty*). The poet 'Arifi of Herat (1389-1449), called a "second Salmān," wrote *Hāl-nāma* (*Book of Ecstasy*), an allegorical poem presenting the mystic views in the figure of a polo game—whence it is also called *Gūy o Chawgān* (*The Ball and the Polo-stick*). The work, of some 500 lines, strains to apply the devices of the day to its pious theme. Of the three score other poets, recorded in the biographies, that died in the

second half of the 15th c., before turning to Jāmī we need but glance at his patron Mir 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī, who wrote in Turkī four *Divāns* and several "maṣnavīs," and in Persian a treatise, *Mizān al-Awzān* (*Measure of Meters*), and some lyric verse.

Mullā Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī\* (1414-92), scholar and mystic poet, besides considerable prose including a work on prosody, stands among the very greatest Persian poets. He was independent of spirit, with pride acknowledging no master in his learning, but with courage refraining from the common obsequious praise of those in power. His chief poems consist of 7 "maṣnavīs," the *Haft Awrang* (7 Thrones) or *Sab'a* (Septet), modeled on the *Khamisa* (Quintet) of Nizāmī—which they excel in simplicity and grace though not in power; and 3 lyrical *Divāns*. The "maṣnavīs" are (1) *Silsilat al-Zahab* (*Chain of Gold*; 1485), a loosely knit consideration, in 7,200 couplets, of religious and ethical ideas, with illustrative anecdotes; (2) *Salāmān and Absāl*, an allegory (translated by Edward FitzGerald) of a young man turned by Zuhra (Venus) from love of his elderly nurse; (3) a series of ethical *maqālāt* (discourses) and anecdotes, tender but at times prosaic, *Tuhfat al-Ahrār* (*Gift of the Noble*); (4) the didactic *Subḥat al-Abrār* (*Rosary of the Pious*); (5) the immensely popular story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, *Yūsuf and Zulaykhā* (1483), vivid and noble, with outstanding discussions of beauty and of love of woman as leading to love of God—the whole, a frequently told tale of the Near East in its best fashioning; (6) the romance of *Laylā and Majnūn* (1484); and (7) *Khīrad-nāma-ye Sikandarī* (*Book of Wisdom of Alexander*), a series of reflections and illustrative tales.

The 3 *Divāns* of Jāmī present his lyrical poetry, which soars far beyond the precious artificialities of his time, and through its wide popularity and influence helped, in both Iran

and Turkey, to stem the tide of trivial concern with tricks of meter and form. Here too, though in more personal outpouring, the poet recurs to the theme:

O Jāmī, the road to God is naught but Love.

**Prose:** 1600–1900. The great body of Persian prose for the past three centuries has continued to present religious dogma and speculation, or lives and tales of the religious thinkers. The chief source-books for these men are the *Qiyās al-'Ulamā* (*Tales of the Divines*; 1873) by Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān of Tanukabun (b. 1820), with lives of 153 adherents of the Shī'a doctrine, that the legitimate successor of Muḥammad was his cousin and son-in-law 'Alī; and the many *Kutub al-Rijāl* (*Books of the Men*), from the *Fihrist* (*Index*) of Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn 'Alī of Tus (d. 1067) and the more popular *Majālis al-Mū'minīn* (*Assemblies of the Believers*) by Sayyid Nurallāh ibn Sharīf al-Mar'ashī of Shushtar (d. 1610), to the *Nujūm al-Samā'* (*Stars of Heaven*; 1870) by Muḥammad ibn Šādiq ibn Mahdī.

Many of these books, like those especially after the Mongol conquest, are marred by far-fetched figures and conceits, the authors seeming more concerned with the adornment of their prose than with the accuracy of their relations. Among the countless theologians and philosophers, besides those just mentioned, are: (1) Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir Dāmād (d. 1631), author of *Širāṭ al-Mustaqīm* (*The Straight Path*), also of poetry under the *takhalluṣ* (pen. name) of Ishrāq; he "wrote of philosophy so that the theologians could not discern his meaning," and thus, he declared, escaped condemnation as an unbeliever; (2) Shaykh Muḥammad Bahā' al-Dīn al-'Amīlī, who began a Persian manual of Shī'a law, but also—as Shayk-e Bahā'ī—wrote an Arabic collection of anecdotes and a Persian poem *Nān o Halvā* (*Bread and Sweetmeats*); (3) Muḥammad ibn Murtaẓā of Kashan,

known as Mullā Muḥsin-e Fayz, who wrote some 7,000 lines of verse as well as the religious study *Abvāb al-Janān* (*Gates of Paradise*; 1645); (4) Mullā Šadrā (Mullā Šadr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm of Shiraz; d. 1640), one of the chief modern Persian thinkers, by no means orthodox; (5) Mullā Muḥammad Taqī-ye Majlisī (d. 1660) who with his son (6) Mullā Muḥammad Bāqir-e Majlisī (d. 1700) was first to collect Shī'a traditions, the son's compilations being the Arabic *Bihār al-Anwār* (*Oceans of Light*) and many in Persian, including *'Ayn al-Ḥayāt* (*The Fountain of Life*), *Mishkāt al-Anwār* (*The Lamp of Lights*), *Haqq al-Yaqīn* (*Certain Truth*; 1698); (7) Mullā Aḥmad-e Narāqī (d. 1829), who as Šafā'ī wrote a poem *Ṭāqdis*; (8) Hājji Mullā Ḥādī of Sabzawar (1797–1878) who also, as Asrār, wrote verses; (9) Sayyid 'Alī Muḥammad the Bāb (Bāb, the Gate, i.e., gateway to knowledge of divine truth; shot 1850), author of *Bayān* (*Commentary*) and *Dalā'il-e Sab'a* (*Seven Proofs*) and founder of the recent Bābī-Bahā'ī movement.

Persian historical studies were for several centuries both over-flowery and untrustworthy; a charming early exception being *Tajārib al-Salaf* (*Experiences of Yore*; 1324), a history of the Caliphate, by Hindūshāh ibn Sānjar ibn 'Abdullāh al-Šāhibī al-Kirānī. More recent works free from undue adornment, and approaching good measure of accuracy, are the vivid history of the Bābīs, *Nuqṭat al-Kāf*, by Mīrzā Jānī of Kashan (d. 1852); and the more carefully documented *Tārikh-e Bidāriye Irāniyān* (*History of the Awakening of the Iranians*; incomplete, 1912). Biographies have a greater measure of readability, if no more reliability; the best of them have been named at the beginning of this section, as source-books on the divines. The autobiography of Shaykh 'Alī Ḥazīn contains a vivid story of the fall of Isfahan to the Afghans, in 1722. Best of the many travel books is the

*Bustān al-Siyāhat* (*Garden of Travel*; 1832), by Hājji Zayn al-Ābidin of Shirvan (b. 1780), who traveled widely in the East, and talked with many Europeans, but declined an invitation to visit Austria "as there was no great spiritual advantage to be gained by traveling in that land." This attitude toward Europe is typical of the pious Persian.

*Poetry: 1600-1900.* The style of classical poetry in Iran, and its vocabulary, have changed but little in 500 years. During the 16th and the 17th c. many of the best Persian writers found more hospitable soil in India, where they carried the classical forms and themes. Many of the verses, however, are occasional pieces, obscure in their allusions because we no longer know the occasion that brought them forth. A great body of the material is devotional, like the *haft-band* (seven-line verse) of Muḥtasham of Kashan (d. 1588), a simple and pious poem in praise of the Imāms (successors of 'Alī). The "marṣiya" (elegy) was a favorite mood, one of the greatest being that of Qā'ānī (d. 1853) on the death of the Imām Ḥusayn.

Out of these pious poems and elegies there developed a sort of popular mourning (*ta'ziya*) recital, or passion play, the *Rawza-khivānī* (from the *Rawza al-Shuhadā* [*Garden of Martyrs*]), given during Muḥarram, the month of mourning. The favorite episode of these is the martyrdom of Ḥusayn, on the 10th of Muḥarram. The passion plays have brought the religious stories of Muḥammad and his followers to every Persian home. More recently, the Bābī-Bahā'ī martyrs have been commemorated in eloquent verse, often supposedly spoken by themselves in their gallant dying. Vivid among these is a *qaṣīda* (1885) by Mīrzā Na'īm of Se-deh.

Of the poets of these three centuries, several call for more specific consideration. Bābā Fighānī of Shiraz (d. 1519), in India, wrote many *qaṣīdas* of praise for 'Alī; in the same form are most of the works of the panegyrist

Umīdī of Tehran (d. 1523?). Hilālī (killed 1528), in addition to a *Divān* of odes, wrote the *Shāh o Darvīsh* (*The King and the Beggar*). The prolific Vahshī of Bafq (d. 1583) wrote several *ghazals*, and began a "maṣnavī," *Farhād and Shīrīn*, that was completed in 1848 by Viṣāl. 'Urfī of Shiraz (Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad; d. 1591) is among the most noted poets of the period, especially famed in India; he enlivened and freshened the diction of poetry while at the same time abandoning the lush rhetoric of most Persian verse for a nobility and stateliness of phrasing. The forceful diction of 'Urfī is accompanied by as forceful a personality, with good measure of boastfulness (conventional in Persian poetry) if not conceit. In his work of freshening the language of poetry with new words and images, he was followed by Fayzī (d. 1596), whose outspoken verse drew many sharp attacks from other writers, and whose *qaṣīdas* and *ghazals*, and his unfinished *Khamṣa* (*Quintet*; in imitation of Nizāmī) are among the best poetry of his time.

Early in the 17th c. Nazīrī of Nishapur (d. 1613) wrote vigorous religious *qaṣīdas*. Ṭālib-e Āmulī (d. 1626), like Nazīrī, found haven in India; there he wrote simple poems in a noble strain of family love. Abū Ṭālib Kalīm (Kāshānī; d. 1651) wrote on various subjects, with neat figures and apt allusions: "The heart imagines that it has hidden its love; the lamp imagines that it has hidden the wick." "The thread does not become precious by being near the pearls." Ṣā'ib of Tabriz (Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī; d. 1670) seems also more esteemed in Turkey and India than in Iran; yet his simple style and decorative fancy—especially in the figure *ḥusn-e ta'līl*, ascription of causes—should rank him high.

After these, amid a host of lesser writers, Persian poetry entered upon a barren century. The *Memoirs* (1742) of Shaykh 'Alī Ḥazīn (Muḥammad ibn Abī Ṭālib of Gilan), with an account of the siege of Isfahan

(1722), are more vivid than the verses of the poets he discusses in his *Tazkirat al-Mu'asirîn* (*Lives of Contemporaries*). Earlier and contemporary poets are also discussed, with praise more lavish than critical, in the *Ātashkade* (*Fire Temple*) of Luṭf 'Alī Beg Āzar (b. 1711). Sayyid Aḥmad Hātif of Isfahan is noted for his *tarjī-band* (double rhyme), in a colorful poem of many images, each section ending with the devout refrain:

He is one and there is naught but He:  
There is no God save Him alone.

Viṣāl (Mīrzā Shafī', known as Mīrzā Kūchek; d. 1846) was a poet, with rather far-fetched figures of praise; but he was the scion of a family of poets in whose days the *qaṣīda* of praise to a patron began to decay, as the new spirit of individuality, leading to the 1906 Revolution, began to assert its force. Ṣabā (Fath-'Alī Khān of Kashan; d. 1823) wrote melodious verse; still many panegyrics, in his 15,000 line *Divān*; there is vivid narrative in his *Shāhanshāh-nāma*. Effective *ghazals* were written, especially in *Ganjīna* (*The Treasury*), by Neshāt (Mīrzā 'Abd al-Vahhāb of Isfahan; d. 1828); the poet Sanā'i (Mīrzā Abu al-Qāsim, Qā'im-maqām, Prime Minister; killed by order of Muḥammad Shāh, 1835) was even more famed as a writer of letters, in effective, elaborate style.

Outstanding among 19th c. poets is Qā'ānī (Ḥabīb; ca. 1807-54), son of the poet Gulshan. The mood of the obsequious court-poet lingers in Qā'ānī; but his vocabulary is rich and varied, and his verse, especially in the *qaṣīda*, surprisingly sweet and melodious. His figures are gentle, deft, and often drawn from familiar customs and sights:

Look at the petals of the anemones in their  
beds,  
They dart forth like sparks from the crags of  
the mountains.

Qā'ānī was given this pen name by the Governor of Khorasan and Kerman, after the Governor's son Ogotāy Qā'an. His other son, Furūgh al-Dawla, is remembered in the poet Furūghī, first known as Miskīn (Mīrzā 'Abbās ibn Āqā Mūsā; d. 1858), who was long allied with Qā'ānī—some of their works are published together,—his best work is in the *ghazal*. The *ghazals* and *qaṣīdas* of Yaghmā of Jandaq (Mīrzā Abu al-Ḥasan), although they can rise to nobility of expression, range widely in manner and theme; he is perhaps most broadly known for his abusive and his ribald verse, as in *Hazaliyyāt* (*Facetiae*). He also wrote some sincere elegies, using a new form, Nawḥa-ye Sīna-zanī, lamentation with beating of the breast.

Following these came the generation of the Revolution, poets of mainly political verse. They wrote no longer for the rulers or others high at court, but to express their own opinions, to rouse and to gratify the awakening public. Early among these is Amīrī, first known as Parvāna (the Moth), but better known by his title, the Adīb al-Mamālīk (Mīrzā Ṣādiq Khān; 1860-1917), of a famous line of poets. He not only founded or edited several of the new newspapers, but wrote penetrating and richly phrased poems reflecting the incidents of Persian life of his day, such as the Russian aggression. He collected *divāns* in both Arabic and Persian, and several volumes of prose as well as other verses.

The end of absolute despotism in Iran brought about great changes in the literature. The Constitution was granted in 1906, but actual preparation and propaganda for the overthrow of the autocratic government had started much earlier. It may be said to have begun at the accession of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (ruled 1848-96).

The *surūd* (song), always popular, in the awakening of national feeling became more widespread, with many stirring lyrics of na-

tional fervor. Likewise persistent throughout this period, as in all Persian times, was the *tašnif* (popular ballad), folk songs springing often without known author from local incidents, swinging into wide oral circulation, and usually as quickly forgotten. A variation of these is the satirical, picturesque and emphatic but seldom accomplished political verse, which found circulation in the 370 newspapers that since 1851 (first, the weekly *Diary of Casual Events*) have had ephemeral existence in Iran. Some of these are regular, printed journals; more, especially ca. 1906 and the Revolution, lithographed or "jelly-graphed" and often secret sheets in violet or other violent inks and equally violent expressions. Among the more vivid writers of these verses are 'Ārif of Kazvin; the dialectic and satiric Dakhaw of Kazvin; Sayyid Ashraf of Gilan, in the Azarbayjan dialect; Bahār of Mashhad.

One of the forerunners of the Constitutional Movement was Mīrzā Taqī Khān Amīre Kabīr, a wise and sincere patriot. Others were Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn\*; Malkom Khān; and Āqā Muḥammad Ṭāhir of Tabriz. The first successful manifestation of this political and intellectual movement was the famous revolt against the Tobacco Concession in 1891. This momentous event in the history of Iran took place shortly after Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn's visits to Egypt and to Turkey. His articles in the *Ziyā' al-Khāfiqayn* (*The Light of the East and the West*) and in the *Qānūn* (*Law*) published by Malkom Khān in London in 1890 stirred the imagination of the patriots of Iran. His writings, and those of Malkom Khān, had a great influence in the political revolution and the latest Persian Renaissance. With another publication, *Akhtar* (*The Star*; in Istanbul, 1875-1896; the first newspaper published in Persian outside Iran; suppressed, at the request of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, by order of Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd of Turkey) Āqā Muḥammad Ṭāhir of Tabriz helped organize

for the Revolution and gain sympathy for the cause.

This extraordinary vitality of the Persian press outside, as well as within, Iran, had a great effect on the literature of Iran. One of its results was the abandonment of the old style of composition in practically every sort of literary production. After Jāmī, poetry had degenerated into an art of versification. Meaningless phrases cloaked in terms of mysticism and Sūfism; praise and flattery in overflowing exaggeration, had been the usual theme. There was grace of words but no sincerity; wealth even of ideas, but unfruitful, misdirected. The task that lay before the poets of the Revolution was therefore great and difficult. Their chief problem was to free themselves from the accepted traditions of classicism, to break the bonds of medievalism, to free the spirit of men and women from the established rules and binding regulations of society and religion.

There were of course a great many factors in their favor. The growing contact with the West, the revolutionary agitation of patriots inside and outside the country, supplied them with new ideas and subjects. Then the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907, dividing Iran into two spheres of influence, further kindled the fire of patriotism in their hearts. The Russo-Japanese War, which had resulted in the defeat of the "invincible" regime of the Czar, had given them some hope, but the Treaty of 1907 opened their eyes again to the great danger to the integrity of Iran. Such concern has marked their writing ever since.

The ground had been prepared for patriotic poetry, and for a note of greater sincerity and higher purpose, in such works as the *Kitāb-e Aḥmad*, or *Ṣafīna-ye Ṭālibī* (*Ṭālibī's Ship*) of Ḥājji Mīrzā 'Abd al-Raḥīm Ṭāliboff of Tabriz; and the *Siyāhat-nāma* (*Travel Book*) of Ibrāhīm Beg, by Ḥājji Zayn al-'Ābidīn of Maragha, was a most popular realistic satire just before the Revolution, and probably

helped bring it on. New ideas of freedom and democracy, fostered in the French, English, and American mission schools, and by men that had studied abroad, were further instrumental in rousing popular feeling.

Some of the poets, to be sure, continued to write in the old tradition. Although their ideas and forms are mainly echoic, some of them achieve graceful and polished expression. Adīb-e Pishāvarī wrote in both Arabic and Persian, imitating Khāqānī and Qā'ānī in *ghazals*, *qaṣīdas*, and quatrains original in subject though not in form. His *Divān* reflects the events of the day; he wrote verses on the Russo-Japanese War and the ex-Kaiser; but his poems on Iran and the state of the people touched the public's heart. He may be said to usher in the new epoch in Persian poetry.

Pishāvarī's disciple, Bahār of Meshhed (mentioned above) has excelled his master, being the most outstanding poet of the post-Revolutionary period. He is a leader of the Nationalist Party in Khorasan; his work reaches a high degree of technical accomplishment, while deeply philosophical in thought, combining political considerations with individual reflections. Bahār has been associated with several journals, editing *Nov-Bahār* (*New Spring*), *Tāze-Bahār* (*Fresh Spring*), and the literary magazine *Dānesh-kade*, in vigorous and forceful prose.

ʿArif of Kazvin (also mentioned above), though a writer of beautiful verse, was an even more accomplished composer of patriotic chansons (*taṣnīfs*). His lengthy *Divān* (banned in Iran; edited in Persian in Berlin by Dr. Riṣā-zāde Shafaq) has an introduction quite in the mood of the *Confessions* of Rousseau.\* Among his best poems are *Bitter Complaint*, a personal outpouring; *The Watchful Enemy and Sleeping Friends*, after a public reading of which he was badly beaten.

ʿIshqī, leader of Young Iran, is especially noted for his popular *taṣnīfs*, as well as for

his poems *Ideāl-e ʿIshqī* (*The Ideal of ʿIshqī*) and *Rastākhīz* (*Resurrection*), a poetic drama in stirring patriotic verse, which has been produced. ʿIshqī was a martyr to his extreme Republican views, being mysteriously shot (1924).

Parvīn-e Iʿtishāmī, a contributor to Bahār's journals, in her *Safar-e Ashk* (*Journey of Tears*) and *Broken Heart* wrote feelingly, though often in parables, of the problems of the day. Her *Man and Woman* is a staunch assault on the wearing of the veil. Shahriyār applies a flowing rhythm, well-chosen words, and integrated ideas, to the same problems. He draws images to the new modes, comparing, e.g., a woman on a bicycle to a jewel on a double ring. His *Rūh-e* (*The Soul of*) *Parvāna* is a touching lament for the beautiful young Parvāna. His *Ay Zan* (*Oh Woman*), on the other hand, is deft and delicate satire. His *Dokht-e Dāryūsh* (*The Daughter of Darius*) is historical in theme, but also touched with pathos.

Alone really successful among the extremists in idea and form is Lāhūtī, who wrote vehement verse in Persian, whose politics were reflected in his poems, e.g., *Kiriml* (*Kremlin*); *Inqilāb-e Sorkh* (*The Red Revolution*), and led him eventually to residence in Soviet Russia, where he died in 1944.

It is interesting to note that, in this post-Revolutionary poetry, the number of Arabic words has, of deliberate intent, considerably dwindled. By some, the Persian terms are much more freely interspersed with French and occasionally English and even Russian words. But by all, the verse, instead of continuing the polished and ornate diction popular for over 300 years, is now written in the common vernacular of the people, and even in local dialects.

After the Constitution, religion was divorced from the State, and in prose also the influence of Arabic on diction and style greatly declined. The *Koran* was no longer



constantly quoted; rhymed prose fell into disuse; pure Persian prose came with a new freshness. In this development Bahār was again a leader. The poet Badi' al-Zamān also wrote gracious essays, as well as studies of rhetoric and prosody, e.g. the 4 v. *Sokhan va Sokhanvarān* (*On Speech and Speakers*), and a history of Persian Literature from the Arab Conquest to the Ghaznavids (7th to 10th c.). Other prose writers are Jamāl-zāde; Abbās Iqbāl, with a history of Persia from Genghis Khan to Tamerlane (other volumes in the series being prepared by other hands); and Rashīd-e Yāsami, who in addition to poems has written literary essays and biographies of noted Persian statesmen and poets.

Interest in other lands inevitably increased, and many translations began to appear, chiefly from the French. Original historical or picaresque novels continued, as *The Ensnarers, or the Avengers of Mazdak* (1920); or with Persian history blended with Western fictional style: *Ishq o Salṭanat* (*Love and Lordship*; 1916). The most popular translations from English in the early 20th c. were—via a Russian version—stories of Sherlock Holmes. Muḥammad Tāhir Mirzā translated Dumas' *The Three Musketeers*, *The Count of Monte Cristo*, and others. Yūsuf-e I'tisānī (father of the poetess) translated Hugo's *Les Misérables*. Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Jamāl-zāde wrote the original and rollicking *Yakī būd o Yakī nabūd* ("There was one, and there was none"; equivalent to "Once upon a time"; 1922). This began a new dramatic note in Persian popular prose.

The drama, widespread in the popular religious mystery and passion plays, had until the 20th c. few more literary forms. There were some translations of Molière—*The Adventure of him that shunned mankind*; i.e., *Le Misanthrope*—ca. 1870. A few satirical comedies followed the Revolution. Others—

*Adventures of Ashraf Khān, Governor of Arabistan, during his sojourn in Tehran in 1817; Shāh-qulī Mirzā goes to Karbala and spends some days at Kermanshah with the Governor Shāh Murād Mirzā*—by the aforementioned Malkom Khān, were published in 1921; and about a year later *Jafar Khān has come from Europe*, by Ḥasan Muqaddam, was performed in Tehran.

Shakespeare's *Othello* (trans. by Nāṣir al-Molk) was produced in Tehran in 1934-5. The historical dramas *Jijak 'Alī-Shāh* and *Shāh-e Irān ve Bānū-ye Arman* (*The King of Iran and the Armenian Princess*) were written by Āqā Zabihullāh-e Behrūz. Other playwrights—their works presented more and more frequently by traveling companies—are Sa'id-e Nafisī; Šādiq-e Hedayat; 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khalkhālī; Āyatī; Muḥtabā Minovī. Over a hundred plays have been produced, in this new efflorescence of the drama.

Present events have again shaken the Persian writers into the rouse of patriotic and political expression. But there is no doubt that, come what crisis there may, there will be staunch and valid literary outpouring of the soul of Iran.

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MEHMET A. SIMSAR.

PERUVIAN—See South American Indian; Spanish American.

PHOENICIAN—See Canaanite; Maltese.

PIEDMONTESE—See Italian.

PIMA—See North American Native.

PLAINS INDIAN—See North American Native.

PLATEAU INDIAN—See North American Native.

## POLISH

THERE can be no doubt that next to Russian, Polish is the most important of the Slavonic literatures. It has had a far longer unified history, but throughout its entire course, the national genius has displayed itself in forms and with a spirit that are fully in accord with the European tradition, so that it lacks the exotic charm characteristic of the other language.

The reason is not hard to find. From the first moment of its history, Poland, for good or ill, has been an integral part of the Western world. Its first king, Mieszko, was baptized in 966 by Roman Catholic clergy from Bohemia, where the tradition of Saints Cyril and Methodius had lost its original vitality. The new state, constantly menaced by German aggression, saw itself forced to seek support and friends among the other Christian nations of the West; hence, from the earliest period, Bohemian, French, and Italian influences were very strong. The contacts with the East were rarely friendly and the Poles, confident in their Western faith, looked askance at the political scene offered by their Eastern neighbors.

It was thus perfectly natural for them to adopt Latin for their religious and political documents. The first chronicler, Gallus Anonymus, of the early 12th c., used Latin, as did the first author whose name we know, Wincenty Kadłubek, bishop of Kraków in the 13th c. Yet by this time there were attempts to use the vernacular, as in the

*Bogurodzica* (*The Mother of God*), which became a truly national hymn used equally in church and on the battlefield.

During the 14th c. there was apparently a considerable amount of writing in Polish, with some evidence that in the library of Queen Jadwiga there was a Polish translation of all or a large part of the *Bible*, but little is known about it. There is preserved, however, the so-called *Psalter of Florjan* from the end of the period, and there are known other religious writings.

With the foundation of the University of Kraków in 1364, the intellectual life of Poland improved and the increasing power of the country after the union with Lithuania gave greater resources and opportunities for scholarship and literature. The greatest name in this period is that of Nicholas Copernicus (1473–1543), a native of Toruń, who in his great work *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* laid the foundations of modern astronomy. He is undoubtedly the greatest student of the University during its long history.

In the field of the vernacular writing, Jakób Parkosz, rector of the Kraków Academy early in the 15th c., invented the diacritical marks still employed, which facilitated the use of Polish; but for a long while, Latin continued to be the favorite medium for scholars, as in the *Annales seu cronicae inclyti regni Poloniae opera* of Jan Długosz (1415–80). Attempts at the use of Polish continued, but most of the writings were on religious and

theological subjects; none was of a high order. Despite this, however, the ideas of the Italian humanists were introduced and we find the contemporary Poles fully aware of the latest developments of the Italian Renaissance. Italian influence was greatly increased by the marriage of Zygmunt I with Bona, a princess of Milan, in 1518.

A more important influence for the development of the vernacular was the Reformation, which early made its appearance in Poland. A supporter of the new faith, Mikołaj Rej of Nagłowice (1505-69), was the first person to undertake seriously the task of adapting the language to the needs of literature and to inaugurate the Golden Age of Polish literature, as the 16th c. is usually called. In 1543, he published his *Short Conversation between a lord, a bailiff and a priest*, one of the best satires of the century. He followed this with other poems of a didactic and moral character, with religious plays of the general type of the Reformation; with the *Zoological Garden*, illustrating the qualities most needed by the Poles, and above all by *The Mirror*, which included the prose work, *The Life of an Honest Man*, which illustrates by examples from literature and life the ideals to which an honest man should aspire. Another prose writer of this period was Stanisław Orzechowski (1513-66), a Roman Catholic priest who fought long and ardently for permission to marry. His political tracts and writings set forth with merciless exactness, and defended, those traits of the Polish nobility that were to lead later to the downfall of the state and the excessive development of the liberum veto and its resulting anarchy.

The greatest poet of this period was, however, Jan Kochanowski (1530-84). Educated largely in Italy, for the University of Kraków had fallen into a narrow curriculum, Kochanowski became a typical product of the Italian Renaissance and composed elegies in Latin on the model of Tibullus and Propertius; but

he also learned to know and appreciate the Italian vernacular poets. On his return to Poland, he lived the life of a typical gentleman of the day, but after a few years he resumed his literary interests; his work raised Polish poetry to a new level. Thus, after 1571 he produced a metrical version of the *Psalms*, wrote an original tragedy on the Greek pattern, the *Dismissal of the Grecian Envoys* (1577), for the marriage of Jan Zamojski and Krystyna Radziwiłłówna, composed his *Songs on St. John's Eve*, and, after the death of his little daughter Ursula in 1579, the *Laments*. All these poems show his poetic skill and his acquaintance with the classical writers of antiquity. His tragedy is one of the most successful of its type in Renaissance literature. The *St. John's Eve* is more independent of models and perhaps contains modified folk songs. The *Laments* show deep feeling; they are influenced by the *Bible* and also by the *Disputationes Tusculanæ* of Cicero. Kochanowski was the outstanding representative of the Renaissance in Poland. While he did not rise to the stature of a world genius, he was a superior artist and brought after him a large number of imitators, among whom Szymon Szymonowicz (1558-1629) with his *Villagers* achieved independent fame, for their adaptation of the *Idyls* of Theocritus to Polish life.

The latter part of the 16th c. saw the withering of the Reformation influences, especially after the entrance of the Jesuits into the country. Of this Order the greatest and most effective Polish member was Piotr Skarga (1536-1612), for some years rector of the Academy in Wilno and later superior of the Jesuits in Poland with his seat in Kraków. His sermons dealt severe blows to the growing Protestantism in the country; those delivered before the Polish Diets set the standard for political thinking and writing at a time when a large part of Polish energy was absorbed in political activity.

With the 17th c. the Polish decline definitely set in. The Jagiełło dynasty had died out and after the active reign of Stefan Batory, the Swedish kings that were elected were not able to uphold the prestige of the country. In a few years the country was invaded by the Swedes; there came the Cossack wars, and by the end of the century, despite the brilliant military exploit of King Jan Sobieski in defeating the Turks at Vienna in 1683, Poland had lost much of her eastern territory. The educational situation was as bad. The Catholic reaction had introduced narrower ideals of education; the general level of taste and achievement fell steadily, barely interrupted by the epics and other verses of Wacław Potocki (1623-96), especially his poem on the battle of Chocim (1621), and the panegyrics and satires of Samuel ze Skrzypny Twardowski (1600-60).

It is not until the time of Stanisław Konarski (1700-73) that we find any serious attempt made to lift the country from the decay into which it had fallen. A Piarite, he studied in Italy and France and became familiar with the educational reforms that had been carried out in those countries. On his return to Poland, he opened in 1740 the Collegium Nobilium, primarily for the children of the nobles, and introduced into the curriculum the natural sciences. He also attacked the prevailing bad taste in literature and in the 3 v. work *On the efficient form of government* (1760-62), he condemned the abuses that were sapping the vitality of the Polish governmental system.

The work of Konarski found an echo among some of the younger men that gathered around King Stanisław August Poniatowski. Although he was a weak king, unable to make any headway against the ever increasing claims of Russia, he was a cultured gentleman, who sympathized with all attempts to improve education and to foster art. Warsaw became a miniature Versailles, where a tal-

ented group of thinkers and students set to work. The Educational Commission, with Hugo Kołłątaj (1750-1812) as member, accomplished much of value in spreading the reforms of Konarski. Another leader was Stanisław Staszic (1755-1826) with his *Remarks and Warnings*, both plans for the reconstruction of the country. In general the political interests of the day dominated the thought of the country and led to such works as the *History of the Polish people* of Adam Naruszewicz (1733-96), a Jesuit later Bishop of Luck.

Literature in the narrower sense was dominated by the ideas of the French pseudo-classic period and displayed a cosmopolitanism that reflected little of the actual life of the day in Poland. Such was the work of Ignacy Krasicki (1735-1801) with his clear-cut and vivid satires, as the *Monachomachia* and the *Antimonachomachia*, and also a less successful epic poem, *The Battle of Chocim*, and lyric poems. So too with the fables of Stanisław Trembecki (1735-1812) and of Tomasz Kajetan Wegierski (1755-87), the pastorals of Franciszek Karpiński (1741-1825) and the lyrics and fables of Franciszek Dionyz Kniaźnin (1750-1807). The writers were all trying to exemplify the rules laid down by Boileau for literature and to imitate the models set out for them by the French teachers and masters.

The reign of King Stanisław August ended, after the revolt of the Poles under Tadeusz Kościuszko, with the third and total dismemberment of the country and its division among Russia, Prussia, and Austria. This marked the end of the old Republic and literature, but also the beginning of a new period, especially in Congress Poland. Many of the Polish soldiers had escaped abroad to serve with Napoleon; among these Józef Wybicki in 1798 wrote the Polish national hymn *Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła*. Other poets appeared among the legions in Western Europe, but

the main advances in literature came at home, where many of the authors began to break away from the traditional French classical models, to seek inspiration from the newer Romantic movement in either its English or its German forms. Thus Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz (1757-1841), after a prolonged stay in America to which he had come with Kościuszko, wrote a comedy, *The Return of the Envoy*, and then under the influence of Walter Scott wrote historical novels and also ballads in the newer romantic sense. Jan Paweł Woronicz (1757-1829) helped the national spirit with his patriotic and historical songs, and only a few of the authors, as Kajetan Koźmian (1771-1856) continued to draw themes from the ancients, in this case the Romans.

The new period was definitely started by Kazimierz Brodziński (1791-1835) who translated into Polish the ballads of Goethe, Schiller, and Herder, as well as many poems from the other Slavonic languages. In his critical works, as *O klaszyczności i romantyczności* (1818), he was strongly influenced by German thought, but showed an independent judgment quite different from the critics of the pseudo-classic period.

The gloomy mood of much of Romanticism could not fail to appeal to Polish thought after the dismemberment of the country. At the same time its love of the medieval, which could not fail to bring home to the young Poles the past glories of their land, and the cult of the popular language served to increase the patriotism of the Poles and to encourage them to try by various methods to rebuild the national morale. Thus in 1800 there was founded in Warsaw the Society of the Friends of the Sciences. The University of Wilno, reconstructed for the northern provinces, soon became a mecca for the patriotic youth who established themselves in various secret societies, often of a literary character, as the *Philomati* and the *Philareti*.

At the same time there developed in the southeast a definite Polish-Ukrainian school of romantic writers, as Antoni Młczyński (1793-1826) with his poem *Marja*, a tale of the fights of the Poles and Cossacks against the Tatars and the cruel vengeance of the Wojewoda in deceiving his son and killing his wife. Here are all the passions that we meet in the poems of Byron, who by now was popular in Poland as elsewhere in Europe: all the picturing of the past, the heroism, the love of the countryside, that form the themes for the Romantic poem. Later in the same school wrote Józef Bohdan Zaleski (1802-86), all well as Seweryn Goszczyński (1801-76).

Yet it was from the Wilno group that Polish literature received its greatest inspiration, for here the greatest of Polish poets received his training and made his first attempts at literature. This was Adam Mickiewicz.\* Born in 1798 in the village of Zaosie, he entered the University of Wilno in 1815. He seriously devoted himself to literature, at first on the classical pattern; only after 1819, when he left Wilno and became a professor at Kowno, did he come under the influence of the German Romantic poets and begin to study them and make translations of them. This was what his talents needed; his genius developed rapidly, so that in 1822 and 1823 he published the first two volumes of his poems, including besides ballads, Parts II and IV of the *Ancestors*. His stay in the north was soon brought to an end, for in 1824 he was arrested and banished to Russia. The next years he passed in Petersburg, Odessa, and Moscow, where he became friendly with all the leaders of Russian literature, including Pushkin. From this period came the *Crimean Sonnets* and also *Konrad Wallenrod*, the story of the destruction of the Teutonic Knights by the treachery of their leader, Walter, who was really a Lithuanian prince who realized that only by destroying the Order from inside

could he save his country; and also the poem *Farys*, an Arabian tale.

In 1829 he secured permission to go abroad and lived for a while in Switzerland where he met Zygmunt Krasiński, and then to Paris where he met and disagreed with Juliusz Słowacki. At this time the Polish Revolt of 1831 broke out. Mickiewicz tried in vain to return to join the revolutionists. During this period he wrote Part III of the *Ancestors*, a mystical and symbolic dramatic treatment of his own experiences and those of his friends during the investigation of their case at Wilno; he so well incorporated the spirit not only of the youth but of the whole nation that the poem was almost unanimously praised. Here too came the *Books of the Polish Nation and Pilgrimage*, a political and religious description of the path of the Poles in history, and a development of the Messianic character of Suffering Poland and of the need of reformation if the nation was to be worthy of its high calling. He followed these works with his masterpiece, *Pan Tadeusz or the Last Foray in Lithuania*, in 1834. It is a glorification of the life of the Polish nobles on the eve of the Napoleonic invasion of Russia, and it gives us all types of the Polish character, not the least memorable of which is Jacek Soplica, the roistering, self-willed intriguer and brawler turned monk and as Father Robak working to repair the evil that he had formerly done. With its vivid and attractive pictures of the old Poland, its magnificent setting in the Polish countryside, *Pan Tadeusz* is a plea for the reconciliation of the factions which had not lost their power of disagreement in the emigration. It is a true national epic, which reveals all the greatness of the poet.

It was almost the end. Soon after, Mickiewicz came under the influence of Andrzej Towiański, a fanatical Roman Catholic priest who preached that a new period in Christianity was approaching and that he himself was

its prophet. For a while he swept Mickiewicz from his feet; for this and other reasons he was compelled to give up his position as Professor of Slavonic literatures at the Collège de France. He finally recovered from his worst infatuation and spent his last years trying to organize a Polish Legion; at the outbreak of the Crimean War, he went to Constantinople, where he was taken ill and died in 1856.

The second of the great Romantic poets, placed by some critics even above Mickiewicz, is Juliusz Słowacki,\* who was born in 1809 and after the death of his father and the remarriage of his mother was raised in Wilno, which he left in 1829. While there he had conceived a deep passion for Ludwiga Śniadecka which was not returned. In 1829 he went to Warsaw and then in March, 1831, he went abroad, spending most of his life in France or Switzerland with the exception of a journey to Greece, Egypt, and Palestine. He died in 1849. A proud and self-confident poet, he was alternately friend and critic of Mickiewicz who, in his opinion, did not recognize his ability. He began to write early and by 1833 he had written such dramas as *Mindowe* and *Marja Stuart* and narrative poems on the style of Byron, as *Jan Bielecki*, and such lyrics as the *Hymn to the Mother of God* and the *Ode to Freedom*. A sensitive spirit, Słowacki was influenced by the writings of Mickiewicz; many of his works seem to parallel and criticize the older writer's. Thus in *Kordjan*, he gives autobiographical material, but he is much more sceptical as to the value of the youth, and of the emigration, in the reconstruction of Poland. He had planned to make this the first play of a trilogy but he never finished it. Instead, he used much of the material in *Anhelli*, a picture of the Poles in Siberia, although Siberia is here a figurative term for the outcasts who carry with them into exile and hardships all the vices that they had had at home; the hero, Anhelli, a blameless soul, dies as a sort of

sacrifice for his people, but the poet does not allow him to die with the consciousness that his sufferings are not in vain. His other works were varied, as *Beniowski*, the story of the well known 18th c. adventurer; dramas from the pre-history of the Slavs, as *Balladyna* and *Lilla Weneda*; the *Father of the Plague-stricken*, an Eastern tale. Later, after his meeting with Towiański, from whom he soon broke away, he turned to still more philosophic poetry and in the *Genesis of the Spirit* and especially in the unfinished *King Spirit* (*Król-Duch*), he emphasized his religious and philosophical idea that progress comes through the human spirit reaching up to God, without tending to unite God and the Church and nation as Mickiewicz had done. Słowacki as a poet has increased in fame and regard since his early death and he is now recognized as an outstanding figure, even though he does not win the deep affection that Mickiewicz always enjoyed.

The third of the great poets of this group was Zygmunt Krasiński,\* born in 1812 in Paris. He was brought up in Warsaw by his father, a Russophile, and on the approach of the Revolution, was sent to Switzerland; despite his wishes, he was not allowed to take part in the movement. He passed most of his life in Geneva, Rome, and Paris and for a while was shunned by most of the patriotic Poles. He died in 1859. His early writings, influenced by Scott, Byron, and Mickiewicz, attracted little attention but with his *The Undivine Comedy* (1835), he became famous. From his studies of political philosophy and his observance of the popular revolutionary movements, Krasiński realized that the victory of the new would not mean peace but only a continuation of bloodshed, and in this work he pictured the aristocrat Henryk with his love of art and of power, a true Hamlet, and on the other hand the leader of the revolution, Pankracy, a man of firm and unbending will who triumphs over the bodies

of his friends and supporters and who dies with the words, *Galilaeae vicisti*. In the next work, half dramatic and half narrative, *Iridion*, he pictures his hero, a descendant of the Greeks and Germans, who, in the time of Heliogabalus, because of his love for Greece, is devoted to the task of destroying Rome. He is abetted by Masinissa, the apotheosis of the spirit of evil, who is chiefly interested in the destruction of the Christians and the securing of the soul of Iridion, but the latter is saved by his love for Greece after the destruction of Rome. Masinissa shows the influence of Halban in *Konrad Wallenrod*, but the role of Iridion is quite different from that of Walter. Later as in such poems as *The Dawn*, *Psalms of the Future* and *The Psalm of Good Will*, he outlined an optimistic future for Poland, emphasizing the fact that the future must be built on positive qualities and not purely on hate or vengeance.

Besides these masters, the Polish emigration produced a number of other poets of more or less originality, as the unfortunate Cyprian Kamil Norwid (1821-83), Stefan Garczyński (1805-38), Antoni Edward Odyniec (1804-85), Aleksander Chodzko (1804-91). There was also a considerable development of Polish philosophy among the emigrés: Józef Hoehne Wroński (1778-1853), Józef Kremer (1806-75), Karol Libelt (1807-75), Bronisław Ferdynand Trentowski (1807-69), August Cieszkowski (1814-94), all of whom worked in the same general field of adapting the ideas of the poets to serious philosophical writing. When we think of the usual sterility of emigré authors, the remarkable outburst of productivity among the Poles in western Europe after the revolt of 1831 stands as an unusual phenomenon indeed.

In the meantime, life had gone on in Poland, even under foreign occupation. Perhaps the outstanding figure was the dramatist Aleksander Fredro (1783-1876). A Galician and a veteran of the Legions with Napoleon,

he found satisfaction in the hard years that followed by writing his famous comedies, which appeared chiefly before 1835 and which are among the greatest possessions of the Polish stage. In the tradition of Molière, they catch the virtues and the vices, the weaknesses and the foibles, of the Poles of his own day. Such plays as *Ladies and Hussars* and *Maidens' Vows* still preserve their charm and their drawing power. Despite this, Fredro was bitterly attacked by his younger contemporaries of the Romantic period, to whom he seemed trivial and uninspired. Another dramatist who marks the transition to the newer period was Józef Korzeniowski (1797-1863), who discarded the unity of place, under the influence of Schiller and Shakespeare. He is also remembered for his effective prose sketches.

As a matter of fact, within Russian Poland, the poets, as Edmund Wasilewski (1814-46) and Ryszard Berwiński (1819-79) were inferior to the prose writers, as Henryk Rzewuski (1791-1866) who dealt with the historical past, largely on the basis of family traditions; Józef Ignacy Krasicki (1812-87), a many-sided writer; Michał Czajkowski (1804-86) who drew his themes largely from Cossack traditions; Zygmunt Kaczkowski (1826-96); Josef Ignacy Kraszewski (1812-87), a remarkably fluent and prolific writer and journalist who guided Polish literature in Warsaw during the years before the revolt of 1863, and handled all kinds of subjects and styles.

The period between 1831 and 1863 was largely a dead period. The severe punishment meted out after the revolt, together with the loss of so many of the leaders to the emigration, paralyzed development at home. Yet there we find the beginning and strengthening of a definite democratic movement.

It was becoming evident even before the disastrous revolt of 1863 that Polish literature had to find a new expression if it was

to keep pace with modern developments and not be separated from the interests of the people, for the younger generation were being affected by the scientific discoveries of the period and by the spread of the newer social and democratic philosophies. It was necessary to weld this influence with the literature; this was the function of Positivism, which was closely connected with the rise of realism. In one form or another the censorship lay heavy upon all the Polish lands and the authors were often compelled to hide their meaning under circumlocutions and allusions.

It was in this period that there arose the best known of Polish historical novelists, Henryk Sienkiewicz\* (1846-1916). In his early writings he showed the characteristic features of Positivism, but after a trip to the United States, he changed his attitude and without indulging in philosophical meditations, he turned toward the past and with splendid historical ability and with the art of realistic picturing he produced his great historical novels, as the trilogy *With Fire and Sword*, *The Deluge*, *Pan Wołodyjowski*, all pictures of the heroic courage and activity of the 17th c. Poles. They were very popular and served to maintain the national spirit in the days when it was fashionable to neglect ideals and demand cold and stern realism. He was successful also in the novel *Quo Vadis?* a story of the time of the Emperor Nero, wherein the heroine Ligia with her faithful Ursus is a symbol of the suffering Poles, for the Ligi were a tribe mentioned by Tacitus as living on approximately the territory of modern Poland. He was perhaps less successful with his stories from modern life as *Without Dogma* and *The Polanecki Family*, where he endeavors to deal with modern psychological problems in the style of *Hamlet* or *Werther*. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1905.

To this same period belong such prose



writers as Bolesław Prus (pen-name of Aleksander Głowacki, 1847-1914) who, starting with caricatures and light sketches, passed to deeper studies of the life of the individual to sketch the efforts of the merchant class to peasant. In *Lalka* (*The Doll*) he endeavored to break through the reserve of the aristocracy and he continued to hope for a happy solution of the difficulties of his people. Marja z Wasilewskich Konopnicka (1846-1910) in her poetry outlines the sufferings of the people and in *Pan Balcer* she describes the sufferings of the Polish emigrants to Brazil and their efforts to return home. Eliza z Pawłowskich Orzeszkowa (1842-1910) also pictured all phases of peasant life. The philosopher and essayist of this movement was Aleksander Świątłochowski (1849-1938).

This generation, which sought to preserve some of the amenities of the past and at the same time to produce realistic pictures of the people, was soon engulfed in the fuller program of naturalism, which brought the language even closer to the speech of the people and found the courage to paint in clear form even the worst of the abuses that weighed upon the human spirit and rendered it impotent. Yet Polish literature did not remain long in this sphere, which tended to reduce the human spirit to insignificance and to turn men into soulless machines.

Thus we find that Władysław St. Reymont (1868-1925) winner of the Nobel prize in 1925, commenced his work in this direction; in *The Promised Land* he sketched the misery of the life of the factory workers of Łódź and the meanness and pettiness of the owners; in *The Peasants* he used the style to represent in detail a year in the life of a Polish village. There is a stark realism and an attention to detail in the work, but through it all Reymont shows an almost mystical attitude toward the earth and toward the general process of life that works itself out within the framework of the four seasons, whether in human

beings or in the fields. Likewise in the same way he turned back to the last days of old Poland and in another trilogy, *The Last Diet of the Republic*, *Nil Desperandum*, and *Insurrection*, he applies the same careful, apparently disinterested technique which can lead only to an ever-growing appreciation of the importance of Poland and of the Polish people.

Mention must be made of Wacław Sieroszewski (1858-1942), a naturalist in style but a man who spent many years in exile in Siberia and wrote largely of the life of the Siberian peoples and of the Poles exiled there.

At almost the same time there appeared the first traces of what we may call the Decadents and the Neoromantics. Both of these groups started with well-defined principles, but they were far more than copyists of the French models; they worked out their own methods of work. For example Kazimierz Przerwa Tetmajer (1865-1939), starting from a sensual point of view worked his way in *The Legends of the Tatras* to an almost mystical attitude toward the mountains. Jan Kasprówicz (1860-1926), the son of a peasant, developed from Positivism to a form of Prometheanism and then out of apparent despair which could almost predict the triumph of evil, he softened through the *Book of the Poor* to a trust in God, in nature, and in love. Stanisław Przybyszewski (1868-1927) reached a passing fame with his psychological studies, especially in the field of sex.

On the other hand, Stefan Żeromski (1864-1925), inclined to pessimism, emphasized the joylessness in efforts at reform as in *Homeless People*; in *Ashes* he describes the sadness of the Poles that had struggled with Napoleon in the hope of gaining their country's freedom only to have their hopes and aspirations dashed to the ground. He deals with love and human problems in *The History of a Sin*. On the whole, many of his

novels and plays showed the shattering of human hopes, but the outcome of the First World War and the restoration of Polish liberty inspired him with its possibilities; *Wind from the Sea* is an idyllic hymn of praise to Poland's opening on the Baltic.

At the end of the 19th c. there arose, mainly in Kraków, a new movement, Young Poland. This aimed at the restoration of the vitality of Polish art; it took Mickiewicz as a model. The new movement extended to all the arts as well as literature and called for a rejudging of them all on Polish standards. Of this group the most prominent author was Stanisław Wyspiański (1869-1907), a painter as well as a poet and dramatist. There was in him something of the Greek spirit and in some of his early works he tried to rework Greek motifs translated to Poland, seeking out in the legends of his people those elements that were universal and timeless, always with an eye for liberty and justice. His ideas and his aspirations were universal and whether he was writing *The Wedding* with its ostensible theme of a wedding of modern Polish peasants or was describing events of the past as in *The Girl of Warsaw, a song of 1831*, the picture of a Polish girl during that revolt, his theme passes imperceptibly onto an all-Polish and then an all-human plane. Wyspiański stands by himself in the movement, as perhaps the one genius of the modern period. His early death was a great loss to the world.

The years to the First World War saw the expansion of Polish literature in all directions. There was the estheticism of Leopold Staff in poetry, the sensitive writing of Józef Wejssenhaf (1860-1932), the feminine philosophy of Zofja Rieger-Nałkowska (b. 1885), the radical criticism of Stanisław Brzozowski (1878-1911), the romanticism of Strug (Tadeusz Galecki, b. 1873).

With the restoration of national independence, a new spirit came over the literature. There was a new freedom, a new possi-

bility for working without fear of the censor; and still new movements arose. In poetry there was the group centering around the literary journal *Skamander*, represented by Julian Tuwim, (b. 1894) with his emphasis upon the individual word, to which he gave various meanings, the more rhetorical and oratorical Antoni Słonimski (b. 1895) and Jan Lechoń (b. 1899). All of these, with their associates, sought to improve the quality of the poetry even at the cost of associating literature with the national interests, as had been the rule in the 19th c. Kazimierz Wierzyński (b. 1894), who won the first prize in poetry in the Olympic games in Amsterdam, varied between laying emphasis on the joys of living and the despondency of humanity. Iłła Kazimiera Iłłakowiczówna (Iłłakowicz; b. 1892) expresses the sufferings of the human heart, while Marja Pawlikowska has worked out a style that is laconic in its picturing of the sense and nonsense of life. Władysław Broniewski (b. 1898), on the other hand, espoused the cause of the proletariat.

In prose, the older men found a new inspiration, but Reymont, Kasproicz and Zeromski did not live long. Włodzimierz Perzyński (1878-1930) emphasized the life in Warsaw and Wacław Berent (1873-1940) employed a singularly stylized language in his novels on medieval Europe. Of the younger authors may be mentioned Eugeniusz Korwin-Mańczewski (1895-1922) with his novels based upon his war experiences. Still more important is Ferdynand Goetel (b. 1890) with his involved tale *Z dnia na dzień* (*From Day to Day*) which consists of two novels intertwined, describing life in Turkestan. In the field of historical novels, Zofja Kossak-Szczucka has achieved the most, although this type rather fell into disfavor during the years when Poland was occupied with its future rather than its past.

Wanda Wasilewska is perhaps the most

prominent of the Communist authors, but similar ideas are expressed by Leon Kruczkowski, while Juljusz Kadren-Bandrowski (b. 1885) is among the foremost supporters of Marshal Pilsudski in his criticisms of Polish life. Jarosław Iwaskiewicz (b. 1894) and Michał Choromański (b. 1904) are among the best portrayers of atmosphere. Special mention must be made of Józef Wittlin (b. 1896), originally a Hellenist, but later the author of *The Salt of the Earth*, a tale of the First World War. In literary criticism, Tadeusz Boy-Zeleński (b. 1874) has been outstanding.

The tragedies of World War II caused the

death, disappearance, or exile of many of the leading authors and the split between the Polish Government in exile and the Soviet-dominated Lublin government bids fair to create a new emigration or a purely Communist literature. We can only hope that the Polish spirit will find a place in the new world of peace and prosperity that is so glibly assumed by all the rest of the world.

R. Dyboski, *Periods of Polish Literary History*, 1924; *Modern Polish Literature*, 1924; J. Krzżanowski, *Polish Romantic Literature*, 1930; A. and M. Mazanowsky, *Podręcznik do dziejów literatury polskiej*, 6 v., 1919; W. Feldman, *Wpółczesna Literatura Polska*, 1930.

CLARENCE A. MANNING.

## POLYNESIAN

POLYNESIA ("the many islands") encompasses the vast Pacific triangle stretching from the Hawaiian Islands in the north to New Zealand in the south and from Easter Island in the east to Samoa and Tonga in the west. The adjoining culture areas of Melanesia and Micronesia (here also discussed) have several islands with a culture predominantly Polynesian.

The last part of the world to be settled by human beings, Polynesia, an area of scattered coral atolls and volcanic isles, was occupied by a tall, brown-skinned people a few centuries after the beginning of the Christian era. Though of mixed racial origin, Polynesians are considered more Caucasian-like than the inhabitants of Melanesia ("the black islands") and Micronesia ("the little islands"), which lie between Polynesia and the western homeland of the Oceanic peoples somewhere on or near the Asiatic mainland. The term "Malayo-Polynesian" for the major linguistic stock of the region suggests but one of the many cultural relationships among these several Oceanic culture areas. Although

the Melanesians and Micronesians, especially those living on islands which sometime in the past received Polynesian influence, share many mythological motifs, characters, and stock incidents with the Polynesians to the east, the literary patterns, style, and degree of development differ. Resemblances between the native literatures of Polynesia and Australia are negligible.

Polynesian native literature, which was transmitted orally from one generation to another because of the absence of writing, ranks in quality of literary expression and philosophy with the literatures of ancient Greece and India. The imagery is as colorful and appealing as the landscape—a frequent source of poetic inspiration—and the literary structure is as bold and carefully planned as the voyages. The abstract and metaphysical character of Polynesian speculation on the origin and nature of both the external world and the inner life of man was systematized by the priesthood and embodied in chants whose beauty of phrase and elevation of thought survive even in translation. Ever

since Captain Cook brought the attention of the Old World to the South Seas, the contrast between the Stone Age material culture of the Polynesians and the high level of their aesthetic, intellectual, and religious life has been a source of comment among Europeans.

Because they recorded events and human relationships, native author-raconteurs were valuable to the aristocracy in establishing claims to the physical, social, and religious prerogatives of rank. Satisfaction in the weaving of sounds with ideas led some artists into literary experimentation. Words were also woven into magical formulae to be used in every activity of the day, whether to release a canoe from the control of forest and land deities, or to invoke the goddess of the dance, or to "wake up" an artisan's tools after a night's rest. Greetings were expressed in lyrics and eulogies, farewells in dirges. Polynesians had a name for every narrative and poetic form, and each had its proper time and place. Prose and poetry unite in the myths, legends, traditions, and romances. Often the chants are the oldest and most stable part of the narratives. The art of recitation was much elaborated through control of the voice and the accompaniment of pantomime, dances, and such musical instruments as drums and flutes. In the laments, tears and wailing were both a spontaneous and a socially standardized accompaniment of the chanting.

#### *Literary Artists and Their Education.*

New Zealand and the Society Islands had famous houses of learning, really primitive universities, at which the ancestral lore, genealogies, traditions, religion, magic, navigation, agriculture, literary composition, and all the arts and crafts were taught by learned priests. One New Zealand school was open for five months of the year and the pupils studied from sunrise till midnight. The school-house, ritually built, faced the rising sun, and

was dedicated with a human sacrifice. On the first night, the priests took their classes to a stream where water was ritually dropped from a blade of grass into each pupil's ears with the hope that this and the priest's incantation would make him attentive and accurate. An excerpt from the priest's exhortation and prayer is as follows:

Be fruitful thy knowledge as also the love  
of it,

Be fruitful as the learned high priests of old,  
Be fruitful thy memory, as the all-knowing  
gods,

Be fruitful of all things outside, as far as the  
thoughts may extend,

Be fruitful of knowledge of the Sacred  
Heavens—

Of the Heavens where first arose the priests,  
To the distant Heavens, to those divided from  
the uppermost Heavens,

O Io-e,

Disclose thy way with the ancient and erudite,  
The way of the Gods, O Io-the-origin-of-all-  
things!

Cause to descend without and beyond—  
To descend within these pupils, these sons;  
(That their memories may acquire the sup-  
port of the gods)

The ancient learning, the occult learning,  
By thee, O Io-e.

The two branches of learning were the Upper Jaw, having to do with the gods and cosmology, and the Lower Jaw, having to do with terrestrial matters. Accuracy of repetition was heavily stressed, but the number of variants of myths and chants, and the changes known to have been made to suit the current winds of political and religious schisms, suggest that accuracy was an ideal held up largely to impress the lay public, priestly initiates, and lesser priests. On the other hand, repetition without error had magical value, and the homogeneity of the oral literature of

the vast area of Polynesia indicates how seriously the precept of accurate repetition was regarded.

Other eastern Polynesians besides New Zealand and central Polynesia had formal courses of higher learning. Hawaii had a famous college of heraldry. Western Polynesia, however, lacked such schools and formal courses, as well as the high degree of systematization of traditions and philosophic thought, which reached an apex in New Zealand. Nonetheless, the Samoans shared the literary genius of other Polynesians, and among their distinguished litterateurs were, for instance, the "talking chiefs," who, as their name implies, were gifted orators skilled in protocol, traditions, genealogies, and composition. They served superior chiefs as statesmen and diplomats and in some instances gained more authority than the high chiefs.

In general, the hallmark of any well-born and well-trained chief was his ability to give orations with an abundance of religious and historical allusions, metaphors, similes, and proverbs. He must also be able, when occasion demanded, to compose suitable poetry.

In addition to the specialists in the more serious forms of literature, Polynesia had specialists in entertainment. Chiefs had attendants that sat up with them till daybreak to tell stories, gossip, and play games. In Hawaii these court retainers were called *ma-ko'u*, after the strings of burning nuts used for light. The *hula*, a combination of dance, music, poetry, and pantomime, was highly developed in Hawaii and of divine origin. The companies of dancers were under the patronage of the goddess Laka, strictly trained, and surrounded with many tapus. The specially built hall in which the *hula* was anciently performed had an altar. At the Hawaiian courts, as in some other parts of Polynesia, the sports, some of which had lives staked on the outcome, included literary

tournaments for composing poetry, riddling, punning, reciting the spiritual and material names of places and objects, and giving other exhibitions of wit, word-juggling, and knowledge. Court ladies passed their time in composing chants to eulogize the royalty.

The Marquesas had bands of loosely organized entertainers, the *kaioi*, who traveled about the archipelago. Though criticized for their wastrel, effeminate ways, they drew large, enthusiastic audiences, which sat on raised terraces to watch the performances on the stone platforms below. The Society archipelago had the Areoi Society, a semi-religious organization of several grades and complex initiation and membership rules. The members, who, unlike the *kaioi*, were respected and honored and went after death to a lovely heaven, traveled in great canoes from island to island giving entertainments of dramas, chants, dances, orations, and narratives based on the exploits of gods, demigods, heroes, chiefs, and persons in the public eye. Performances were held in specially constructed houses, holding thousands of people, or on board the large Areoi canoes lined up to face the shore. Many islands used their public plaza or the community hall for entertainments; some had, in addition, houses exclusively for recreation. Entertainers and composers received gifts, special food at feasts, and other indications of respect and appreciation. Individual members of the audience would reward them for request numbers or compositions made to order.

Those that received schooling or training in composition, narration, and chanting were usually of noble birth, but did not form a special, intellectual class except in Mangaeva, Marquesas, and Easter Island. In Mangaeva they assisted the priests by composing and directing certain of the religious chants and activities in sacred ceremonies and had in their keeping the accepted versions of genealogies, historical narratives, and other

literature. From them, song experts, skilled in composing and teaching, obtained themes for the songs they originated for popular taste.

The presence of specialists in oral literature did not discourage any Polynesian, whether of noble or lower birth, from cultivating the art if he or she wished. Because some of the hero cycles and romances, which were among the most popular literary forms, were very complicated and long, individuals who wished to satisfy their literary bent and win public admiration would often specialize in narratives about a single, favorite character. Daily life in Polynesia also required knowledge of many incantations, chants, traditions, proverbs, and fables. Every craft and occupation had its magical formulae, religious history, myths, and traditions. Besides their practical value in gaining the assistance of the gods, these gave dignity, prestige, and background to the worker and to those that used the results of his work.

#### *Language and Literature.*

One language, though differentiated into dialects, existed in Polynesia, and its beauty and melodiousness were deeply appreciated by the natives, as their delight in poetry and word play reveals. One of the principal dialectical differences is in the consonant sounds. Some, such as *k*, *ng*, and *h*, are not always fully sounded from island to island, being indicated by a glottal stop, while shifts occur, for instance, between *l* and *r*, *w* and *v*, *k* and *t*, *k* and *ng*, and *s* and *h*. Thus, the ancient homeland, *Hawaiki*, and the god *Tangaroa* (or *Takaroa*) of New Zealand, are called *Savai'i* and *Tangaloa* in Samoa, *Havai'i* and *Ta'aroa* in the Society Islands, and *Hawai'i* and *Kanaloa* in the Hawaiian Islands. The language has a full quota of vowels, which have a Continental pronunciation, and the consonants are always followed by a vowel.

Even a person unfamiliar with the lan-

guage can recite some of the simpler chants out loud to get a feeling for the character of the language and such elements of literary style as euphony (often enhanced by adding a final *e* to a phrase or sentence), alliteration, metathesis, repetition, parallelism, counting-out formulae, rhetorical questions, and a plethora of proper names and epithets of gods, people, places, and objects.

Numerous stock phrases, many of them now archaic and obscure, were inserted in the chants for the sake of euphony and rhythm. *Titi* and *Tata*, *Vivi* and *Vava* are two recurrent combinations of words or names in the genealogies. Often the couplet, *i te noti*, *i te nota* (in the this, in the that), rounds out a sentence. Illustrative of the onomatopoeic tendencies is the couplet in a creation chant, *te ua topitipiti*, *te ua topatapata* (the pittering rain, the pattering rain). Word- and name-splitting was a favorite Samoan literary stereotype, as in the myth about Tutu and Ila, a couple, whose combined names are traditionally the origin of the name of Tutuila Island. The use of the cardinal directions, as well as upwards and downwards, inland and seawards, is frequent in prose and chant.

Words were chosen to harmonize in sound and meaning with the theme and mood of the composition. Thus, a chant for kneading breadfruit into a smooth paste has a harsh, jerky sound to suit the action of the worker, while a lyric chant has a plaintive ring. The tone color of the language, and the euphonious lengthening of the final syllables and vowels, make many chants seem, when heard, to have at least the rudiments of rhyme, meter, or melody. However, the deliberate cultivation of these three qualities was virtually nonexistent. The main characteristics of the Polynesian chants are their simple, irregular, but deeply felt rhythm, their quavery endings, emphasis on vowel-values, and the narrow tonal range which gives the effect of a monotone. N. B. Emerson writes: "The voice

goes wavering and liting along like a canoe on a rippling ocean. Then, of a sudden, it swells upward, as if lifted by some wave of emotion; and there for a time it travels with the same fluctuating movement, soon descending to its old monotone, until again moved to rise on the breast of some fresh impulse." This style of recitation is used for all the chants, even at times in conversation. To be magically efficacious, many chants must be recited in one breath. The effect of rapid, breathless recitation was cultivated in many secular chants.

The following Tuamotuan text, freely translated by J. F. Stimson, the collector, illustrates the language and the poetic style of the elegaic lament, which like many similar forms, has two solo voices, a chorus, and a refrain. The chant is from the cycle about the demi-god Tahaki, who went to look for his lost father:

*First Voice:*

Kua mate a pa te metua,  
(Perchance the father has perished long ago,)

*Second Voice:*

Noho noa ai  
(Remaining)

*Chorus:*

Nohonoho noa iho ka huna a ki te piu e.  
Kua garo paha i tinai mai i a ku e.  
Tae mai nei te hakaaroa—kua mate.  
(So long, so long remaining there below,  
Concealed by the restless waves.  
Perchance he has forever vanished from my  
sight—a light extinguished.  
Compassion fills my heart—for he is dead.)

*Refrain:*

Te tama hakarere ki Havaiki, rohi e,  
Nana noa, hipahipa noa, kimikimi noa—  
Tagitagi te tama ka hakarere.  
Kua mate a pa te metua e,

(The son speeds on to Havaiki with dauntless courage,  
Glancing above, ever gazing over the sea, ever seeking, seeking—  
Ceaselessly the son weeps as he speeds swiftly on,  
Perhaps the father has perished long ago.)

(After four verses to develop the themes, comes the epilogue):

E te kitaratara toa a te ipo!  
Titi-aroha te ipo e!  
Ere, aui, i, i, e!  
(Oh, the heroic fortitude of the loved father!  
Oh, the cherished father inspiring profound compassion!  
Alas, alas!)

The language also lends itself to pithy expression, as in the following Mangarevan war chant:

One people,  
One war cry,  
One god,  
One man.  
Death to the underworld!  
Life on earth!

Many of the ancient chants are so obscure, due to forgotten euphuisms, allegories, double and even triple meanings, as to be untranslatable by present-day Polynesians. Among the most beautiful of the old chants is the following *mele*, or poetic composition, from Kauai in the Hawaiian archipelago, about the water of life, the water of Kane.

A query, a question,  
I put to you:  
Where is the water of Kane?  
At the Eastern Gate  
Where the Sun comes in at Haehae;  
There is the water of Kane.

A question I ask of you:  
Where is the water of Kane?  
Out there with the floating Sun,  
Where the cloud-forms rest on Ocean's breast,  
Uplifting their forms at Nihoa,  
This side the base of Lehua;  
There is the water of Kane.

One question I put to you:  
Where is the water of Kane?  
Yonder on mountain peak,  
On the ridges steep,  
In the valleys deep,  
Where the rivers sweep;  
There is the water of Kane.

This question I ask of you:  
Where, pray, is the water of Kane?  
Yonder, at sea, on the ocean,  
In the driving rain,  
In the heavenly bow,  
In the piled-up mist-wraith,  
In the blood-red rainfall,  
In the ghost-pale cloud-form;  
There is the water of Kane.

One question I put to you:  
Where, where is the water of Kane?  
Up on high is the water of Kane,  
In the heavenly blue,  
In the black-piled cloud,  
In the black-black cloud,  
In the black-mottled sacred cloud of the gods;  
There is the water of Kane.

One question I ask of you:  
Where flows the water of Kane?  
Deep in the ground, in the gushing spring,  
In the ducts of Kane and Loa,  
A well-spring of water, to quaff,  
A water of magic power—  
The water of life!  
Life! O give us this life!

### *Forms and Subjects of Literature.*

Polynesians had names for various forms of narratives and chants. Mangarevans, for example, had the generic term *atoga* for all oral literature such as myths, legends, traditions, historical narratives, and folk tales and their illustrative chants, songs, and incantations. Although the same literary terms recur throughout Polynesia and its zone of influence, the meaning of the terms differs from one island to another. For instance, in New Zealand, an *oriori* is a lullaby, full of historical allusions and names, which the mother sings to a son so that he will learn about his ancestors and what is expected of him when he grows up. In Tikopia, a Polynesian cultural outlier in Melanesia, an *oriori* is a formal recital of thanks in a definite pattern. Few people are considered competent enough to recite it.

In general, the nomenclature of the chants is derived from the mood they portray and the purpose they serve. The *tangi* is a lament about separation from loved people and places, the *anau* (Tahaki's chant, above, is an example) is a plaintive, solitary meditation, an elegy, while the *fa'ateniteni*, to use but one more of dozens of possible examples, is an ode, usually addressed to its object, whether a chief, an island, or nature.

Differences in intensity of mood are recognized. Thus at the memorial services held some months after the death of a great person, many *tangi*, which refer to the dead person and his exploits, are composed. They are interspersed with less emotional chants like the *pehe* and the *tiau*. The latter term is translated as "light showers," very appropriate since the *tangi* is accompanied by loud wailing and weeping.

Terms for myths, tales, legends, and traditions also vary. *Fananga*, a common literary term, has the particular connotation in Tonga, Uvea, and Futuna of an entertaining fiction.



Narrators themselves differ as to what is a *fananga* and what a *talatupua*, a tale of the gods. Polynesian author-raconteurs seem to have taken the first step toward classification and nomenclature, but did not develop much consistency. The same lack of consistency appears in distinctions between what is sacred lore and what is secular.

Gods, demi-gods, spirits, heroes, and chiefs are the principal characters in the literature. However, there are far more animal tales and fables than is evident in the published collections. The unusual cosmogonies, tribal histories, and heroic sagas have always so fascinated collectors that they have tended either to ignore less impressive material or dismiss it with one or two examples. Many little stories exist about the origin of animal peculiarities and places in the landscape. Mythological animal kingdoms of the kind familiar from the *Panchatantra* do not occur. Particular animal characters recur throughout Polynesia, because of being linked with some great hero. The Princess Hina's eel lover, Tuna, from whose buried head the coconut tree originated, is an example. In Hawaii many myths are told about a being half pig, half human.

While each island and tribe has oral literature peculiar to itself, it also has narratives whose themes and characters are known throughout Polynesia. The diversity of local literary invention is as remarkable as the extraordinary homogeneity. The literature of each island has both the charm of the familiar and the fascination of the new. And even in the case of the widely known and undoubtedly old myths, the amount of ingenious variation from one island to another has a constant interest.

Scarcely a Polynesian island does not have myths about such famous characters as, for example, Maui, Tahaki, Hema, Rata, Hina, Tinirau, and Kae. In New Zealand, where the literature was much systematized, the

famous gods, heroes, and demi-gods stand in some relationship to each other. Maui is Tinirau's brother-in-law or the first husband of Tinirau's wife, while Hema is Tahaki's father and Rata's great-grandfather. In every island, these great names appear on the genealogies of chiefs, who sometimes were honored by being credited with the deeds of the ancient heroes, while the old heroes sometimes get the credit for the deeds of their descendants.

Because the widely known characters in the cosmogony and mythology are so ancient in Polynesian culture, there is much firmness in the way certain episodes and characteristics are attached to them. Rata's name is usually associated with an episode about building a canoe. When he chopped down a tree, he carelessly omitted the proper rites for the forest spirits. Consequently the next morning he found his tree upright with every chip and leaf in place. After several days of this, he behaved as he should have in the first place and pleased the spirits so that they made a wonderful canoe which they launched on a rainbow.

Tinirau, a vain, handsome, shallow chief, is known for his domestic troubles and his ocean pets, especially a whale which Kae, a priest, unkindly killed and ate after Tinirau had loaned it to him for transportation. Tahaki, the epitome of all that a Polynesian chief should be in the way of true nobility of heart and mind as well as physical perfection, is known for his search for his lost father.

Maui, the best known of all Polynesian characters, is a happy-go-lucky trickster and culture hero who improved the world for mankind at the expense of the old gods of the pantheon. The purpose of most of his exploits seems to have been to show his disrespect for the *status quo* and those that were trying to preserve it. This accounts for much of his popularity in the halls of entertain-

ment. Maui's exploits include the stealing of fire for mankind, the raising of the sky, the fishing up of islands, and the snaring of the sun to make the day longer. So numerous are his deeds that the Tuamotuans call him Maui-of-a-thousand-tricks.

Hina, the principal feminine figure in Polynesian literature, is the eternal feminine. She does not have the distinctly differentiated personality that the famous demi-gods have. Actually there are many Hinas, the name being distinguished by epithets descriptive of various attributes.

Among the heroes with only a regional distribution are Alo-alo, Son of the Sun, of western Polynesia, and Hiro and Honokura of central Polynesia. Whether a semi-legendary or mythical hero is merely locally or widely known, it is evident that the author-rconteurs follow a pattern plot. Either the hero is of supernatural origin like Maui who originated from an abortion, or he is the son of a visiting chief who leaves tokens of royalty which his wife is to give the child if it is a boy. When the boy matures he is to bring the tokens to his father's court and claim the position due him there. The hero grows up with half-brothers who are so jealous of his precocity that they even kill him a few times and taunt him for having no father. He is always restored to life, however, and learns who his father is. He goes to him, joins in the court contests, wins them and thereby obtains his father's recognition but the hatred of the half-brothers at the court. Later the hero sets out on a monster-killing journey, performs wonderful exploits, and like his father meets a beautiful chieftainess whom he marries and leaves. The cycle then continues with the familiar pattern. In the more primitive form of the pattern the son goes to seek his father who has been carried off by monsters.

Usually the saga is localized on Hawaiki, which is the term applied either to the ances-

tral home of the islanders, to the western land to which spirits of the dead go, as an ancient name of some of the Polynesian islands, or to a mythical land above or below the earth. The name is less prominent in western Polynesia, where its place as a spirit world is largely taken by Pulumotu. Polynesian literature, though often vague about time setting, is generally very definite about geographical localization. One of the stylistic devices of both narratives and chants is to recite place names and their attributes.

### *Traditional History.*

Most islands distinguish between the serious, scholarly literature dealing with religion, family history, genealogies, and events of the past and that which is narrated to pass the time and foster good fellowship. If one does not force it, Peter H. Buck's classification of the traditional history of each island according to three divisions of time is a useful guide, giving one perspective on the material which each island regards as historical. The three time periods are the mythical, the exploratory or migratory, and the settlement.

The islanders themselves, however, commonly conceptualize but two major time periods, the one before and the one after their arrival in their present homeland. In the Chatham Islands, for example, the Moriori apply the term *Ko Matangiao* (Peter H. Buck thinks this may mean "wind cloud," implying 'borne from afar,' in contrast to the tales of later life, heard directly) to narratives about their pre-dispersal life in Hawaiki and the term *Hokorongotiring'*, ("hearing of the ears") to narratives about events after the ancestral canoes had left Hawaiki and come to the Chathams. Like other islanders, the Moriori differ among themselves as to whether certain events, persons, and legends belong to one or the other period. Information about the earlier period is usually secret and too tapu to be revealed except under the most

sacred conditions. In New Zealand, some of the priests declared that the genealogies and traditions prior to the time of Maui must not be revealed to ordinary people, while legends about him and the heroes that lived after him might be narrated about the camp fire.

The "mythical period" might be more accurately called, from the native point of view, the period of genesis, for it includes such cosmogonic occurrences as the origin of the world, the gods, mankind, and the beginnings of culture in the ancestral homeland.

Traditions about the exploratory or migratory period tell of the reasons for the departure from Hawaiki; the explorations which culminated in the discovery of the new home by the leaders from whom the ruling aristocracy of the island now traces its descent; the conquest or relationship worked out with previous settlers there, if any; and the initial colonization of the new land. Those gods and semi-divine heroes that are widely known in Polynesia and perhaps were known to the Polynesians when they first came into the eastern Pacific are the major characters in the events of the mythical period. In myths about the migratory period, they share or fight for honors with the more immediate ancestors of the settlers and the locally originated gods. The ancient gods and heroes rarely appear as leading characters in narratives of the settlement period. Instead, they function in the plots much as in daily life, watching that due respect is accorded them and aiding those that, in the prescribed manner, ask for assistance.

The period of settlement can usefully be subdivided so that the first part ends with the arrival of Europeans. The first part of the settlement period involves such occurrences as the political, religious, and personal feuds, intrigues, and wars between families in their struggle for power, the travels and adventures of the leaders who visited other lands, and the budding off of sub-tribes.

While some of the peripheral islands have only a fragment or two about the mythical and exploratory periods, narratives about the period of settlement are fairly complex and diverse in nearly every island, as they describe local events and personalities. There is more homogeneity of content in the material about the two early periods from island to island. The parent island sometimes has traditions about the origin of the colonists, and the colonists carry with them the learning of the old home. Myths that islands distant from each other share about the period of genesis were usually carried from a central homeland, which in southern, east-central and north-eastern Polynesia seems to have been Ra'iatea (Havai'i was one of its ancient names) in the Society archipelago.

In their accounts about the three periods, islands differ not only in what and how much they narrate but in how numerous and systematized their records are. Regions of higher cultures like the Society group, New Zealand, Rarotonga, Hawaii, Samoa, and Tonga, which had a large population and many tribes, have a number of elaborate and highly rationalized traditions about each of the periods, although the western Polynesians tend to obscure records of the migratory period in order to describe themselves as autochthonous in the archipelago. On the other hand, islands like Rotuma, Uvea, Pukapuka, Manihiki, Rakahanga, Tongareva, and the Australs that are peripheral culturally and geographically to the above-named islands and received colonists from them, have very brief traditional histories, especially about the periods of genesis and migration.

Environment has affected literary production in that the high volcanic islands which are more spacious and fertile than the coral atolls were able to support a sizable population which divided the labor of getting the basic necessities of life and thus freed some of the people to become specialists in arts and

crafts. As the population and the number of specialists in traditional history increased and new tribes formed, cults and schisms originated, each with its priests and followers who developed their own versions of the traditions for the aggrandizement of their own tribe. Their versions they regarded as true and correct, and other versions, even from the same island, as incorrect.

So authoritatively and impressively obscurely do some narrative experts recite their genealogies and traditions that all too often European scholars have accepted the accounts as direct history rather than as source material for the reconstruction of history. They have tended to overlook the great practical significance of the traditions in bolstering the political and religious claims of particular tribes and families and in establishing sanctions and precedents for daily activity. Realization of the importance of the native literature, including the historical records, chants, proverbs, and the like in supporting claims to land ownership and political authority led Sir George Grey, governor of New Zealand in the mid-19th c., to learn the native language as well as "their manners, customs, and prejudices" so that he might be a better administrator. His collections and superb translations have made his *Polynesian Mythology* a world classic. Unfortunately, his notes, if any, of how these traditions were used in presenting claims to him have not been published.

Peripheral islands undoubtedly had more traditions than our ethnographies reveal. Before descriptions of their culture could be obtained, many of these islands had been nearly depopulated and their culture broken by European "blackbirders" seeking slaves. Small barren atolls or isolated volcanic isles as most were, they were unattractive to ambitious high chiefs who for political and personal reasons found it expedient to strike out over the ocean with priests, scholars, warriors,

and the rest of their retinue to find a new home. Small islands were often settled by one family of settlers, from whom most of the present residents now claim descent. This was the case with Manihiki and Rakahanga, two atolls twenty-five miles apart. According to tradition, Toa, the first settler, was a Rarotongan warrior whose defeat made it advisable for him to leave the Cook Islands and settle in Rakahanga which his brother-in-law, Huku, had just discovered. What cosmogony and ancient history was known to the first family was probably in the keeping of Toa himself, who evidently was not a man of learning, for the islanders now know almost nothing about the period of genesis, and the narrative about the exploratory period is brief. However, records of the settlement period are fairly full, and the genealogies and family histories are still accepted as evidence when cases involving such records come before the British-administered land courts.

The native oral literature, particularly that of the more serious type just described, is important as a source of direct and indirect evidence to scholars attempting to reconstruct Polynesian history. Two of the major controversial issues on which evidence from native literature is brought to bear concern (1) the region from which the Polynesians originally came and the geographical route, whether through Micronesia, Melanesia, or both, which they followed in their migrations to their eastern Pacific home; and (2) the origin and character of cultural differences among the Polynesian islands. Adherents of the so-called "two-strata theory" believe that the variations resulted from the blending of two or more different cultures that entered Polynesia at different times, while other scholars maintain that most of the differences can be accounted for through various processes of change and differentiation acting upon one original culture.

With the aid of native traditions, theorists

have traced Polynesian ancestry to the ancient Egyptians, Cushites, lost tribes of Israel, and a myriad of other peoples of the Old World. Solar and lunar mythologists have worked over the myths, and many a lay as well as professional mythologist has pointed out resemblances of Polynesian myths to those of every part of the world. Particular theories would take too long to describe but the following brief summary of some of the general points based in part on the study of the native literature, on which some scholars now agree, may be helpful.

Anthropologists conjecture that the pressure of population in the ancient homeland which resulted from natural increase and the dislocations of people due to war and other social upheavals, squeezed out some inhabitants and pushed them farther and farther from the old home somewhere on the Asiatic mainland until generations later the descendants of these immigrants reached the islands of the eastern Pacific.

For lack of any better or newer guess, many anthropologists still accept the date of 450 A.D. as being about the time when the Polynesians first began to come into their present homeland. The date was selected in the last half of the 19th c. by European scholars, after analyses and interpretations of native genealogies and traditions.

The island that the Polynesians first "fished up" can only be a guess. However, the Samoan and Society archipelagoes were early centers of cultural development. Some of the archipelagoes, like Hawaii and New Zealand, were settled early, but for some reason maintained no contact with the cultural centers for several centuries. One of the greatest of cultural centers was Ra'iatea in the Society group. It was the mecca of learning and religion for Polynesia and drew distinguished conclaves of scholars, priests, and chiefs from other islands. It was the port of embarkation for colonizing fleets.

The great period of Polynesian culture and intra-Polynesian colonization started about the 12th c. A.D. and culminated in the 14th c. with the departure of a fleet to settle New Zealand, which, however, had an older stratum of population. By the beginning of the great period, the general character of Polynesian culture as it survived into early historic times had been established.

Colonists carried to the farthest islands of the region the basically similar culture and physical type that gives so much homogeneity to Polynesia as a culture area and gives its native literature the overwhelming aspect of being composed by one versatile literary genius. Though local variations inevitably developed through elaboration or degeneration as the result of geographical differences, isolation from the culture center, and the effect of assimilation with earlier residents, the basic cultural pattern was never obscured. Elements of the culture even diffused westward into Melanesia and Micronesia.

The last great phase of native history began with the arrival of European explorers, the most famous of whom was Captain Cook. The journals of his three voyages are important sources of information about Polynesian culture and contain among the earliest and best accounts of the intellectual life of the people. Missionaries, traders, and colonists from Europe followed the explorers. Since the Polynesians had no writing, the records we have of their native literature were written down by Europeans or European-trained Polynesians.

### *Cosmogony.*

An outstanding characteristic of Polynesian literature is the amount of lively inquiry into the philosophical question of the ultimate origin of the world, the gods, and mankind. Indicative of this investigative spirit and literary style is the beginning of a Tuamotuan chant about the origin of the world:

A question as to origins!  
 An inquiry into the sources!  
 I inquire as far back as The Source.  
 A question as to the origins—  
 An inquiry into the source!  
 The Great Source is above.  
 The Little Source is below.  
 It is the beginning of gods and men.

But since so many questioned, there were many answers. A routine Tuamotuan introduction to inspire confidence in the knowledge of the native scholar and impress the listener with the sacred nature of the information to be imparted follows:

Now appears the master of learning!  
 Now comes the fountainhead of learning!

First wisdom,  
 Middle wisdom,  
 Last wisdom,  
 Forward wisdom.

It is the emptying of a bag,  
 and throwing-off of words.  
 I soar! I approach my theme!  
 My teaching here is a sacred lore.  
 Oh my chief, I now probe down,  
 down into my knowledge,  
 down into my learning,  
 down to the Great Source,  
 down to the Little Source.

In the maze of native teachings, Dixon has given the uninitiated laymen a guide by pointing out that Polynesians have two principal types of cosmogonic ideas. They are (1) the evolutionary or genealogical form, according to which the cosmos and the gods evolved from an original chaos and (2) the creative form, according to which one or more pre-existent deities performed acts of creation.

Most of the regions of higher Polynesian culture have both types of cosmogonic ideas and frequently combine them in one account, explaining the early phases of world origin

by evolutionary development and the later phases by the creative acts of gods. Such is the case in New Zealand, Tuamotus, Society Islands, Hawaiian Islands, Marquesas, and Samoan Islands. The tribes in these archipelagoes believe that the solid substance of the earth evolved from a primeval Nothingness, Void, or Chaos, called in Samoa *Leai* and in the islands to the east and south, *Kore*. *Kore* is either preceded or followed by a period of *Po*, primal Darkness or Night, a concept which is rare, if not entirely absent, in western Polynesia.

The way in which these archipelagoes combine the creative and evolutionary phases of their cosmogony shows regional differentiation. The concept of primary parents who beget the great gods that are in charge of the various departments of the world is found in New Zealand and the islands to the north and east, but is absent from western Polynesia. In New Zealand, the primary parents are personified as the Sky Father and Earth Mother. The primary parents and their children play a creative role in shaping the world and in making mankind after the solid substance of the earth has evolved after aeons of progressive change from Chaos. Usually the origin of the primary parents is hazy. However, some New Zealand tribes recite an evolutionary genealogy for the Sky Father: from Chaos who begat Darkness who begat Light who begat Space who begat Moisture who begat Atmosphere who was the immediate parent of Rangi, the Sky Father. The latter took to wife Papa, the personified Earth Stratum, whose origin is seldom clearly explained.

Although the names of the primary parents differ in some islands, they generally signify the Upper and Lower Strata of the world, or, in other words, the overhanging atmosphere and the solid earth foundation. *Atea* (Atmosphere) and *Papa* (Earth Stratum) are the most widely spread names, but there is a

tendency particularly in the coral atolls to name the Lower Stratum Fakahotu (To-cause-to-begin-to-form). which has the implication of a coral upgrowth, while the volcanic islands call it Papa, which refers to a more substantial support.

New Zealand calls the Upper Stratum Rangi instead of Atea; the Tuamotuans frequently call this upper region Rangi-Atea, or like the Society Islanders use the terms Atea or Te Tumu (The Source) as the stratum above and either Papa or Fakahotu for the stratum below. The Cook Islands, except for Mangaia, have Te Tumu and Papa. Mangaia and Hawaii have Papa and a dialectical equivalent of Atea. Marquesans apply the term Papa to both strata but distinguish between the upper and lower levels by means of descriptive epithets. Among the Marquesans, Atea is only an offspring of the two Papas and marries Atanua (Dawn).

The peripheral islands often do not have a true cosmogony, that is, they do not describe the ultimate origin of the cosmos. Instead they have broken fragments of the more fully developed cosmogonies found in other islands. For example, though Tongareva has the concept of primary parents called Atea and Fakahotu, who bear Tane, Tangaroa, Rongo, and eight other deities, the origin of the world is not described. The presence of Atea and Atanua in the Mangarevan royal genealogy shows a historical relationship to the Marquesas, but unlike the island from which some of them came, the early settlers of Mangareva did not know or lost all trace of the complex cosmogony of their Marquesan ancestors.

Though the names and the number of offspring of the primal parents vary from island to island, the most recurrent names are Tane, Tangaroa, Tu, and Rongo, who are the great gods of the pantheon of southern and eastern Polynesia. Of these four, only Tangaroa is definitely known in the west, where, in

Samoa, he functions as a primal, pre-existent god who was dormant until the major outlines of the world had evolved. (Tane-Kane in the song above—indicates how the function as well as the name varies. In the Society Islands, he is god of beauty, and helps raise the sky. First he was god of the forests—which also uphold the sky—then god of the woodworkers, the artisans; hence god of beauty, and again of the sky.)

The four great gods and their brethren acquired departmental duties which tended to vary somewhat from archipelago to archipelago, and even from tribe to tribe. In New Zealand, Tane was the god of forests, birds, trees, and wood craftsmen; Tu was the god of war; Tangaroa, the god of the ocean, fishermen, and deep sea voyagers; and Rongo was the god of food and horticulture.

Polynesia had innumerable gods, spirits, demons, and supernatural beings of all kinds, whose names, identities, and functions are often confusing. Some are known in more than one archipelago; others are of local origin, being known perhaps only to one family. Some of the most beautiful and significant myths narrated by the Polynesians are, however, about Tane and his brother deities. The Maori of New Zealand narrate that the Sky Father and Earth Mother were so closely joined that their children had to crawl about between them in the heat and darkness. The brothers, one after another, tried to rend heaven and earth apart, but Rongo, Tangaroa, and Tu failed. Tane, however, as the personified forest, thrust his father far into the atmosphere where he is now. Then the brothers, tempers frayed by what they had done, quarreled among themselves. Tawhiri, god of the winds and storms, who had opposed the separation, sent forth with the aid of his father "ferce squalls, whirlwinds, dense clouds, massy clouds, dark clouds, gloomy thick clouds, fiery clouds, clouds which preceded hurricanes, clouds of

fiery black, clouds reflecting glowing red light, clouds wildly drifting from all quarters and wildly bursting, clouds of thunderstorms, and clouds hurriedly flying." In the midst of these Tawhiri himself swept furiously on, destroying the children of Tane, stirring up the ocean of Tangaroa, creating great floods and angering Tu who tried to stand erect and unshaken. The story of the separation of earth and sky appears in many variants throughout Polynesia, but the Maori version is the most majestic in prose form.

The power of each of the great gods differed from tribe to tribe, depending on the military skill of the god's followers. In Rai'iatea where Ta'aroa had aggressive warriors and ambitious priests, his followers proselytized some of the neighboring islands that worshiped Tane and other gods. Later when Ta'aroa was retired in favor of his son, the extraordinary Areoi Society was developed to win more religious converts. Indicative of the way some literary change originated is the fact that the priests of Ta'aroa revised the old cosmogony based on the concept of primal parents in order to make their god a self-begotten creator of the world, a kind of world soul, who through the magic of his word conjured forth the earth and the gods. This revision probably occurred after the Hawaiians and New Zealanders had lost contact with central Polynesia. It seems to have been too recent even to have affected the neighboring Tuamotuans to any extent.

In New Zealand, a few priests elevated the god Io to an all-powerful position as the Supreme Being, the Ultimate Source. The revision of the ancient chants and philosophy to incorporate Io as the original deity, one with transcendent power, resulted in a religious literature whose grandeur of thought and expression has few parallels in primitive literature.

While the creative type of cosmogony is rather generally represented throughout Poly-

nesia, it is particularly marked in Samoa, Tonga, and the Tokelaus, where pre-existent primal gods are said to live in the sky world above a primeval sea into which they cast down substances that become dry land. In Samoa, Tangaloa casts down a stone for his daughter, a snipe, to rest on, covers it with vines to give her shade, and in a moment of anger puts maggots in the vines. From the maggots, mankind originates. In Tonga, Tangaloa himself is the messenger bird sent down by other sky gods to seek dry land. When, like the Samoan snipe, he finds no resting place, the gods throw down chips from their work shops and these chips form the island of Eua. The gods also send seeds for vines.

The evolutionary or genealogic type of cosmogony is more highly developed in the southern, east-central, and northeastern parts of Polynesia than in Samoa. It seems quite absent from Tonga. In this type, various abstract qualities and natural phenomena are personified and individualized. They are then arranged in a sequence, often in pairs that are recited as a genealogy. Each generation is more complex than the preceding one. An example is the simplified version of Rangi's genealogy given above, which illustrates the progressive development from Nothingness to Substance.

To "fill out" a genealogy of the cosmos, or its phases, or of a chief, numerous literary devices are used. Many of these stereotypes are familiar from the rest of the native literature. Key names like, e.g., Chaos, Darkness, Silence, or Light are elaborated with epithets so that each is multiplied into many. The same is done for other names on the list. Other devices include the pairing of names to form puns, antitheses, synonyms, numbered series, and euphony. Metathesis is common. Often the last name or syllable in a group of related beings suggests the name which heads the next group of related beings. J. F. G. Stokes remarks how much the composition of



a genealogy (and its memorizing) is based on quick mental associations, on "name and term-associations expressed through identities and antitheses." Many of the cosmogonic genealogies use terms which suggest that the birth of the world is compared with the natural history of human beings and plants.

One of the most oft-quoted cosmogonic chants is the 2077-lined Hawaiian *Kumulipo*, composed about 1700 A.D. to dedicate a chief. It was handed down orally for more than a hundred years, though it includes thousands of names. The recital of the genealogic pairs is often interrupted to describe the accomplishments and peculiarities of the gods, demigods, and chiefs that are the young man's ancestors. The magical power inherent in the sacred names is passed through recitation to the chief and activates the latent *mana* with which he, as a descendant of the gods, was born.

The chant is divided into sixteen eras and two major periods, that of Night and that of Light. The account of the evolutionary development of life in Night from the ruin of a destroyed world has excited the wonder of European readers. The development of life is from lower forms to higher, with each form destroying its predecessor in the struggle for existence. Evolution progresses simultaneously on land and sea. Coral insects, starfish, sea urchins, and shell fish are followed by seaweed; land emerges, and creation goes on simultaneously on earth and in water. Later, the more complex forms, like the bat, the dog, and mankind evolve.

In general, three different types of myths are told about the origin of mankind. One, however, is not a true type, for it does not account for the origin of all mankind but only for the population of a particular island through a primal couple, human or semi-divine, who beget the first settlers. The second, or evolutionary type, which is found in western Polynesia, Mangaia, New Zealand,

and the Tuamotus, has mankind originate from rocks or earth, directly or through plants and maggots. According to the third, or procreative type, which occurs in New Zealand, Society Islands, Tuamotus, Marquesas, Mangareva, and Easter Island, mankind originated from the union of a male god, Tane or Tiki, and a woman, Hina-the-earth-formed, whom the god made from sand.

The most common myth about the origin of the islands is that Maui fished them up from the ocean. In Samoa and Tonga, as stated above, a second type of origin occurs in that the gods throw rocks down from the sky. Various other types of earth origin occur sporadically, such as the origin of the world from an egg or as the offspring of the Earth Mother or as the whirling and piling up of sand in the ocean.

#### *Relationships with Melanesia and Micronesia.*

Relatively little has been worked out as yet on the regional differentiation of mythology within Polynesia, although such differences exist, as indications above have suggested. Two major sub-areas, the western Polynesian and that formed by New Zealand and eastern Polynesia, are distinguishable. Complicating the problem of regional differentiation are the criss-cross patterns of distribution formed by some of the mythological themes. To use Hawaii as an example, some of its mythological similarities are with western Polynesia, Marquesas, and Tuamotus; then again they are with central Polynesia; or with the marginal islands of western Polynesia and Micronesia. Frequently a theme which is nearly universal in eastern and southern Polynesia is absent from all western Polynesia except Samoa.

Although Micronesian mythology, like that of Melanesia, shows much diversity, there are so many themes and characters familiar from the mythology of Polynesia and its cultural outliers in Melanesia that the literature is

more like that of a sub-area within Polynesia.

In most of the major island groups of Micronesia (Ellice, Gilbert, Marshall, Caroline, and Marianna archipelagoes) are variants of the sky-raising theme similar to those of central and southern Polynesia. The Gilbert Islands have a myth about the snaring of the sun which is very much like that told in Mangaia of the Cook group.

The western Micronesian archipelagoes have creator gods reminiscent of Polynesia. These deities either made the heavens and earth after a period when only the primeval sea existed, or they considerably modified the appearance of the earth. They are also involved in the creation of man, for whom several different origins are given. In the central Carolines the highest deity, Lukelang, made the heavens, the earth, and the vegetation on the earth. His daughter became pregnant from swallowing foreign matter in her drinking water, and from the descendants of the child born come the ancestors of the islanders. Lukelang also had a son, Olofat, of whom many myths are told. He is described as maliciously mischievous and jealous of his brothers, a reversal of the Melanesian situation. In the Gilberts, the name Nareau frequently appears either as a creator with his daughter or as a tricky culture hero and transformer something like Maui.

In the Caroline Islands, myths are told about Maui who is called Mo-tiketiki, a modification of his Polynesian name of Maui-tikitiki. He fished up food from the underworld as well as the island of Feis. As in Polynesia, his fishhook is preserved as a tribal sacred object with an important place in the religious beliefs of the people.

Western Polynesia shows the influence of the adjoining Melanesian area in the pre-occupation of its mythological heroes with slaying innumerable, relatively unpersonalized cannibals and monsters. Heroes also have the tendency to be portrayed as benevolent

saviours of the people from bloodthirsty monsters and blackhearted royal tyrants. This simple form of dualism also occurs in Melanesian hero sagas. The contiguity of Fiji, Samoa, and Tonga has led to an interchange of mythological themes and characters.

Parallels between Polynesian and Melanesian myths are most common, however, in those Melanesian islands which have so many cultural resemblances to Polynesia as to be described as Polynesian outliers or colonies. Dialectical differences do not hide the similarity between many of the names in the myths of Ontong Java and Nukumanu, two outliers, and those in Polynesian lore. Vahie-loa is none other than Wahieroa, son of Tawhaki (the Maori form of the name) and father of Rata in New Zealand. The sky god Kumu-lani is the Tumu-langi of Central Polynesia and presides in the ten heavens; Sine-ke-papa, the earth goddess, is Hine-te-papa. The name of their son Naleau is identifiable as a variant of the Micronesian Nareau. The names of Maui and Mahuika, the Polynesian fire goddess, also occur. The themes of sky-raising and earth-fishing are present and are developed in a way that recalls central Polynesian and Micronesian versions.

In the southern New Hebrides, Melanesian and Polynesian motifs and incidents are worked together into new combinations. Maui and his grandson, the latter a local addition, vie with each other in contests for the glory of fishing up islands, changing the world, and killing stupid but frightening cannibals. Tawhaki and his brother appear in a myth with the Swan Maiden theme, popular in Melanesian and Indonesian lore, though but dimly present in the Polynesian Tawhaki cycle.

In general, the Polynesian outliers in Melanesia show closer mythological resemblances to Polynesian and Micronesian mythology than to Melanesia. However, names and motifs characteristic of Polynesia turn up sporadi-

cally in myths of other than the cultural outliers. Tagaro, for example, is a Melanesian culture hero who occasionally is regarded as a deity; some mythologists regard his name as being related to that of the Polynesian Tangaroa.

References to similarities in the oral literature of Melanesia and the two culture areas to the east and north should not obscure the fact that Melanesian native literature has a distinctive quality of its own and many characteristic actors and types of motifs.

The mythology of Melanesia (which includes New Caledonia, Loyalty Islands, New Hebrides, Banks, Santa Cruz, Solomons, Bismarck archipelago, Fiji, and parts of New Guinea) is not homogeneous but reflects the linguistic and cultural diversity of its people, who are of heterogeneous origin. Even on a single island two or three different types of myths are told about the origin of mankind, death, night, and fire. That their myths differ on these basic matters does not seem to concern the narrators or their listeners, for attempts to reconcile conflicting versions, so typical a process in Polynesia, are unusual in Melanesia.

It is also characteristic that there are very few myths about the origin of the world, a subject of engrossing interest to Polynesian philosophers. The world is generally assumed to have always been in existence in much the same form as now. Metamorphoses produced some changes, but these are seldom complex. There are many myths about the origin of the ancestors of the clans. Frequently these ancestors have a supernatural origin, being partly human and partly animal or plant. Gods are seldom known in more than one island, or even beyond one community, largely because of the linguistic diversity. However, if there are no great, widely known primal beings, the local gods and spirits are intimately associated with the people, for they

still live among them. Past and present are not so carefully distinguished as in Polynesian mythology.

Unlike Polynesia, whatever legends of migration and settlement the Melanesians narrate tend to be brief. On some islands, a genealogy goes back no more than three or four generations. Every village has narratives about voyages of its local heroes, but the distances involved are not great. The narratives are told to pass the time and to inspire and educate the younger men.

Much of the oral literature revolves about deified or personified snakes, pigs, animals in general, trees, ghosts, spirits, fantastic beings of all imaginable kinds, monsters, and cannibals. Some are regarded as sacred and may be told only at certain times. Frequently they give the origin of a magical ritual and its accompanying incantations.

The most recurrent themes in the literature are often attached to the loosely connected series of adventures of dualistic heroes, one of whom is wise and benevolent while the other (who may be multiplied into nearly a dozen) is foolish and malicious. In the northern New Hebrides, Tagaro is the wise brother; Suge, the foolish character. In New Britain, To Kabinana is benevolent while his brother To Karuvuvu does everything wrong and spoils things for people of today. To the Banks Islanders, Qat is the good, wise hero who outwits his evil or merely silly brother or brothers, who bear the name of Tagaro. Most of the archipelagoes have these dualistic heroes and tell much the same stories about them. Among the myths are explanations of why men walk upright while pigs, who have the same origin, go on all fours; why some fruit is bitter and some is good; why some women are ugly and others are beautiful; how death came to the world; and how the monotony of eternal day was ended by the coming of darkness.

Nearly every Melanesian island has a myth about the origin of death. Most commonly death came into the world because mankind lost the magical power to cast off old skin and old age, after a rejuvenated mother or grandmother resumed her old skin to quiet a child that wept and did not recognize her.

The style of the prose is usually simple and uncomplicated, as the quotation below shows. It contrasts with the involved, sophisticated style cultivated by Polynesians. The Melanesian myths have much repetition and description of every action and ritual performed by the characters. The plot structure is loose, often consisting of a series of disconnected adventures. The Dobuans have a myth about a man who was shipwrecked by the magic of his elder sister-in-law, with whom he and his wife had not shared their food. He reached land and had many adventures along the way until he returned home with wealth and new magic. One of his stopovers was at the village of Those-who-will-do-it-tomorrow. "They are gardening. They cook food. Heavy rains come on. They have no houses. They say: 'We will build houses tomorrow.' Each man lies down to sleep. His wife lies down on top of him. The children pack up on top of her. The youngest child on top takes the rain. It dawns. They say: 'We will build houses tomorrow.' In the evening rain comes on. Each man lies down to sleep. Each woman on the man's back, the children on her back. Again it dawns. They say: 'We will build houses tomorrow.'"

On the art of poetical composition, R. F.

Fortune describes the dance composers of Dobu Island as seeking to express their ideas in everyday language without word distortion—again a contrast to Polynesian composition—but with attention to rhythm, assonance, and a formal pattern, which is neither metrical nor absolutely stereotyped but has a three line "root" and a "tied-on piece" of four or five lines. In the beautiful song below, the three lines of the "root" are given to show the assonance attained through the use of the *l* sound.

I lulu i lululaga  
natuwa lekawaega  
Suau i lululaga

He is singing, singing inland, from the straits  
of Natuwa,  
Black satin bird, singing inland.

At Kelologea one lies dead—Mwatebu, the  
maiden.

Her mourning, sweet sounding,  
He is singing, singing inland,  
Black satin bird singing inland.

Publications of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, and of the Polynesian Society, New Zealand, have most of the Polynesian material. R. Dixon, *Oceanic Mythology* (Boston), 1916, and M. W. Beckwith, *Hawaiian Mythology* (New Haven), 1940, have long bibliographies on Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia. G. Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, 1855, is the Polynesian classic. R. F. Fortune, *Sorcerers of Dobu* (London), 1932, stands out in Melanesian collections for its discussion of prose and poetic style and the role of oral literature in one island.

KATHARINE LUOMALA.

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POPO—See African.

PONCA—See North American Native.

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## PORTUGUESE

THE Portuguese language developed out of the popular Latin introduced into the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the 3d c. B.C. The geographical name "Portugal" comes from "Portus-cale" or "Portucale," an old settlement at the mouth of the Douro River which has been identified by some with Oporto. The word "Portucale" appears as early as the 5th c. By the 12th c., when Portugal was organized as a nation, documents began to appear in Portuguese.

The Latin spoken by the people of Lusitania was subjected to diverse influences, and eventually gave rise to two intimately related languages, Galician and Portuguese, whose birthplace may be said to be the area lying on both sides of the Minho River, in the northwestern corner of the Peninsula. During the later Middle Ages, with the conquest from the Moors of lands to the south, the geographical limits of Portugal were set, and Portuguese, now more distinct from its sister tongue, was spread beyond the Tagus to Algarve.

The revival of Latin studies in Europe during the Renaissance enriched the vocabulary of Portuguese, and gave the language its first grammar (Fernão de Oliveira, 1536). But it also widened the gulf that separated Portuguese from Galician, which remained within the political orbit of Castile, and therefore subject to the direct influence of Spain.

When Portugal entered upon the age of overseas expansion and conquest in the 15th and 16th c., Portuguese assimilated many words of exotic origin. The language is rich with flavors from the East, from Africa, and the New World. In a real sense all this befits its imperial traditions, for until the beginning of the 19th c. Portuguese was, in the lands beyond the Cape of Good Hope, what English is today.

A century after the industrial expansion of Europe made possible the spread of other now more universally-spoken languages, Portuguese continues to be used by some 65,000,000 people in the European homeland and in Brazil, the Azores, Madeira, the Cape Verde Islands, Portuguese Guinea, the Islands of Príncipe and São Tomé, Angola, Mozambique, various parts of India, Macao (China), and Timor (Oceania). Portuguese is a soft language—Lope de Vega called it *suave*—with a complex phonetic system capable of many nuances and a vocabulary of rich dimensions. It has little of the harshness of Castilian, while its delicacy is rivalled only by French.

Etymologically Portuguese is in many respects closer to Latin, whence it sprang, than any other Romance language, and it retains almost intact, among other features, the vowel system of the parent tongue. Camões\* reputed it so little corrupted that Venus herself could understand it (Canto I, Stanza 33), while the recent Brazilian poet Olavo Bilac in an oft-repeated line called it *flor do Lácio bela* (flower of Latium fair).

Mr. Aubrey Bell, the distinguished critic, once observed that "the Portuguese is the greatest literature produced by a small country with the exception of ancient Greece" (*Fortnightly Review*, June 1922).

Dr. Fidelino de Figueiredo, to whose historical and critical works the study of Portuguese letters owes an enormous debt, has listed the general characteristics of Portuguese literature as follows: (1) the presence of a cycle of geographical discoveries; (2) the predominance of lyricism; (3) the taste for the epic form; (4) the absence of a real drama, despite the undoubted originality of Gil Vicente and subsequent attempts to create a dramatic literature; (5) the weakness of a critical and philosophical spirit as autonomous forms of crea-

tive writing; (6) the aristocratic tendency of Portuguese literature, or its separation from the people; (7) a certain confused mysticism of thought and sentiment; and (8) a preference for diffuse forms of psychology rather than individual pictures and types.

*The Middle Ages* (1189-1502). The literature of Portugal during the Middle Ages may be divided into two fairly distinct periods. The first begins in 1189, when the first dated literary monument appears, at a moment when the country was emerging as a separate political entity in the Peninsula, and extends to 1434, when the office of chief chronicler of the realm was created by King Duarte (1433-38). The second period comes to an end in 1502, with the recitation of Gil Vicente's *The Herdsman's Monologue*, which marks the beginning of the poetic theatre in the Peninsula.

The Middle Ages open with a golden key, with a remarkable flowering of lyric ballads. Some of them sprang directly from the native soil; some were influenced by the genius of Provence, carried by troubadours who traveled the pilgrim way of Santiago de Compostela to the court of the first Burgundian kings of Portugal.

The ballads, written during the years 1189-1340, were rescued from oblivion in the 19th c. by Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos. Of fourteen recorded songbooks, only three are extant: some 2,000 ballads by more than 200 authors. Even so there is nothing in the medieval literature of the Peninsula to compare in quality as in number with these compositions.

The oldest lyrical texts of the Peninsula are probably to be found among the Galician-Portuguese ballads. Most of the authors were Portuguese—Dom Diniz, 14th c. king of Portugal, is the largest single contributor to the songbooks, with a reputed 138 ballads to his credit—but the songbooks are not the work exclusively of Portuguese writers. So widely

used, in fact, was Galician-Portuguese as a literary language—Alphonsus the Wise (1252-84) of Castile wrote his *Cantigas de Santa Maria* in it—that the Marquess of Santillana (1398-1458), in his celebrated letter to the Constable of Portugal, observed: "until a short time ago all sayers and troubadours of these parts, whether they be Castilian, Andalusian, or from Estremadura, composed all of their works in the Galician or Portuguese language."

The Portuguese ballads are of two kinds. The *cantigas de amigo* (songs of [my] friend), the more ancient, are a type of parallelistic verse spoken by women.

"Tell me, daughter, my pretty daughter,  
Why you waited by the cold water."

*It was love, alas!*

"Tell me, daughter, my lovely daughter,  
Why you waited by the cold water."

*It was love, alas!*

"I waited, mother, by the cold fountain  
While the deer came down the mountain."

*It was love, alas!*

"I waited by the cold river, mother,  
To see the deer, and not for any other."

*It was love, alas!*

"You lie, daughter, you lie for your lover—  
I never saw deer come down from cover."

*It was love, alas!*

"You lie, daughter, for your lover by the  
fountain,

I never saw deer going up to the mountain."

*It was love, alas!*

[*"Song of the girl who tore her dress at the spring"* by Pero Meogo. Translated by Yvor Winters, *Poetry, a magazine of verse*, XXIX (March 1927), 302. Reproduced here by permission of the translator.]

The *cantigas de amor* (songs of love) are also spoken by women. These express devotion to the loved one, suffering through absence, longing for the beloved's return, etc. The poems were written by men. The form and subject of the ballads are simple, direct, often ingenuous and with repeated elements, redolent of the good earth, and not infrequently of great artistry. One will look far for anything more charming or more appealing than these ancient Portuguese songs.

The poetry of the later Middle Ages shows a greater variety of meters, and a great care in construction. It is the work of quite accomplished versifiers, who have at times given their work a fine musical quality. Love continues to be the dominant theme, but the motives of the newer poetry are more varied, and more maturely developed. The advance is partly the result of changes in the condition of society. With the conquest of Ceuta from the Moors in 1415 and the subsequent explorations in the Atlantic, the rustic, semi-feudal Portugal of the past gave way to a country vibrant with the deeds of conquerors and explorers. To the garden of Portugal ("Jardim da Europa, à beira-mar plantado," Tomaz Ribeiro), now came the potentates and slaves of Africa to pay tribute.

The poetry of the later Middle Ages was gathered together by Garcia de Rezende in his famous *Cancioneiro geral* (*General song-book*, Lisbon, 1516). Thanks to this, the first great names of Portuguese poetry—Duarte de Brito, Dom Pedro de Portugal, Alvaro de Brito Pestana, Garcia de Rezende himself—have been spared from oblivion. Thanks to it also we are able to reconstruct aspects of the artistic life of the reign of King John II (1481–1495) which magnificently prepared the way for the Renaissance.

The Middle Ages also produced a considerable quantity of works in Latin, chronicles, mystical and philosophical studies, lives of saints. The three greatest intellectual figures

produced by Portugal before the 15th c. wrote in Latin: Saint Anthony of Lisbon (called of Padua), confessor of the Church; Pedro Julião, better known as Pope John XXI; and Álvaro Pais, author of *De Planctu Ecclesiae*.

The Latin chronicles of the Middle Ages written from the 12th to the 14th c. (examples are in Alexandre Herculano's *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*) are for the most part simple tables of events arranged in chronological order, without any literary significance. The Latin works on hagiography and ecclesiastical subjects (as shown in Herculano) are more narrative in structure, and possess greater unity.

Portuguese historiography in its infancy produced a type of work that is not entirely without merit. The genealogical treatises, or *Livros dos linhagens*, gave a general view of universal history. Among them are those of Count Dom Pedro de Barcelos and the *Nobiliary of the College of Nobles*. These surveys are not of great historical value, because they are based on fragmentary sources; but they reveal, as Fidelino says, "a greater amplitude for the spirit." They reflect a curiosity for the wide world which was fostered and encouraged by the Catholic Church, and which was lacking in classical antiquity.

With the creation of the office of chief chronicler of the realm in 1434, historical writing, now almost exclusively in Portuguese, received a tremendous impulse. The Crown not only gave the historian means of support but also opened up to him the indispensable archives. Three stand out sharply: Fernão Lopes, the first to hold the office of chief chronicler—the office was continued until the 19th c.; the anonymous author of the chronicle of the Constable of Portugal, Nun'Álvares Pereira, victor over the Castilians in the Battle of Aljubarrota (1385); and Frei João Álvares, author of the chronicle of Prince Ferdinand. The historians of the period dwelt on the life of a great man or the telling of a

great event. They chose a subject after the people themselves had glorified it; in a sense they were, as Fidelino says, "an anticipation of the epic poet of the Renaissance." They worked with extreme care; they chose their materials well. Their honesty and devotion to truth are almost proverbial. It is said that Gomes Eanes de Zurara (or Azurara), who wrote the chronicle of Dom Pedro de Meneses and Dom Duarte his son, as well as the chronicle of the Conquest of Guinea, visited places in Africa where the events he related took place. Fernão Lopes sought the evidence of witnesses, and he discarded whatever seemed unproved. Fernão Lopes is the principal prose writer of the Middle Ages in Portugal. His style was picturesque and animated; he wrote with a spontaneous simplicity; he possessed a remarkable power of psychological penetration; he had a strong feeling for the dramatic.

In the field of didactic prose, three works of the 14th and early 15th c. stand out: *Virtuous benefaction* by Dom Pedro, Duke of Coimbra and regent of Portugal; *Loyal counsellor* by King Duarte (1433-38); and *Portuguese book of fables*, discovered by the late J. Leite de Vasconcelos in Vienna. The first is a "profound treatise on Christian ethics" partly based on Aristotle, Plutarch, Cicero, and above all on Seneca. It is a "model of good composition, of the most logical structure, of a perfect equilibrium unrivalled in our medieval literature." The second work is a moral treatise, a linguistic monument, but without much literary value. The third, inspired by ancient models, contains a number of moral fables in prose.

In prose fiction the Portuguese Middle Ages produced little, but may have contributed to the store of European romance with the widely disseminated tale of Amadis of Gaul, which existed in Portugal as early as the end of the 13th c. This most celebrated of Breton themes, which gave rise to a whole

cycle of novelistic writing in the 16th c., was first written either in Portuguese or in Castilian.

Only vestiges of early medieval drama are recorded. Besides the dialogue pieces in the songbooks, there are only the liturgical plays, and brief references to a profane theatre in Frei Joaquim de Santa Rosa de Viterbo, *Elucidator of the words, terms, and phrases formerly used in Portugal* (1798-9). In the 15th c. scattered evidences of dramatic works are found in Garcia de Rezende's *Cancioneiro geral*. According to Fidelino de Figueiredo, these were of two kinds: *mômos*, simple scenographic effects with magical elements in which certain brief explanations, sometimes by actors, figured; and *entremeses*, probably more ambitious, less episodic, more coherent than the *mômo*. The *entremês* seems to have enjoyed a great popularity. As Duarte da Gama wrote (*Cancioneiro geral*, Kaussler ed., I, 514-515)

Non ha hy mays antremeses  
no mundo onyversal  
do que ha em Portugal  
nos Portugueses.

(There are no more *entremeses*  
in the whole world  
than there are in Portugal  
among the Portuguese.)

The 15th c., which was a period of great activity in maritime exploration—the Cape of Good Hope was reached in 1487—came to an end with the excitement of Vasco da Gama's return from India (1499). At the same time the revival of classical learning, largely under Italian influence, opened new horizons in another direction; and in literature the next 300 years reflected these changes.

*The Renaissance* (1502-1580). The warm wind of the Renaissance brought to Portugal the intoxicating aroma of a classical antiquity



in the Italian taste. Many minds succumbed to it, and felt themselves strengthened and refreshed; but the current that swept the country did not take them by surprise. For after all the geographical pole of the Renaissance was in Lisbon itself.

Lisbon was a blend of the most disparate elements. On its crowded quays, on its narrow streets, East and West came face to face; not the Moslem or Ottoman East, which had filled all Europe with alarm, but the East of Marco Polo, of fabled lands, of the marvelous. The city's romanesque churches were still there, in noble simplicity, but now in the company of newer structures. There was King Emmanuel's elaborate Hieronymite Monastery, built in a lush oceanic gothic, its windows and doorways garnished with sculptured mementoes of the sea. The world was small, and it came to Portugal. Ships from the New World and Africa, from the Indian Ocean and the China Sea, from Malacca and the East Indies, from the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, brought dyewoods, porcelain, spices, emeralds, silks, and rubies, brought their motley crews of brown-faced and black-faced men, brought parrots and parakeets and the whole exotic menagerie of lands beyond the sea. The city by the Tagus had become the most bustling place in Europe, and Portuguese intellectual life was necessarily stimulated by the fact.

Yet under the surface of Portugal, though stirred by the century of contacts with the non-European world, lay a substream firm and deep. The heritage of the Middle Ages, the medieval residue of Portuguese culture, strongly Christian and organic, still tempered the life. Nowhere in the 16th c. literature of Portugal is the blending of the old and the new so marked as in Gil Vicente\* (d. ca. 1536). With his *Monologue of the Herdsman*, first presented in 1502, the poetic theatre in the Iberian Peninsula began, but these beginnings were influenced by the two periods

that he bridged. The aesthetic form of his art, the *auto*, and the technique of his verse, are of purely peninsular and medieval origin. But the attitude toward life that his theatre represents, its irreverent satire, its exalted patriotism, its aspirations for social reform, are clear indications of a Renaissance mentality. In the vigor of his language, in the choice of subjects for his compositions, in all the manifestations of his genius, he is profoundly Portuguese, but the Portugal that he represents was already disappearing as he wrote, under the impact of new forces and ideas.

Even Francisco de Sá de Miranda\* (d. 1558), who brought the Italian literary renaissance to Portugal, used the traditional literary forms, and sighed, when disillusionment had set in, for the old rustic Portugal of earlier times. When he returned in 1526 from a five year visit to Italy, he did not bring with him a knowledge of the ancient literatures, for these were widely known and translated in the Middle Ages; rather did he bring "the revelation of the literature that was inspired in their reading."

With Sá de Miranda came new metrical forms: the sonnet and *canzone* of Petrarch, the tercets of Dante, the *ottava rima* of Boiardo, Politian, and Ariosto, the eclogues of Sannazaro, and rhyming hendecasyllabics. In drama, he laid the foundations for the Portuguese classical theatre with his two comedies, *Foreigners* (1528), and *Vilhalpandos* (1538). He also wrote the first Portuguese tragedy in the classical manner, *Cleopatra*, of which only 12 verses remain.

The second Portuguese tragedy was apparently that of Henrique Aires Vitória, *Vengeance of Agamemnon* (1536), based on a Castilian drama of the same title by Pérez Oliva (1528) which freely reproduces the Greek text of Sophocles' *Electra*. However, the only complete and original 16th c. Portuguese tragedy is *Inês de Castro*, by António Ferreira (1528-69). Its originality lies, not

in its dramatization of the life of one of the heroines of Portuguese history, the ill-fated mistress of Peter the Cruel (1357-67), but rather in its treatment of the tragic aspects of love. Ferreira's use of the chorus gives the work a lyrical flavor. Of quite a different quality were the three closet-dramas of Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcelos (d. 1585). His *Eufrosina* (ca. 1537) presents a prototype of the Castilian Don Juan.

Lyric poetry reached incomparable heights in the poems of Camões.\* The Portuguese eclogue is exclusively lyrical, and in these widely cultivated, though often monotonous, pastoral and piscatory compositions love was the favorite theme. But love to the poet was no longer a flight into the realm of the ideal; it drew power more closely from the world—a world, to be sure, clothed in classical allusions, only imperfectly perceived. The bucolic genre found expression particularly in two able versifiers. Bernardim Ribeiro (1482-1552) wrote five eclogues, but only the first rises above the narrow limits imposed by the form. Cristóvão Falcão (b. ca. 1515), who has been confused with Ribeiro, wrote *Crisfal*, a poetic account of his loves.

Love is still the theme of António Ferreira, but idealized and absolute. In his sonnets of Petrarchan flavor he introduced motifs on the general theme that were to become the common property of poets until Camões gave them their greatest expression. Ferreira is also remembered for his critical tercets, in which, in fictional form, he guided those that essayed the new literary style. To him indeed we owe the beginnings of literary criticism in Portugal.

Pedro de Andrade Caminha (ca. 1520-89), who has been accused of dishonest rivalry with Camões, introduced a mystical strain in his poetry, principally in his sonnets. He achieved greatest success, however, in the poems he wrote in the traditional medieval manner, thus restoring to popular favor a type

of poetry that was rapidly becoming obsolete. Even more mystical is the work of Father Diogo Bernardes (d. ca. 1605), who spent years of captivity in north Africa: *Various Rhymes to the Good Jesus* (1594), *Flowers of the River Lima* (1596), and *The Lima* (1596). His brother, Frei Agostinho da Cruz (1540-1619) was the greatest mystic poet of the 16th c.

Prose fiction was cultivated in the form of the avidly read romances of chivalry. João de Barros (1496-1570) is better known for his historical works; his one work of fiction, *Chronicle of Emperor Clarimundo from whom descend the kings of Portugal* (1520), introduces a new element in this type of prose, that of patriotic exaltation. This was followed by the most widely read romance of chivalry of the century, *Palmerin of England* (ca. 1544), by Francisco de Moraes (d. ca. 1572), which has neither unity of action nor logical sequence, but shows a rich imagination, gives a succession of untoward examples of heroism, and is so infused with movement and change that the reader's interest is maintained throughout. *Menina e moça* (*Young and youthful*) by Bernardim Ribeiro (posthumously, 1554-7), is divided into two sections: a series of unfinished episodes in a mixed pastoral and chivalric style in which the outstanding amorous note is one of profound melancholy; and a movement more chivalrous in form and of less literary interest. *Memorial of the prowesses of the second round table* (1567), by Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcelos, begins with an account of the origins of chivalry, narrates the marvelous activities of King Arthur and his court, and ends with a description of a famous Portuguese tournament during the reign of John III (1521-57).

The 16th c. was, logically, a period of active historical writing. Writers sang the deeds of heroic captains, of mariners who braved the *mar tenebroso*, of missionaries like St. Francis Xavier who spread the word of Christ, of

gallant administrators like Afonso de Albuquerque and Dom João de Castro.

João de Barros (d. ca. 1553) was undoubtedly the outstanding historian of the Portuguese Renaissance. He planned the history of Portugal since the Roman conquest, the history of Portuguese Africa since the conquest of Ceuta in 1415, the history of Portuguese Asia beginning with the preparatory activities of Prince Henry the Navigator, and the history of Portuguese America or Brazil since the arrival there of Pedro Álvares Cabral in 1500. Four parts or decades were published of Barro's *Ásia*: in 1552, 1553, 1563; and the fourth, with changes by the editor, João Baptista Lavanha, in 1615. Before his time historians had limited themselves to matters of local interest, or to the lives of great men. Barros wrote not of the exploits of a single monarch but of a whole people. He organized the scattered materials into a logical whole, and prepared his narrative in a manner that is easily understood. But he saw everything with proud Portuguese eyes. Livy was his model. His style is elegant and balanced, almost to the point of artificiality. He was filled with religious fervor, and attributed the expansion of the Portuguese mainly to Christianity. Diogo do Couto (1542-1616), at the suggestion of the king, who appointed him official chronicler of India (1595), continued the *Ásia* of João de Barros, writing a total of eight decades. António Bocarro (d. ca. 1649), who served as keeper of the India Archive, wrote the thirteenth decade (pub. 1876).

The humanist Damião de Góis (1502-74), official chronicler of the reign of King Emmanuel I (1495-1521), is the other outstanding historian of the 16th c. He visited Holland, Poland, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, and Italy. He knew Erasmus (who reputedly died in his arms), Luther, Melancthon, Münster, and Grynius. He married into a noble Flemish family. He was at once a commercial expert, a diplomat, a soldier, a musi-

cian, an historian, an archivist, a collector of art, and a man of society, standing head and shoulder above most of his contemporaries. His merits, however, when they bordered on heterodoxy, were not appreciated by the Inquisition, and he suffered persecution under various forms.

The *Crónica do Sereníssimo Senhor Rei D. Manuel* (1566-7) and the *Crónica do Príncipe D. João* (1567), of the future King John II (1481-95), disclosed a critical vein that entitles Damião de Góis to be called the father of Portuguese historical criticism. Góis weighed his materials with care. He was not misled by patriotism, and refused to accept some of João de Barro's naive explanations. He wrote courageously, and spoke his mind when necessary; yet he was not allowed to publish everything exactly as he had written it.

Other minds also cultivated the historical genre. Duarte Galvão, at the request of King Emmanuel I, wrote the chronicle of Afonso Henriques, first king of Portugal (d. 1185). An edition of the unpublished chronicles of Rui de Pina, undertaken by Duarte Nunes de Leão (d. 1608), appeared in two parts (1600, 1643). Braz de Albuquerque (1500-80) honored the memory of his father, the great viceroy of India, with the *Comentários do grande Afonso de Albuquerque* (1557). Fernão Lopes de Castanheda (d. 1559), after spending some time in the Orient, wrote his excellent *História do Descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses*, of which only eight books were published (Coimbra, 1552-61). Gaspar Correia (?-1561) wrote *Lendas (Legends) da Índia*, an account of the military history of the Portuguese in India until 1550 (8 v., pub. Lisbon, 1858-66). António Galvão (1490?-1557) is the author of the valuable *Treatises on the diverse and out-of-the-way routes over which in times past pepper and spices came from India*, Lisbon, 1563). Gaspar Frutuoso wrote a long history

on the early years of the Azores, partly still in mss. The only important work in Latin was by Dom Jerónimo Osório (1506–80), *De rebus Emmanuelis gestis*.

The literature of the 16th c. is rich in the accounts of travelers, some of them of real merit. The precious log of the first voyage of Vasco da Gama (1497–99) is attributed to Álvaro Velho. Dom João de Castro (1500–48), the heroic soldier of the Indian campaigns, wrote three such logs: from Lisbon to Goa, from Goa to Suez, and from Goa to Diu. Father Francisco Álvares, who spent many years in Abyssinia, revealed this Christian country to the West in his *True relation of Prester John* (1540). Frei Gaspar da Cruz (d. 1570) wrote *Treatise in which the things of China, with their particularities, are told extensively, and also of the kingdom of Ormuz* (1570), the first account of China since Marco Polo. The Orient also stirred the pens of António Tenreiro; Frei Pantaleão de Aveiro, who visited the Holy Land; Pedro Pais; Manuel Barradas; António de Andrade. Others wrote of Brazil: Pero Vaz de Caminha; Pero Lopes de Sousa; Pero de Magalhães Gandavo; Father Fernão Cardim; Gabriel Soares de Sousa. Another very popular type of travel literature was the short narrative of tragic accidents of the sea. In the 18th c. these were collected by Bernardo Gomes de Brito (b. 1688) under the title of *Tragic maritime history*.

Outstanding in this galaxy of names is Fernão Mendes Pinto (ca. 1509–83), whose account of his amazing peregrinations through the Far East was published posthumously in 1614. Pinto's book, in the opinion of Fidelino de Figueiredo, "is a notable example of the art of relating serenely, which the Portuguese of the 16th c. possessed to an eminent degree; they never seemed to suspect the grandeur or novelty of the things they wrote about." Pinto, who collected copious information on China, was the first European to write on Japan from

actual experience, for what Marco Polo had written of Japan was hearsay.

Epistolography in prose was not widely cultivated, but the five *Portuguese letters* of Dom Jerónimo de Osório, the learned bishop of Silves, are famous. All of them concern King Sebastian (1557–78), and show the author's opposition to the young sovereign's adventure in Morocco, which ended tragically, without first assuring the succession to the throne. From the pen of Osório we also have his celebrated Latin letters to Queen Elizabeth of England (translated into English in 1565) in which he exhorts her to return to the Catholic Church.

The 16th c. produced four mystical prose writers worthy of note. Samuel Usque, a Jew, published his *Consolation for the tribulations of Israel* in Ferrara in 1553. The Hieronymite monk, Heitor Pinto (1528?–84) is the author of *Image of Christian life* (1563), written in dialogue. Frei Amador Arrais (1530–1600), bishop of Portalegre, published his *Diálogos* in 1589. The greatest Portuguese mystic is the Augustinian Tomé de Jesús (1529–82), with *Works of Jesus* (pub. 1602). In all of these, as in subsequent works in the same genre, there is a note of pragmatism, of concern for practical action, that sharply distinguishes Portuguese from Spanish mystics.

The *Espelho de casados* (*Mirror of the married*, 1540), of Dr. João de Barros, a moralist not to be confused with the historian of the same name, is a discussion on the utility of marriage; the author shows a great knowledge of ancient philosophy, and begins an extensive literature on conjugal philosophy. In 1557 appeared the work by Rui Gonçalves, *Of the privileges and prerogatives that the feminine species, in common law and in the law of the realm, has to a greater degree than the masculine species*, in which the superiority of certain feminine qualities is defended. The historian João de Barros was also a moralist, as in *Ropicapneuma, or spiritual merchandise*

(1532), *Dialogue of John de Barros with two of his children on moral precepts in the form of a play* (1540), and *Dialogue of vicious shame* (1540). These three works, though profoundly Christian in their ethics, reflect the influence of Plutarch and Seneca. The writings of these two ancient authors also influenced Dom Francisco de Portugal, first Count of Vimioso (d. 1549; pub. 1605). Joana da Gama (d. 1586), who founded a Franciscan convent in Évora, published her *Sayings of the nun* in 1555.

The epitome of the age was unquestionably Luiz Vaz de Camões\* (1524-80). This Prince of Portuguese Poets lived in a great measure the very drama of Portugal. At Lisbon in 1574 he published the first edition of his great work, *Os Lusíadas* (*The Lusíads*), a ten-canto poem in *ottava rima* on the glories of his people. A short time later, Portugal was to be plunged in mourning at the death in Morocco of her bachelor king, Sebastian (1578), and humiliated by the loss of independence (1580). Dark days were on the horizon, but before they arrived the finest fruit of an interesting, kaleidoscopic age had already been produced. As he lay on his pauper deathbed, Camões observed that he died with his country. In a real sense the Renaissance in Portugal also died with him.

*The Ascendancy of Classicism* (1580-1756). When Cardinal King Henry died in 1580, the throne of Portugal, in the absence of a direct male heir, passed to Philip II of Castile and León, whose mother, the Empress Elizabeth, was an infanta of Portugal. But Philip, though he spoke Portuguese well, and knew the country, was after all a foreigner; a period of national humiliation set in, until the restoration of the Portuguese monarchy in 1640.

By this political happening, the Portuguese Renaissance abruptly came to an end; Portuguese genius was arrested in its growth. The achievements of the 16th c., with all their

brilliance and originality, remain a promise that was never completely fulfilled.

The spiritual atmosphere of Portugal during the classical period is therefore different from that of the Renaissance. This was a time of religious mysticism, of a belief in the return of the unfortunate Sebastian (*sebastianismo*), of literary *culteranismo*, of scholastic philosophy "in its last immobility," of literary academies. This was a time also when the presence of neighboring Spain was profoundly felt in literature.

Rodrigues Lobo (1580?-1622), with his eclogues and the lyrical fragments that appear interspersed in his prose works, is the principal poet of the 17th c.; some of his compositions are among the most delicate things in the language. Influenced to a great extent by Castilian literature, he has been aptly called the last significant poet of the Camonean age. Dom Francisco Manuel de Melo (1608-66), one of the outstanding literary figures of his time, enjoys the distinction of being a classic in both Portuguese and Castilian. In his *Metrical works*, mostly in Castilian, some eclogues are charming, and the epistles, written in the manner of Francisco de Sá de Miranda, are superior to their models.

In the field of epic and narrative poetry, many works appeared. The influence of Camões was reflected in an amazing number of long and for the most part tedious poems; the imitations of *The Lusíads* are as weak in inspiration as they often are in construction. The post-Camonean cycle may be said to begin with Luiz Pereira Brandão's *Elegiad* (1588), which tells of the reign of King Sebastian to its tragic end in 1578. From the pen of Rodrigues Lobo came *Condestabre* (1609), on the life and exploits of Nun' Álvares Pereira, the Holy Constable, who led his forces to victory over the Castilians in the Battle of Aljubarrota (1385). Vasco Mousinho de Quevedo Castelo Branco wrote *Afonso Africano*, a poem in 12 cantos on the

taking of Arzila and Tangier (1471) by Alphonsus V (1438-81). Dom Francisco Child Rolim de Moura (1572-1640) wove the fable *Dos novíssimos do homem* (*On the final state of man*, 1623) out of religious material. The taking of Malacca by Afonso de Albuquerque in 1511, which gave Portugal the key to the East Indies, is treated by Francisco de Sá e Meneses (d. 1664) in *Malaca conquistada* (1634). The exploits of João Gonçalves Zarco in Madeira (1418-19-25) are the subject of *Insulana* by Manuel Tomaz (1585?-1665?). When the Portuguese monarchy was restored in 1640, the same Tomaz celebrated the event with his *Fénix da Lusitânia* (*Phoenix of Lusitania*) in 10 cantos. The legendary founding of Lisbon by Ulysses was given literary expression in the poem *Ulissêa* (1636) by Gabriel Pereira de Castro (1571-1632), who thus expected "to dethrone Camões." The same historical note was sounded by Dr. António de Sousa de Macedo (1606-83), the distinguished diplomat and historian, in his *Ulissipo* (1640). The life of Our Lady is told by Manuel Mendes de Barbuda e Vasconcelos in his prolix *Virginidos* (1667). In André da Silva Mascarenhas the 17th c. epic returns once more to Iberian motifs; his *Destruição de Espanha* (*Destruction of Hispania*, 1671) relates the Moorish invasion (711) and the subsequent re-conquest of the Peninsula by the Christians. Braz Garcia de Mascarenhas (1596-1656) wrote of Viriatus, the celebrated Lusitanian leader who fought valiantly against the Romans. With his *Viriato trágico* (1699) in 20 cantos, as Fidelino de Figueiredo says, "he submerged the tired form of heroic poetry" in the "lustral bath of reality." A few other narrative poems were written by Portuguese in the Castilian language; Portuguese poets, in a century of low national fortunes, when their creative genius was drying up, turned for inspiration to the past.

Satirical poetry was only feebly cultivated during the period; the predominant taste was

for epic and narrative verse. In the field of drama, at a time when the genre was reaching new heights in Europe, the Portuguese wrote remarkably little, although Dom Francisco Manuel de Melo, with his *Auto do Fidalgo Aprendiz* (*Auto of the noble apprentice*, (1646, pub. 1665), may have influenced Molière's *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* (1670). In sacred drama the Jesuits excelled, but their works are in Latin. The weakness of the secular theatre is probably due less to the popularity of religious drama than to a taste for bull-fights. Somewhat later António José da Silva (1705-39), who was condemned to be burned at the stake by the Inquisition, introduced some innovations in the theatre, through the eight otherwise mediocre plays he wrote from 1733 to 1738.

For many years, in the Royal Abbey of Alcobaça, a Cistercian foundation, the historical craft was practiced less with critical acumen than with exalted patriotism, to which the fabulous was often added. The long line of Alcobaçan historians was founded by Frei Bernardo de Brito (1568-1617) with the end of conserving and invigorating the national spirit at a time when Portugal was under the domination of Castile (1580-1640). The principal work of this school was the *Monarquia Lusitana* (*Lusitanian Monarchy*), begun by Frei Bernardo in 1597 and continued by Frei António Brandão, Frei Francisco Brandão, Frei Rafael de Jesús, and Frei Manuel dos Santos. The book begins with the creation of the world and ends with the accession to the throne of John I in 1385. Unfortunately for the reputation of Portuguese historiography, this type of work was to have abundant followers in the 17th c.

The period does, however, show a number of significant achievements, often of more literary than scientific value. In 1660 Dom Francisco Manuel de Melo published his *Epanáforas de vária história portuguesa*, four

of which are well documented, and a fifth one pure fiction. The Dominican Frei Luiz de Sousa (1555-1632), who knew Cervantes in Algiers and visited Central America, left a number of works more to be recommended for their admirable style than for their objectivity or accuracy. João de Lucena (1550-1602) falls within the same tradition: his *História do Padre Francisco Xavier* (1600) is a classic of prose writing. Jacinto Freire de Andrade wrote the unreliable *Vida de Dom João de Castro, quarto visorrei da Índia* in a pleasing style. The historical works of Manuel de Faria e Sousa, written in Castilian to reach a wider public, have a special interest for the student of Portuguese. He tried to construct, in the manner of João de Barros, one of those ambitious structures which were to punctuate later Portuguese historiography and which have been aptly called "historiographical cathedrals." Jesuit historiography of the period is represented by the two works of Baltasar Teles, *Crônica da Companhia de Jesús na província de Portugal*, in two parts (1645-47), and *História geral da Ethiopia a Alta ou Preste João* (General history of Upper Ethiopia or Prester John); and by the *Crônica da Companhia de Jesús do Estado do Brasil* (1663), by Simão de Vasconcelos. The restoration of the Portuguese monarchy in 1640 gave rise to a series of historical studies, the most important of which are probably the *História de Portugal restaurado* by Dom Luiz de Meneses, third Count of Ericeira (1632-90), and the anonymous *Monstruosidades do tempo e da fortuna* (Monstrosities of time and fortune), covering the years 1662-80, attributed to Frei António da Paixão. In 1720 the Royal Academy of Portuguese History was established to write the history of Portugal largely from the point of view of religious development. During the fifteen years of its existence (1720-36)—the Academy was revived a few years ago—15 volumes of documents and papers were published, as well as

the 19 volumes of the well-documented genealogical history of the Portuguese royal family by António Caetano de Sousa; the history of the reign of King Sebastian by Diogo Barbosa Machado, the celebrated bibliographer; and several other works. The historians grouped about the Academy, more critical in their approach than their predecessors, contributed to a more scientific interest in history. The artistic, literary character, and the excessive belief in the marvelous that characterizes much of the historical writing of the 17th c., give way in the years ahead to a new spirit that reflects much credit on the Academy.

Of the prose fiction produced in Portugal during the years 1580-1756, two of the novelistic forms used, the romance of chivalry and the pastoral, are traditional; three others, the allegorical, sentimental, and picaresque novel, are of Spanish importation and without 16th c. antecedents. The best pastoral novel is the trilogy by Francisco Rodrigues Lobo: *Primavera* (Spring, 1601), *Pastor peregrino* (Pilgrim shepherd, 1608), and *Desenganado* (Disillusioned, 1614). In these narratives are interpolated poems of a wide variety of meters and of generally remarkable quality. Two allegorical novels stand out: *Predestinado peregrino e seu irmão Precito* (Predestined pilgrim and Precito his brother, 1682) by Father Alexandre de Gusmão (1629-1724), and *Peregrino da América* (Pilgrim of America, 1728) by the Brazilian Nuno Marques Pereira (1652-1718). Both works are reminiscent of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.

Father António Vieira\* (1608-97) of the Society of Jesus is one of the greatest figures of Portuguese literature through the position he occupies as the master of sacred eloquence. This form of art has a long and distinguished tradition in Portugal, as befits the world-wide missionary activities of the Portuguese Church. Vieira was among the greatest preachers of all times; some of his prose is

among the best that has been written in Portuguese.

Christian marriage was a favorite theme of the moralists, and Portuguese can boast of a "conjugal" literature of excellent quality. Diogo de Paiva de Andrada, in his *Casamento perfeito e instrução política* (*Perfect marriage and political instruction*) shows no great originality, relying on ancient authority. The effects he achieves are not, however, entirely unpleasing. A much better book, by Dom Francisco Manuel de Melo, is the *Carta de guia de casados* (*Guide letter for the married*, 1651); though his ideas on marriage do not differ from those of Andrada, he has gone to the world about him for illustrative material, and has written therefore with extreme realism. Melo's other moral work, *Apólogos dialogais* (*Dialogued apologies*) is in a jocular, ironical vein. The anonymous *Arte de furtar* (*Art of stealing*), wrongly attributed to Father António Vieira, is also moral in substance. It is one of the most curious works produced at the time; in it, through a discussion of robbery in general, peculation in high places is criticized. António de Sousa de Macedo (1606-82) is the author of *Political harmony of the divine documents with the conveniences of the state* (The Hague, 1651). A capable diplomat in the service of John IV (1640-56), he produced this manual for princes, which served to strengthen the moral position of the new king. Much more in the vein of a La Rochefoucauld is Matias Aires (b. 1705), whose principal work, *Reflections on the vanity of men* (1752) is a complete psychological consideration of human life in terms of vanity.

Mystical works in prose abound in the period; the best are by Father Manuel Bernardes (1644-1710), the great master of Portuguese ascetic literature. His chief work, *Nova Floresta* (*New Forest*, 5 v., 1705-28), is a splendid attempt to provide good reading for those with leisure time: a collection

of apothegms and sayings, spiritual and moral, with added personal reflections.

In epistolography, Dom Francisco Manuel de Melo appears again, with *Cartas familiares* (*Family letters*, Rome, 1664), a collection of 500 letters written from 1634 to 1660. The "Portuguese Nun," Sister Mariana Alcoforado (1640-1723), is known as the author of five exquisite love letters addressed to a French military officer, extant only in a French version (Paris, 1660). The *Cartas espirituais* (*Spiritual letters*, 1684-7) of Father António das Chagas, a Franciscan, deal with matters of spiritual guidance. On the other hand, the surpassingly lively letters of the Jesuit António Vieira are filled with the world and reflect in many ways the active life of the author. The *Cartas familiares, históricas, políticas e eruditas* (3 v., 1741-2) are by Francisco Xavier de Oliveira (1702-83), known abroad as the Chevalier de Oliveira; rationalistic and ironical, this convert to Protestantism, who spent most of his life abroad, is an isolated phenomenon in the literature of the classical period.

*The Decline of Classicism* (1756-1825). With the death of John V in 1750, the *mise-en-scène* of literary life radically changed. During his reign of almost fifty years, the gold and diamonds of Brazil had made possible the most ostentatious period in the history of Portugal. Those were luxurious years, of abundant wealth, when the huge Convent of Mafra, the Portuguese Escorial, was built and the religious ceremonies of the new patriarchal church were more elaborate than those of St. Peter's.

In 1755, with the disastrous earthquake and tidal wave of Lisbon, the glittering Portugal of John V was buried in ruins. Out of the destruction of Lisbon arose the meteoric figure of the Marquess of Pombal to level telling blows on the aristocracy and the Church. The reign of Queen Mary I (1777-1816) began with a feminine conservatism, but the serenity



of the period was to be broken by the French Revolution. Unable to contemplate the tragedies of a crumbling world, the old queen lost her mind. Under her son and successor, first as regent and later as King John VI (1799-1816-26), Portugal suffered the Napoleonic invasion and the flight of the royal family to Brazil (1807). In 1822 Portuguese America declared its independence from the mother country. Society and literature reflected the spirit of these troubled times. After absolutism came liberalism, and with it the scorching winds of romanticism. The classical period was then on its agonizing way out.

The period of decline began with an effort at regeneration: the founding of the *Arcádia Lusitana* (*Lusitanian Arcadia*) in 1756 by a young man of 25, António Diniz da Cruz e Silva (1731-99); through an Arcadian Academy, like the one in Rome, Portuguese letters would revive. Even earlier, a few writers had satirized the prevailing taste for a decadent gongorism, and had indicated the possibility of finding beauty outside of the absolute canons of the ancients. But the work of revitalizing the worn models of classicism was undertaken by the group of men that surrounded António Diniz. The Academy had high and sane ideals, but it achieved much less than it had ambitiously conceived. The movement was part of the general optimism during the administration of Pombal (1750-77), and some of its poets wrote praises of the rascally dictator; but the various schisms in its ranks led to the Academy's dissolution (1770).

Yet the Arcadian movement produced a number of critical works worthy of attention, and left a heritage of poetic and dramatic work that is of real value. Perhaps the outstanding member of the group was António Diniz himself, whose poems are filled with sentiments of love and sadness. This bachelor, who ended his life as a justice of the Supreme Court (*Relação*) of Rio de Janeiro, is also

the author of *Hissopo*, the best mock-heroic poem in Portuguese and one of the best in the Romance literatures. Correia Garção (1724-72) was less of a poet than Diniz in the conception of his art, but shows a rich variety of metrical forms and a superb mastery of rhyme. Domingos dos Reis Quita (1728-80), a hairdresser by trade, is especially known for his fine dramatic work in the bucolic style, *Licore*. He also left three tragedies on Greek themes. As a poet Luiz Correia de França e Amaral (1725-1803) is not of the first water, but the critical reflections in his *Obras poéticas* (*Poetical works*, 1764) are important. The "great dream" of Manuel de Figueiredo (1725-1801) was the restoration of the Portuguese theatre, and he felt that his *Edipo* was a contribution to that end. He was, however, of limited artistic imagination, and contributed more as a critic of the dramatic form than as a dramatist. The influence of the Portuguese Arcadians spread to Brazil, where a number of poets attained prominence; they are discussed in the article on Brazil.

The Royal Academy of Sciences, founded in 1779 under royal patronage, was the spiritual successor to the Royal Academy of History founded during the reign of John V. Its purpose was broader in scope than that of any earlier organization; its work was to be not purely speculative but also practical, so that its influence might be felt in educational and cultural life generally. The literary work of the Academy was not large, because it excluded the exercise of the poetic art from its sphere of action. But it exerted a great influence in the field of literary research and criticism, and it renovated the worn canons of historiography. Out of it came the social history of António Caetano do Amaral; the legal history of José Anastácio de Figueiredo, João Pedro Ribeiro, Vila Nova Portugal, Alvarenga da Silva, Cardoso da Costa, and José António de Sá; the economic history of João Pedro Ribeiro, José Anastácio de Figueiredo,

and António Ribeiro dos Santos; the Hebrew studies of Ribeiro dos Santos; the Arabic studies of Frei João de Sousa; the history of mathematics of Ribeiro dos Santos. Other writers devoted themselves to chronology, diplomatics, paleography, numismatics, pre-history, and cartography. In the field of literary history, the Academy did pioneer work. Father Joaquim de Fóios studied Sá de Miranda and Manuel da Veiga Tagarro; Ribeiro dos Santos, the origin and development of Portuguese poetry; Alexandre das Neves Pereira and Francisco Dias, the style of 16th c. writers. The Academy also reissued a number of rare works, such as those of Andrade Caminha and Frei Bernardo de Brito.

At the same time there flourished a large group of writers not affiliated with any of the academies. The Abbé of Jazente, Paulino António Cabral (1719-89), from the isolation of his remote parish, sang the virtues of the simple life, celebrated an "unambitious mediocrity" in verses that also reflect his obsession against the French influence in social life. João Xavier de Matos (d. 1789) went to the lyrics of Camões as a guide for his poetic talents. A man essentially without genius, he was yet able to express the feelings of his heart and give vent to his meditative mind in sensitive poems. His tragedy *Viriácia* pictures the struggles between the Romans and the Lusitanians. In the not copious poetic work of José Anastácio da Cunha (1744-87) is a sensitive strain that anticipates romanticism. His treatment of love as a sentiment is new, and his sentimentality achieved notable effects. Manuel Barbosa du Bocage (1765-1805) was a man of true poetic genius, but he wasted his prodigious talents with reckless abandon. One of the most intensely spontaneous of Portuguese poets, his skill at improvising was proverbial. Bocage was a literary Bohemian; his life, like that of Camões, for whom he had a great admiration, is almost as interesting as his work. He culti-

vated the most varied metrical styles; but his compositions, for the most part, treat of love or of satirical themes. The Arcadians were consummate versifiers, but Bocage was better than any of them. He belongs in the company of Camões and Antero do Quental, as masters of the sonnet. Nicolau Tolentino de Almeida (1740-1811) is especially known for his satirical poems, which reflect many aspects of the society of the times. An able versifier, he achieved comic effects through exaggeration, though his work at time borders on the vulgar. It is difficult for us today to appreciate the copious work of Father Francisco Manuel do Nascimento, better known by the Arcadian name of Filinto Elísio (1734-1819). Perhaps his great reputation was the result of his agitated life, for he was forced to flee Portugal to escape the Inquisition. He was devoted to the classics, and a champion of the Horatian ideal; but his poems are not brilliant, and he occupies a more important place in the history of literary criticism than in creative literature. Dona Leonor de Almeida, fourth Marchioness of Alorna (1750-1839), witnessed the collapse of the *ancien régime* and the advent of liberalism; she experienced the last breath of the classic ideal and the dawn of romanticism. Her diversified literary career is a reflection of her life. She translated the works of Wieland, Herder, Bürger, and Goethe, and was thus the first to introduce the German spirit into Portugal. From her pen came translations of the *Ars Poetica* of Horace and Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, and a didactic poem, *Recreações botânicas* (*Botanical recreations*), in 6 cantos, dedicated to Portuguese women. The true talents of Father José Agostinho de Macedo (1761-1831) were those of a pamphleteer and a polemicist rather than of a poet. He fought everybody: King John VI for having abandoned Portugal to its fate; the French and the influence of France, which he considered pernicious; liberalism; Masonry; the Royal Academy of

Sciences; even the memory of Camões. He cultivated a variety of literary genres—poetry, criticism, journalism, philosophy, drama—but his works, and those of Filinto de Almeida, are utterly lifeless. His greatest merit lay in his staunch opposition to the currents of the times.

*Romanticism* (1825–71). By the time that Almeida Garrett's poem *Camões* appeared in 1825, the romantic ideal was already formed. To the romantic, in Portugal as elsewhere, everything was beautiful that exalted imagination and sentiment. Garrett exhibited a taste for traditional and national themes, but he transformed style in an individualistic sense. He adopted new models, as Shakespeare. He freed the theatre from traditional rules. He confused genres, discarding some and creating others. He devoted himself to criticism along impressionistic and social lines.

The classical period went the way of absolutism. The two new and triumphant ideas, liberalism in politics and romanticism in literature, marched on together. This was the period of the "Europeanization" of Portugal, when most men of letters believed that the old Christian pattern of life should give way before the impact of the new, trans-Pyrenean ideas. It was for the most part a destructive period, but it added significantly, nonetheless, to the body of Portuguese letters.

The century produced a surprising number of prolific authors who wrote interestingly and well. Yet their works were reflections, even if at times brilliant reflections, of what was being done abroad. They created a body of literature that was in many ways unique, and that continues to be widely read, but it was certainly not original, nor for the most part in the true Portuguese tradition.

One of the most typical personalities of Portuguese 19th c. literature is João Baptista da Silva Leitão de Almeida Garrett (1799–1854). To escape the last Napoleonic invasion of Portugal, he and his family removed to the

Azores, where the young Garrett was placed under the spiritual direction of learned relatives. The return to absolutism in 1823 and again in 1828 forced him to emigrate to England and France. With the eventual triumph of liberalism, he was assured position as one of the outstanding figures of the times. His concept of Camões, in his 10 canto poem on the poet, is purely romantic. In another poem, *Dona Branca* (*Blanche*), the conquest of Algarve from the Moors is used to exalt nationalism. Almeida Garrett's talent reached its peak, however, with *Fóllhas caídas* (*Fallen leaves*; 1853), a collection of mainly love poems. The initiation of a romantic theatre is also the work of Garrett, whose principal drama, *Frei Luiz de Sousa*, is the tragedy of the reappearance of a first husband long given up for dead. Garrett wrote three novels, but the romantic development of this genre came with Alexandre Herculano. As a man and as a writer Almeida Garrett, with his tendency toward diletterantism, with his dandyism, with his liberal philosophy, is the most attractive figure of Portuguese romanticism.

Alexandre Herculano (1810–77) was the great romantic reformer of the novel and of historical writing. A man of "solemn gravity," a liberal who fought and endured exile for his ideals, he represents German influence in Portuguese Romanticism, as Garrett represents English. He was curator of the Royal Library of Ajuda, Lisbon, from 1839 to 1867, and he took an active part in the political life of his day. His faith in individual liberty was as unassailable as his faith in Christianity. He engaged in literary criticism, but his real work lies in the historical and the rustic novel. Two of his works, *Lendas e narrativas* (*Legends and narratives*) and *Eurico, o Presbítero* (*Eurico, the priest*), are classic novels of Portuguese romanticism. As an historian of the Portuguese Middle Ages, he made a prodigious contribution to knowledge. His *História de Portugal*—his ideal in his

torical writing was always the "colorful reconstruction of Walter Scott in *Ivanhoe*"—remains an outstanding work, while his collection of early documentary sources, *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*, commissioned by the Royal Academy of Sciences, shows his dedication to the principles of scientific historiography.

António Feliciano de Castilho (1800–75), though blind at six, is one of the principal lyric poets of the period. At one time, in fact, Castilho was the virtual mentor of Portuguese poets. He represents the survival of the classical spirit within romanticism. José Freire de Serpa headed the Coimbra group of poets (ca. 1838) who wrote in the medieval manner. In 1844 another group appeared under the leadership of João de Lemos (1819–90), one of the defenders of absolutism. Still a third group emerged, in 1851, about the person of Soares de Passos (1826–60), founder of a literary journal of some fame. Mendes Leal (1818–86), who belonged to none of these coteries, filled his poems with an heroic enthusiasm that gives them a special quality.

Introduced into Portugal by Herculano, the historical novel had numerous cultivators. Oliveira Marreca (1805–89), Andrade Côrvo (1824–90), Arnaldo Gama (1828–69), António da Silva Gaio (1830–70), and others contributed nothing of unusual distinction to the form, but many of their works were widely read, in both Portugal and Brazil.

A new type of fiction, the novel of passion, emerges with the meteoric personality of Camilo Castelo Branco (1826–90), a prolific writer, who lived on the sale of his books. His troubled life, accruing the title of Viscount of Correia Botelho in 1885, led to incurable blindness and to suicide. Camilo was a master of many crafts: poetry, criticism, polemics—he could write violently—history, journalism, the novel. His style is spontaneous and extraordinarily rich. He suffers at times from haste, but few writers have possessed

a wider vocabulary, a deeper tonality of words. Of his diversified talents, his treatment of the novel is most outstanding, especially in the novel of passion and in his satires on realism. His most famous novel, *Amor de perdição* (*Love of perdition*), the history of a tragic love that led the hero to crime and exile, combines a passionate lyricism with a well-knit plot.

Herculano had earlier written a maritime narrative, *De Jersey a Granville* (1831), but the marine novel, "oceanism" in fiction, came with Francisco Maria Bordalo (1821–61) and Celestino Soares. Herculano, man of many facets, also gave us in *Pároco da aldeia* (*Village priest*) the novel of rustic life; but this genre was most richly developed by Joaquim Guilherme Gomes Coelho (1839–71), better known under his pen-name of Júlio Diniz. Except for *Uma família inglesa* (*An English family*), which treats of middle-class life in Oporto, the work of Júlio Diniz goes to the country for its motifs. Love is his eternal theme, but love allied with duty: the love, in short, of middle-class morality. There is chastity and serenity in Diniz's concept of love, and his novels end happily. In a limp, smooth style, his *Pupilas do Senhor Reitor* (*Pupils of the rector*), *Fidalgos da Casa Mourisca* (*Gentlemen of the Moorish house*), and *Morgadinha dos Canaviais* (*Lady of Canaviais*) carry pleasant themes over difficult hurdles, in sentimental study of the feminine.

Except for Garrett's *Frei Luiz de Sousa*, which aesthetically is still classical, romanticism produced little of real value in the theatre. Yet the period was marked by a great interest in a national drama. The recently created Conservatory of Music was reorganized, and a School of Dramatic Art was established. In 1846 the National Theatre of Lisbon, on the site of the old palace of the Inquisition, was formally inaugurated. In other parts of the country, notably in Oporto

and Coimbra, other theatres and dramatic societies were founded. These activities gave rise to an intense dramatic productivity. Nearly all of the writers of the period contributed their share to the awakened interest in the theatre—the works of Mendes Leal (1818–86), Costa Cascais (1815–98), Andrade Côrvo (1824–90), and Ernesto Beister (1829–80) were very popular at the time—but the romantic theatre was of unquestionable inferiority. The new taste destroyed the classical theatre, but romanticism, with all its abundance, did not succeed in supplanting it.

Historical writing was encouraged by substantial grants from the government, to the Royal Academy of Sciences as to individuals. Luz Soriano (1802–91), among those favored, became something of the "official historian of constitutionalism." His dogmatic faith in the new political philosophy is reflected in his work, the most ambitious part of which is his long *History of the civil war and of the establishment of the parliamentary régime in Portugal*. Rebêlo da Silva's *History of Portugal in the 17th and 18th c.* is a readable study that still may be consulted with profit. Mendes Leal studied the origins of the Russo-Turkish War in *História da guerra do oriente*. Latino Coelho (1825–91), in a well-chiseled style, contributed to historiography with *Political and military history of Portugal from the end of the 17 c. to 1814*. It was also during this period that two important collections of documents, partly edited by the learned Viscount of Santarém, appeared: *Elementary view of the political and diplomatic relations of Portugal*, and *Portuguese diplomatic corpus*.

Liberalism also provoked a lively surge of eloquence and journalism, nearly all of it tentative. The period also produced books of travels through the colorful, traditional countries of the Mediterranean; while other authors, Pereira da Cunha, Ernesto Marecos, Leite Bastos, Eduardo Augusto Vidal, Júlio

César Machado, Rodrigo Paganino, Alvaro de Carvalho, contributed to the short story. Romanticism was well in its decline by 1875; but Bulhão Pato (1829–1912), with his *Paqueta*, a narrative poem; Tomaz Ribeiro (1831–91), with his poems of a marked patriotic flavor; and M. Pinheiro Chagas (1842–95), author of a widely-read *História da Portugal*, helped carry its banners well into the period of realism.

*Realism* (1871–1900). The revolt against romanticism was largely the work of young writers who in 1865 and 1866 rose up against Castilho and his followers. This irreverent generation, no longer satisfied with the liberal ideas, found their inspiration somewhere between the extremes of the aristocratic refinements of French Parnassianism and the proletarian concerns of German socialism. In 1871, when the celebrated series of lectures organized by Antero do Quental was given in the Casino Lisbonense (Lisbon Casino), romanticism received its death-blow. Thereafter the triumphant realism branched off into three well-defined groups. The first, under the leadership of Antero, devoted themselves with little success to socialism and radicalism; the second—Teófilo Braga, Consiglieri Pedroso, and others—spread positivism and republicanism, and managed eventually to bring about the overthrow of the monarchy (1910); the third, made up of the celebrated *Vencidos da vida* (Those whom life has defeated)—Eça de Queiroz, Guerra Junqueiro, Ramalho Ortigão, and Oliveira Martins—engaged in a hyper-criticism that led to its own defeat.

Before the lectures of the *Casino Lisbonense*, João de Deus Ramos (1830–96), with no other intellectual baggage than his own rich awareness—nourished on the *Bible* and the *Diário de Notícias* (*Daily News*)—through the simplicity and sincerity of his poems achieved such a profound renovation of the romantic genre as to win many fol-

lowers. The purely lyrical part of his *Campo de flores* (*Field of flowers*) is of extreme artistry, though simple and spontaneous; the modest author ranks among the world's best poets of love.

Antero do Quental (1842-91), master of the sonnet, is one of the outstanding Portuguese poets of all time. His *Sonnets* display an intense and profound emotion, and a keen sense of form, despite "a Germanic penchant for metaphysical speculation." Although his prose works are not inconsiderable, he is especially remembered for his four collections of poems: *Raios de extinta luz* (*Rays of extinguished light*), *Odes modernas*, *Primaveras românticas* (*Romantic springtimes*), and *Sonetos completos*. He cultivated the sonnet with consummate skill. A poet of philosophic depth, he reflects in his work the terrible inward struggle of his soul, which led him eventually to commit suicide in his native Ponta Delgada, Azores.

Better known for his studies on the history of Portuguese literature, Teófilo Braga (1843-1924), though a man of many parts, gave his heart to positivism and thus became "the most illustrious victim" of a desiccated system. In his poems, *Visão dos tempos* (*Vision of the times*) (4 v., 1894-95), poetic inspiration is checked by his positivist zeal.

Guilherme Braga (1845-76) was another political poet, who never reached artistic fulfillment. Gonçalves Crespo (1846-83), the Brazilian poet who became identified with Portuguese life and letters, sought perfection above all, and produced poems of excellent form, with a sharp power of description. Less interesting is the poetry of Guilherme de Azevedo (1839-82), markedly materialistic; of Cláudio José Nunes (1831-62), influenced by Victor Hugo; and of João Penha (1835-1919), a writer of elegant verse of monotonous irony.

Guerra Junqueiro (1850-1923), be-whiskered and eagle-nosed, stands head and

shoulders above the poets of his time who expressed in their compositions the current social revolutionary ideas. His social thought found vent in two stirring works, *A Morte de Dom João* (*The death of Don Juan*, 1874), in which he criticizes sentimental education and the donjuanism of the romantics; and *A velhice do Padre Eterno* (*The declining years of God the Father*, 1885), a tirade against clericalism that he was later in some ways to repudiate. He was also a man of political passions, and some of his poems—*Finis patriae*; *Canção do Ódio* (*Song of Hate*); *Pátria*—are reflections of his political ideas. He cultivated a pantheistic mysticism, which colors his *Oração ao pão* (*Prayer to bread*) and *Oração à luz* (*Prayer to light*). He achieved greatest lyrical emotion, however, in a work that he himself looked upon as his best, *Os simples* (*The simple folk*, 1892), which is suggestive of the later symbolism.

Gomes Leal (1849-1921) was a poet of considerable worth whose work is very similar to that of Guerra Junqueiro—he went a step further by returning to Catholicism—but his poetry, like that of Junqueiro, does not wear well. Time has been kinder to Cesário Verde (1855-86), a more modest personality, whose *Livro de Cesário Verde* compiled by Silva Pinto, an attempt to adapt realism to poetry, continues to attract the attention of younger poets.

In the field of the realistic novel, Eça de Queiroz\* (1846-1900) is the undoubted master. He carried the genre to noble heights in a language that is at once malleable and smooth. With a remarkable technique, with a language of extraordinary tonalities and flexibility, Eça created clearly delineated types. His approach to the problems of his day is essentially destructive. He is critical of society, government, church. The picture he draws of Portuguese life is for the most part pessimistic—Unamuno was later to write that the Por-

tuguese are congenital pessimists—but he clothes his sharp observations in a biting irony that has many elements of the comic. Surrounded by immorality, Eça artistically reflected the age in which he lived, but he managed to keep his own idealism unsullied. To the end he believed in virtue, in true love, in work, in the simple joys, in patriotism. The realistic novel had many cultivators, and Eça's prose had many imitators—Teixeira de Queiroz (1848–1919), Lourenço Pinto (1842–1907), Luiz de Magalhães, Abel Botelho (1854–1917), Jaime de Magalhães, Lima (1857–1936)—yet modern Portuguese literature has produced little superior to the novels of Eça de Queiroz.

Realism in Portugal did not produce a theatre of its own. There was a flowering of dramatic works at the end of the 19th c.—by António Enes (1848–1901), Fernando Caldeira (1841–94), Salvador Marques (1844–1907), Dom João da Câmara (1852–1912), Marcelino de Mesquita (1856–1919), Alberto Braga (1851–1910), H. Lopes de Mendonça (1856–1931)—thanks to the appearance of a group of unusually talented actors; but the playwrights were affected by diverse influences. Some of their works show vestiges of romanticism; others, the influence of Maeterlinck or Ibsen. Still others wrote plays of social significance bordering on the political and anti-clerical, and on regional subjects. Most of them manifest an appreciable technical advance, as well as a firmness in the handling of the dramatic form.

Like Alexandre Herculano self-taught, Oliveira Martins\* (1845–94) was the most artistic Portuguese historian of the past century. A man of towering intellectual stature, he devoted himself to many genres. He wrote an historical novel, and a literary trilogy in prose and verse. Yet his important contribution was a projected and largely achieved system of universal and national history, on sociological and anthropological bases. The

purely historical part of his vast work now needs considerable rectification, but its value as philosophy and as consummate art remains.

The period of realism produced other historians, but the interest of the public in history declined. The genre was on the whole less attractively presented; history had become more of a science than an art. As a piece of research, the *História da administração pública em Portugal nos séculos XII a XV* by Henrique da Gama Barros (1854–1925) is the most solid Portuguese work on the Middle Ages. Ramos Coelho (1832–1914) wrote the life of Prince Duarte, the martyred brother of King John IV, and edited a valuable collection of documents in commemoration of the 4th centenary of the discovery of America. Costa Lobo (1840–1913) wrote the *History of society in Portugal in the 15th century*. Alberto Sampaio (1841–1908) studied the earlier history of Portugal. Sousa Viterbo (1845–1910), who produced a vast number of works, is best known for his studies on the history of Portuguese art and the age of exploration. An historian in the manner of Macaulay and Oliveira Martins, the Count of Sabugosa (1854–1923) wrote a history of Cintra Palace and a life of Queen Leonor.

The short story was cultivated in the many-sided though abortive genius of Fialho de Almeida (1854–1911). Combative to the extreme, his work is marred for the most part by atrophy of his hypercritical spirit. In his short stories, *País das uvas* (*Grape country*), he reached, however, the heights of a great writer. Alberto Braga (1851–1900) wrote in a calmer, more restrained style, but his *Contos escolhidos* (*Selected short stories*) are undistinguished. In some ways a disciple of Fialho though with a character of his own, Trindade Coelho (1861–1907), with his *Meus amores* (*My loves*), created a work unique in the Portuguese language. Much

less praise is merited by Bernardo Pindela, Count of Amoso (1855-1919), a short story writer of some repute, author of *Azulejos* (*Pictured tiles*).

While the romantic travel books were evocative descriptions of the colorful countries of the Mediterranean, the later ones sought to reveal, by way of contrast, the superior achievements of progressive, enlightened nations. Ramalho Ortigão (1836-1915) was perhaps the most observant traveler of his day; his *A Holanda* (*Holland*, 1883) is a classic of its kind, but his *John Bull* (1887) is colored by prejudice against the English, whom he considered moral hypocrites and unscrupulous tradesmen. In their books on Portugal's traditional ally, Oliveira Martins and Eça de Queiroz are at heart no more friendly to the English, but they were able nonetheless to sound out some of the values of English civilization. Neighboring Spain fascinated many writers. Some dipped their pens in the dirty pots of the *leyenda negra* (black legend); others wrote in clearer ink, like Anselmo de Andrade, (1842-1928), who gave us the best interpretation of the Spanish character. There were books too on Belgium, Morocco, on Portugal itself, and, in keeping with a perennial Portuguese attraction, on the Far East. Wenceslau de Moraes (1854-1929) went native in the Japanese manner, took a Japanese wife in a Buddhist ceremony, and created a new literary type, like a Portuguese Lafcadio Hearn.

The period of realism was rich in pamphlets that violently criticized the existing social order. Many writers indulged in such extreme criticism; most popular were Eça de Queiroz, Ramalho Ortigão, and Fialho de Almeida.

*The Contemporary Period (since 1900).* The death of Eça de Queiroz in 1900 marked the end of the realist movement. In the years before the overthrow of the monarchy (1910), writers turned to symbolism and nationalism. The new artists did not share the hypercritical

attitude of the previous age. Neither were they interested in immediate social action; the photographic process of realism was discarded in favor of the "alogical interpretation of the spiritual content of things." No vehemence marked the change; Portuguese genius, after its violent outburst of realism, seemed ready to settle down to a serene life.

The overthrow of the monarchy naturally had deep reverberations. Essentially a leftist movement, the proclamation of the republic inevitably divided intellectuals into two camps. Those that favored the new régime sought to give it a doctrine and a literature; those that looked upon the republican solution as ill-advised fought for the evolution of institutions in conformity with the country's traditions.

Under the leadership of Leonardo Coimbra, the philosopher; Teixeira de Pascoais, the poet; and Jaime Cortesão, the historian, the intellectuals of the republican suasion founded in Oporto the widely influential review, *Renascença portuguesa* (*Portuguese renaissance*). After the assassination of the rightist president Sidónio Pais in 1918, during the second period of the leftist régime which followed (1919-1926), republican ideology found expression in a new Lisbon review, *Seara nova* (*New harvest*). The republican intellectual movement in its latter phase attracted the pens of such writers as Raúl Brandão (1867-1930), the accomplished essayist; M. Teixeira Gomes (1860-1940), who became president of Portugal (1923-1925); and Aquilino Ribeiro (b. 1885), the novelist. But the movement initiated by *Seara nova*, though the sincerity of its reforming zeal cannot be denied, remained on the level of controversy; and its attempts at absolute control over Portuguese letters came to naught.

The failure of the republicans may be explained partly by the errors of the régime they supported—its rabid anti-clericalism, for example, alienated many—and partly by the



work of the gifted writers that rose to the defense of tradition and Catholicism. Influenced by the *Action Française* and the encyclicals of Leo XIII, the intellectuals of the traditionalist camp, under the leadership of António Sardinha (1888-1926), banded together in 1914 to form the nationalistic group of *Integralismo lusitano* (*Lusitanian integralism*). Sardinha was unquestionably the most politically-minded of the group, and largely created its philosophy. The movement drew such writers as Antero de Figueiredo, the poet and historian; Correia de Oliveira, the unofficial poet laureate of the traditionalists; Manuel Ribeiro (1878-1942), the novelist whose militant Catholicism was born out of radicalism. Politically, it furnished the philosophical bases for the corporative state that was established following the revolution of 1926.

The brilliance of the age of realism, and the political events that succeeded it, have tended to obscure the merits of contemporary Portuguese literature. It is true that Portuguese intellectual life in our times has suffered many of the ailments common to Europe. Yet Portuguese writers have continued to mirror the many currents that have swept their country, at times with artistic excellence. It is hardly just to say that the present government of Dr. António de Oliveira Salazar (b. 1889), the University of Coimbra professor turned politician, has had a deleterious influence on creative writing. For the time being the day of the political pamphleteer is over, but if Portuguese literature was able to thrive, and at times brilliantly, in the very shadow of the Inquisition, there is no reason to suppose that genius today would find it difficult to express itself under the indirect government censorship.

The late Eugénio de Castro was the most widely read symbolic poet; his works, particularly *Constança* based on the unfortunate loves of Constance, wife of Peter the Cruel

(1320-1367), aroused almost as much interest abroad as at home. He was in this regard an exception to the present rule. António Nobre (1867-1900), whose tragic and premature death no doubt contributed to his fame, wrote only three collections of poems, *Só* (*Alone*), *Despedidas* (*Farewells*), and *Primeiros versos* (*Early verse*), the last two published posthumously; but his influence on the generation that followed Eça was tremendous. Almost morbidly melancholic, Nobre is the best example of the dejection, the utter sense of defeat, that was voiced by many early 20th c. writers. Of a more lyrical quality, somewhat in the manner of João de Deus, is the poetry of Augusto Gil (b. 1873), collected by Agostinho de Campos in the *Antologia portuguesa*. Bernardo de Passos, a modest man who spent his life in his native Algarve, reached lyrical heights in *Refúgio* (*Refuge*), a collection of poems published posthumously in 1936 with an evocative preface by Fidelino de Figueiredo. Afonso Lopes Vieira (b. 1878) wrote lyrical verse in a traditional manner, and captured a musical quality in his rhymes that few modern poets have exceeded. Another lyric poet of the old school is Oliveira San-Bento, the best versifier from the Azores since the time of Antero do Quental. Teixeira de Pascoais, the most prolific and also the most pantheistic of the modern poets, is especially noted for his *Cânticos* (*Canticles*); *O pobre tolo* (*The poor fool*), a satirical elegy; *Marános*, dedicated to the people of neighboring Galicia; and *As sombras* (*The shadows*). Mário de Sá-Carneiro (1890-1916), the leading poet of the futurist school, wrote *Indícios de ouro* (*Indications of gold*, pub. 1937). Other poets of this school are Fernando Pessoa (d. 1935) and José Régio, who have also contributed to the two principal periodicals of the modernist movement, *Presença* (*Presence*) and *Revista* (*Review*) *de Portugal*. The poetical works of Afonso Duarte, which show an intense love of nature,

appeared in 1929: *Os 7 poemas líricos de Afonso Duarte*. Florbela Espanca, the exquisite poetess influenced by Verlaine and Rubén Darío, mirrored the ego in concentrated subjectivism in her excellent sonnets. Two other significant poetesses are Branca de Gonta Colaço and Virgínia Vitorino. António Botto, rhythmic "poet of the flesh," author of *Ciume (Jealousy)*, brings an exotic flavor.

The flourishing neo-romantic theatre of the early 20th c. belies the oft repeated observation that the Portuguese spirit is not dramatic. This was the golden age of Marcelino de Mesquita, Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, Dom João da Câmara; of Eduardo Schwalbach; Campos Monteiro, Vasco de Mendonça Alves, Vitoriano Braga, Alfredo Cortês, Júlio Dantas (b. 1876), the last known for his *Ceia dos cardiais (Cardinals' collation)*, a charming one-act *tour-de-force* translated into many languages including English. To this group of capable playwrights were allied perhaps the most talented actors that the Portuguese stage has ever produced, the Rosa brothers, Eduardo Brazão, Lucília Simões, Ângela Pinto, Adalina Abranches, Chaby Pinheiro. In more recent years, with the development of motion pictures, the legitimate theatre has suffered, and though Lisbon still remains a city of dramatic traditions, the glory of the old days will not easily be revived. At the government-supported National Theatre, inaugurated during the heyday of romanticism, now with a capable company headed by Amélia Rey Colaço, the drama is kept alive, sometimes with distinction, but most of the productions are adaptations of foreign plays. Occasionally a native playwright, as Ramada Curto, will rise to dramatic heights, but the younger generation is more interested in other forms of the dramatic art.

The taste for the novel continues unabated, but still under the sign of Eça de Queiroz. Indeed, the posthumous appearance of a

number of his works, and the reissue of others, are a clear indication of the great vogue that Eça still enjoys. Júlio Dantas, with his amorous and historical novels, written in an 18th c. drawing-room style—his *A Severa*, a tale of the prohibited loves of a famous singer, is especially notable—has enjoyed great popularity, both in Portugal and in Brazil. Aquilino Ribeiro writes on a wide variety of themes. With remarkable fecundity, he has produced such novels as *Jardim das tormentas (Garden of torments)*, *A via sinuosa (The winding road)*, *Terras do demo (Lands of the devil)*, and such collections of short stories as *Estrada de Santiago (The road of St. James)*, *Quando ao gavião cai a pena (When the sparrow-hawk's feathers fall)*. He has been called the outstanding novelist of our times, but the title is contested by Ferreira de Castro, technically a more perfect artist, who has chosen subjects of more universal appeal, with an eye to social problems. His *A selva (The jungle)* is a remarkably fine description of the Amazon valley. Manuel Ribeiro (1878–1942), with his *A catedral (The cathedral)* and other works, has had a wide following. Carlos Malheiro Dias, in his *Paixão de (Love of) Maria do Céu*, shows himself an accomplished writer, with remarkable command of words.

In the early 1930's, the psychological novel was attempted by José Régio, João Gaspar Simões, and J. Rodrigues Miguéis. Martinho Nobre de Melo, the former ambassador to Brazil, has given glimpses of society life in such works as *Experiência*. Joaquim de Paço de Arcos is outstanding among the more recent novelists.

Literary criticism and the history of literature have attracted a number of scholars. Fidelino de Figueiredo, most distinguished of the living critics, is the author of an indispensable history of Portuguese literature from the Renaissance to our own times. Rodrigues Lapa ably studied the origins of

lyric poetry in Portugal. Hernâni Cidade has a long list of books to his credit, among them *Ensaio sobre a crise mental do século XVIII* (*Essay on the intellectual crisis of the 18th c.*). José Joaquim Nunes edited the medieval Portuguese songs (4 v.), and wrote an historical grammar. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos (1851-1925) is the incomparable master in the field of literary studies. Vitorino Nemésio is known for his solid biography of Alexandre Herculano, although he has lately been making a name for himself as a writer of fiction. Among the younger critics, José Osório de Oliveira, with effective studies in Brazilian literature, and João Gaspar Simões rank high in popular esteem.

The 20th c. has witnessed a lively interest in scientific historical studies. The *Revista de História* (1912-1928), ably edited by Fidelino de Figueiredo, was the principal historical journal of the country. In the early 1920's appeared the *História da colonização portuguesa do Brasil*, a 3 v. work of capital importance, despite its nationalistic bias. João Lúcio de Azevedo is perhaps the greatest contemporary historian. His biography of António Vieira, his accounts of the Jesuits in north Brazil, and of the Marquess of Pombal, are excellent studies. Fortunato de Almeida wrote the standard history of the Portuguese Church. Fontoura da Costa, Jaime Cortesão, and Gago Coutinho have made valuable contributions to the history of the age of exploration. Dom Manuel Cerejeira, cardinal patriarch of Lisbon, wrote the best work on humanism in Portugal. Father Serafim Leite, S. J., is the author of the monumental history of the Society of Jesus in Brazil, the best single piece of research to come out of Portugal in many years. Paulo Meréa has devoted himself to the Middle Ages. In other specialized fields, Reinaldo dos Santos and the late José de Figueiredo have made names for themselves as historians of art. The Marquess of Lavradio has written on the period of the

independence of Brazil; Queiroz Veloso, on King Sebastian; Manuel Múrias, on the Empire. Alfredo Pimenta has become the principal debunker of many hallowed legends. Rocha Martins, with his journalistic style, is more readable than scientific. Historical studies have been encouraged by the government, largely through the creation of the *Agência Geral das Colónias* and the reestablishment of the *Academy of Portuguese History*, both of which bodies have published on a lavish scale. The celebration, in 1939-40, of the 8th centenary of the Portuguese nation gave rise to an enormous quantity of historical studies, a good part of which has been incorporated in the lengthy proceedings of the Congress of the Portuguese World (1940).

Other aspects of Portuguese literary life, notably journalism, might be touched upon; but it is manifest that the Portuguese genius continues to thrive. Having escaped the destruction of World War II, Portugal finds her spirit prepared for any adventure that may appear. Her spiritual resources are intact, and her writers may be called to share them in the reconstruction of the world.

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MANOEL CARDOZO.

POTAWATOMI — See North American Native.  
PRAKRIT—See Indian.

## PROVENÇAL

IF WE can imagine a line extending across south central France, from a point just north of Bordeaux to the Tunnel of Mont-Cenis on the Swiss border, this is roughly the line that divides the speakers of French (the langue d'oïl) from the Provençal (langue d'oc) speakers to the south. The line is not a straight one: it arches northward from Bordeaux, cutting across Périgord; it turns due east at a point northeast of Civray, turns southeast at Commentry, passes to the east of Clermont-Ferrand, and swings due east again at Annonay, leaving Grenoble to the south. In the Middle Ages, we may assume that the dividing line had a slightly different course, while at the same time the contrast between Provençal and French culture was much sharper. Today French is the language of the schools throughout the Provençal area and the Provençal speech has about the same degree of currency as "braid Scots" in Scotland. In the 12th and 13th c., however, the literary production in Provençal, the work of the *troubadours*, was a major influence on the poetry of northern France, Germany, Italy, and Spain.

The earliest monument which we have extant in Provençal is the *Boeci*, a fragment of 256 lines, dating from the year 1000 or earlier. This was apparently intended to be recited at court, basing a Christian plea for storing up good works in early years upon the pagan Boethius' *De consolazione philosophiae*. From the mid-11th c. we have another early monument, the *Life of Saint Fides of Agen*. A bit later, William IX, Count of Poitiers (1071-1127?) composed poems of which eleven only have come down to us. In various stanzaic forms, and with reference to other types of work (the *partimen*), they are a courtly adaptation of forms that had first been developed by the popular entertainers, the *joglars*, and like all poetry of the period they were intended to be sung: love poems and those with humorous content. William was quite a wag. He visited the Holy Land (1101-2) and, according to Ordericus Vitalis, he rhymed some of his adventures there (although these poems are lost). Of his humorous poems, no. V, dealing with an adventure in Auvergne, is the best.

William's verses are the oldest extant lyrics in a modern European language. They were not necessarily the first; his rank insured the preservation of some of his verse; other poets of the time were not so fortunate. Next in order of preservation of their work were Cercamon (fl. 1135); and Marcabrun (fl. 1145) who was a foundling reared by Cercamon. Cercamon is said to have written pastorals which have been lost and of which we do not know the precise nature. Marcabrun was not usually a love poet; he was fond of occasional keen satire. It is believed that he was one of the very first to develop the *trobar clus* or intentionally obscure verse. The concept of literary obscurity is an old one, but Marcabrun doubtless developed it independently of any source.

A great innovation came about when Bernart de Ventadorn\* (fl. 1155), a serf and pupil of Viscount Ebles of Ventadorn, wrote verse inspired by the germ of courtly love—complete subjection to the lady (a married woman). The source for this doctrine has been sought far and wide. It is generally believed that Ebles, who was himself a troubador and in his youth a close friend of old William of Poitiers, encouraged this new love doctrine which he had acquired indirectly from Arab poetry in Spain. This theme of courtly love was elaborated further in northern France by Marie de Champagne, daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine, who was, in turn, the grand-daughter of William IX of Poitiers. The elaborated form of courtly love, codified by Marie de Champagne's chaplain, Andreas Capellanus, spread far and wide in western Europe. Its exact connection with the *dolce stil nuovo* theme in Italy, which was the inspiration of Dante and Petrarch, is not completely understood. In the one, earthly subjection to the beloved lady is stressed; in the other, the heavenly quality of the beautiful lady receives major emphasis.

Richard the Lion-Hearted, one of the sons

of Eleanor of Aquitaine, was patron of many Provençal poets, chief among them being Arnaut Daniel, Piere Vidal of Toulouse, Folquet de Marseilles, and Gaucelm Faidit who wrote a moving *planh* (lament) on Richard's death. Arnaut Daniel\* was the favorite troubadour of both Dante and Petrarch. This is an indication of peculiar taste, for Arnaut was an ardent producer of *trobar clus*, with a fondness also for complicated versification. Many of the poets were nobles of lower rank, who found in their verses an avenue to preference, comfortable living, even wealth; others were men of humbler station (Bernart, Vidal, Folquet). Many of them later rose in the Church and repudiated, both publicly and in their minds, the frivolous poetry of their youth (Folquet, Daude). The Council of Montpellier (1214) forbade ecclesiasts to take part in such activity: *quod dominare vulgariter appellatur*. The songs of more than 400 poets of the time have come down to us; many others are mentioned by name, whose works are lost. Bertran de Born\* is perhaps the best known of the troubadours, but rather for his role in history: his *sirventes* (or political poems) were enlisted in the English conflict of Henry II with Queen Eleanor and their royal sons. Perhaps the most accomplished of the Provençal singers was Giraut de Borneil\* (fl. 1175–1220), whose work was quite varied and of splendid technique, with elevated thought. He occasionally indulged in *trobar clus*. There were some women poets; such a woman was called a *trobairitz*. The Countess of Die, who came under this category, was in love with Raimbaut d'Orange,\* one of the best troubadours, who should not be confused with Raimbaut de Vaqueyras.

Provençal poetry spread widely in Italy; among its poets there, Sordello of Mantua and Lanfranc Cigala. In Spain, Raimon de Miraval sang at the court of Aragon. However, after the first spontaneous singing, the various forms of Provençal verse tended to

appear artificial, especially as the themes themselves became set, the emotions forced; and by the middle of the 12th c. the decadence was already noticeable. The Albigensian Crusade (1209-1229) destroyed the power of the Provençal nobles, broke up their courts as centers of culture and havens for the troubadours, and set upon the entire land the domination of the French court, with the *langue d'oïl* and different varieties of song. By the mid-13th c. the Provençal troubadours were homeless; soon their creation ceased. The so-called "last of the troubadours" was Guiraut Riquier (fl. 1252-94). This Guiraut spent ten years at the court of Alphonso X of Castille. Almost all his verse has been preserved, totaling 10,000 lines. Half of this is lyric, the remainder is didactic. His talent was superior; with him, the troubadours end upon a high level of excellence.

The poetry of the troubadours falls into types. The love song, most popular of all, was called the *canço*; the poem of a political nature, sometimes satiric, was the *sirventes*. The *tenso* and the *partimen*, also *juoc partitz*, were debates. The *tenso* could be between imaginary participants, but the *juoc partitz* usually was an argument between two individuals as a sort of game. All of these forms are written in stanzas (with various allowable schemes, of length and number of lines). The stanzas are always in rhyme, and in some types there is an *envoi* or refrain. Thus the *ballada* has three octosyllabic stanzas followed by an *envoi*. Narrative poetry, much less favored than in the north of France, was in imitation of the north. The *Girart de Roussillon* is a *chanson de geste* of the 12th c. surviving in Franco-Provençal, a recognized mixed dialect (vowels as in Provençal, consonants as in French); there are also fragments of a *Roncesvals* in Provençal. The more sophisticated types of narrative poetry: romance and *nouvelle*, are occasionally found. The *Jaufre* is an Arthurian romance, the

*Castiagilos* is a *nouvelle*, similar even to a *fabliau*. The *Flamenca* is a romance of manners; it is a great masterpiece. Both beginning and end of it are lost, but a very considerable portion is preserved (from after the mid-13th c.). It is outstanding in world literature. Illustrative of the didactic, scientific work is the *Auzels Cassadors* of Daude de Pradas. This 13th c. treatise in verse, narrating all that pertains to falconry, was extremely important in its day.

A few prose discussions of prosody were written—the *Las Razos de trobar* by Raimon Vidal, and the grammatical study, *Donatz proensals*, by Hugh Faidit, in the mid-13th c., along with over 100 mainly imaginary "lives" of the troubadours, to be prefixed to collections of their works, or to anthologies then being gathered. These helped to keep alive the tradition of troubadour song and Provençal poetry after the social changes of the 13th c., which not only gave northern French predominance over the Provençal tongue, but led to a tendency for each district to use the local dialect. In 1324 the Academy of Toulouse was founded, to reestablish the olden poetic flourishing; there the leaders set down the rules for versification in the *Leys d'amors* (ca. 1345) and established prizes of floral wreaths for the best poems. Collections of these prize-winning poems (*Flors del gai saber*) of the 14th and 15th c. show them to be of little worth. The contests have, with some irregularity, continued to our own times; but the French language, admitted to the contests in 1513, became so dominant by 1680 that work in Provençal was excluded, and not readmitted until 1893.

In the 15th and 16th c. Provençal writing sprang not from the courts but from the needs of the people. Though but a few fragments remain, there was evidently a very active religious drama, passion plays, moralities, *noëls* (Christmas pieces) and, mainly, mysteries.

When writers again took up the lyrical

forms for popular purposes, it was often in their own local dialect. Thus Pey de Garros (ca. 1500-81) in 1565 translated the *Psalms* into Gascon, in 1567 issued a volume of his own Gascon poems, and strongly urged the use of his beloved tongue. Rollicking but often obscene are the verses of Auger Gaillard (ca. 1530-95). More worthy, whether light-hearted or from captivity looking toward freedom and his beloved Provence, are the verses (*Don-don internal*, 1588) of Louis Bellaud de la Bellaudière (1532-88). A great variety of verse (*Jardin deys musos provensalos*, pub. 1628) was written by Claude Brueys (1570-1650), especially popular for his comedies and carnival songs. Popular comedies—their frequent theme the widespread one of the deceived husband—were also written by Gaspard Zerbin (*La Perlo deys musos et coumedies prouvensales*, 1655); by Jean de Cabanes (1653-1712); and Seguin de Tarascon (ca. 1650).

Several noteworthy writers used the tongue of the province of Languedoc. Chief of these was Pierre Goudelin (1579-1649), whose work (*Lou Ramelet Moundi*, 1617; *Moundi* is from Raymond, the traditional name of the counts of Toulouse) is vigorous and effective in various short forms. The avocat Bonnet de Béziers (fl. 1616-57) wrote very popular work, especially plays for the annual Ascension Day performance at Béziers; best of these is the *Judgment de Paris* (1616). In the mid c. the plays of David Sage (*Las Foulies dau sage de Mounpelié*, 1650) and of Jean Nichel of Nîmes (*L'Embaras de la foire de Beaucaire*) were also popular, but of questionable taste. Nicolas Saboly (1614-75) was the most successful writer of the Noël, which was the most popular form in southern France through these centuries.

The work of Goudelin had imitators, least slavish of whom was François Boudet, with an ode (*Le Trinfe del Moundi*, 1678) celebrating his mother tongue. Similarly Jean

Guiraud-Dastros had set down the *Trinfe de la langue gascoune* (1642), with many lively descriptions of the countryside and its customs. François de Cortète (1571-1655) is probably the greatest Provençal writer of the c. after Goudelin; his comedies *Ramounet* and *Miramoundo* are marked by sincere emotion and effective style.

Amid the many writers of the 18th c., few are distinguished by originality of idea or expression. Among the best are two priests: Claude Peyrot (1709-95), with a deep love of his country and a goodly humor, in *Prin-temps rouergat* and *Los Quatrè sosous*; and the even more lively Abbé Favre (1727-83), whose mock-heroic *Siège de Caderouse*, whose *Lou Sermoun de moussu sistre* (a drunken priest preaching against drunkenness), as also his comedies and a prose novel, give pleasant but keenly observant and deftly satiric pictures of village life. Cyrille (1750-1824) and Auguste (1760-1835) Rigaud of Montpellier are poets of freshly handled themes; Cyrille's *Amours de Mounpèié* is perhaps less noted than his brother's picture of a vintage in southern France. The occasional verse of Toussaint Gros (1698-1748) of Lyons is deftly handled. The pastoral *Daphnis et Alcimadure* of Jean-Joseph Cassanea de Mondonville (1715-73; most of his operas were written in French) was sung in Paris, in 1754, in his native Languedocien.

Among the contributions of the Romantic movement throughout Europe was a deepened interest in folk and race traditions and culture. Thus in Provence there was considerable scholarly research (much of it remaining in manuscript), as by Fabre d'Olivet (1767-1825) and François J.-M. Raynouard (1761-1836), who turned from a career as a French playwright that earned him membership in the Académie Française, to his Provençal studies; and the Provençal newspaper *Bouil-Abaisso* was founded by Désanat in 1841. There were collections of the early

Provençal poetry, also contemporary anthologies (*Lou Bouquet prouvençaou*, by ten troubadours, 1823). These writers, most of them rather limited in their appeal, are known as the "precursors of the Félibrige." Among them are Hyacinthe Morel (1756-1829), Pierre Bellot (1783-1855), and four more popular figures: the satiric Verdié (1779-1820) of Bordeaux, Jean Reboul (1794-1864: *L'Ange et l'enfant*, 1828); the vigorous Victo Gelu (1806-85: *Chansons marseillaises*); and the most inspired of the group, Jacques Jasmin (Boé, 1798-1864) of Agen, who not only wrote lively verse pictures of simple life (*Papillotos*, 1825, crowned by the Académie Française in 1852) but revived the troubadour tradition by singing them throughout the country. The Academy of Toulouse hailed him "maistre ès jeux"; his works are still widely popular throughout the region.

The reviving culture (also, though to a lesser degree, in Catalan Spain) was now taking a firmer hold. At Arles, in the castle of Paul Giera near Avignon, a group of Provençal troubadours met in 1854, under the guidance of the poet and teacher Joseph Roumanille (1818-91), who in addition to his effective noëls and his earnest verses (*Li Margaritado*, 1836; *Li Sounjarello*, 1852) gathered in 1852 an anthology of the best Provençal poetry then being composed. This group—which included, besides the host and Roumanille, Jean Brunet; Alphonse Tavan; Theodore Aubanel (1829-86) author of poignant verse (*Li Fiho d'Avignoun*, 1883) and a drama (*Lou pan dóu pecat*, 1878) later played at Antoine's *Théâtre Libre* in Paris; Anselm Mathieu (1828-95: *La farandoulo*); and Roumanille's pupil and greatest follower, Frederic Mistral\* (1830-1914)—organized as

The Félibriges, and issued an annual *Almanac* which for years was a sprightly and popular gathering of poetry, story, proverb, and traditional tale in Provençal.

Mistral's long narrative poem of frustrate love, *Mirèio*, appeared in 1859; by 1867 the Floral Games at Avignon were enthusiastically attended; in 1876 the Félibriges widened their activities to cover Aquitaine, Languedoc, Provence, and Catalonia in Spain. As their first leader (capoulié), Mistral not only continued his poetry (*Lis Isclo d'or*, 1876, with autobiographical preface; *Nerto*, a tale, 1884; the epic of the Rhone, *Lou Pouèmo dóu Rouse*, 1897) but also compiled a dictionary and storehouse of the Provençal language and lore, *Lou Tresor dóu Félibrige*, 2 v., 1886, to stimulate further work in the field.

Elected as leaders after Mistral were Roumanille, from 1884 to 1891; Felix Gras, to 1901; and Pierre Devoluy. The greatest of these is Felix Gras (1844-91; Protestant in a Catholic countryside), whose epic of the land, *Li Carboundié* (1876) is vivid in description, and powerful, and whose later poems, *Li Roumancero provençal* (1887) are even richer and more flavorful of the lore. No longer seeking complete freedom from the influence of Paris, but nonetheless following its own patterns and moods, Provençal literature continues as the vigorous expression of a great region of distinct and treasured culture.

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URBAN T. HOLMES, JR.

PUEBLA—See Mexican.

PUEBLO INDIAN—See North American Native.

QUECHUA—See South American Indian.

QUERETARO—See Mexican.

QUICHE—See Mexican.



RAGUSAN—See Yugoslav.

RAMINDJERI—See Australian Aborigine.

RAROTONGA—See Polynesian.

RHODESIAN—See African.

ROMAN—See Italian; Latin.

ROMANDE—See Swiss.

## ROMANIAN

MODERN ROMANIA was formed in 1862 out of the old provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia or Muntenia; to it in 1918 was added Transylvania and Bessarabia. In all these lands, the dominant language is Romanian, which is based upon ancient Latin, much influenced by the neighboring Slavonic. Romanian scholars claim that their people are the descendants of the ancient Dacians, who were conquered and absorbed into the Roman Empire by Trajan early in the 2d c. A.D. Be this as it may, there is evidence that at an early date there were Latin speaking groups east of the Carpathians and in the northern Balkans, and we find them constantly mentioned in the history of the times. Later both Moldavia and Wallachia passed under the rule of the Turks, while Transylvania became part of Hungary. The bulk of the population was Orthodox in religion and for many centuries the official language of the various principalities both in civil and religious fields was the Church Slavonic of the day.

It was not until the 16th c. that there are definite evidences of an attempt to replace this with the vernacular Romanian; even when this was done, the language was written in the Church Slavonic alphabet for more than two centuries. An important factor in the introduction of the native speech were the Hungarian Calvinists and the Saxon Lutherans in Transylvania, who sought in this way to profit at the expense of the Orthodox. Thus in 1540 there was printed at Sibiu a Calvinist *Catechism* in the Romanian language.

In 1560 the deacon Coresi, probably a Greek in origin, went from Wallachia to Braşov in Transylvania; there he published a Romanian translation of the *Gospels* (1560), the first major book in Romanian. In 1564 at the expense of Forro Micloş, he published *Tâlc al Evangheliilor*, a Calvinist book of homilies. In 1563 he published the *Book of Acts*, in 1568 a *Psalterea*, in 1570 a second *Psalter*, in 1577 a Slav-Romanian *Psalter*. All of these works were mere translations, not particularly inspired or capable, but they served as the beginning of the new movement. In 1580 Metropolitan Serafim published the *Evanghelie invătătoare* as a second edition of the book of 1564.

In the next century the work was continued. In 1648 the Hieromonakh Sylvestre, with the aid of Gabriel Bethlen, prepared a *New Testament* collated with the Greek and Hungarian Calvinist versions. Archbishop Varlaam (1590?–1657) published some works, but the great writer of the period was the Metropolitan Dosofteiu of Moldavia (1630–1711). Among his works were a *Molitvănic* (*Prayer Book*) published in Iaşi in 1679–80, and the first Romanian verse, a rhymed version of the *Psalms*, in 1673. He also translated 12 v. of the *Lives of the Saints*. In 1688 there was published a complete *Bible* by Prince Şerban Cantacuzino, in which he employed parts of various older translations.

The same century saw the definite transference of the old monastic chronicles into Romanian. In both provinces a series of authors of varying ability sought to prepare

the chronicles of their land. Thus in 1620, in the *Chronicle of Moxa*, we have a translation of the Bulgarian chronicle of Manasses and a history of the world to 1498, with emphasis on Wallachia. A more able group of writers in Moldavia wrote the chronicle of that land. There was, first, Grigore Ureche (1590-1646), then the far more able Miron Costin (1633-91), a statesman and scholar who had spent considerable time in Poland. His work was continued in a poorer way by his son Nicolăe Costin (d. 1715). More significant was Dimitrie Cantemir (1673-1723), who for his opposition to the Turks was compelled to take refuge in Russia. His works in Romanian, Greek, and Latin really mark the beginning of modern scientific study of Romanian history, for he was a true scholar, recognized also by the Academy in Berlin.

In the meantime, among the Orthodox Romanians, the rule of the Phanariote princes from Constantinople, appointed as governors by the Turks, had increased the influence of the Greek language. More and more books were published in that language, which rapidly took the place of the older Slavonic. Greek influence was manifested in all fields, supplemented by the beginnings of French influence exerted indirectly through Constantinople and the strengthening of French influence in the east and also by repercussions of the French influence in 18th c. Russia.

During this time, a large part of the Orthodox Church in Transylvania had formally accepted the supremacy of the Pope and had formed a Romanian Uniat Church with its centre at Blaj in 1697. A result of this was the offering of more opportunities for the young men to study, both in Budapest and in Vienna. It opened the eyes of the Romanians of Transylvania to the consequences that might be drawn from their speaking a Latin tongue. They studied Roman history with more energy than in the purely Orthodox environment of the past; the schol-

ars and writers of Transylvania devoted themselves to the early history of the Romanian people, and to tracing the relationship of their language to ancient Latin. Samuel Micu (1745-1806) and George Șincai (1754-1816) published a Romanian grammar in Latin; and Șincai, who had been educated at both Vienna and Rome, published the first history of the Roman invasion of Dacia. Both men argued that the original Dacians were almost exterminated and that their place was taken by Roman colonists. On the other hand, Petru Maior (1760-1821), who for some years held the post of censor and proofreader in Buda, claimed that the language was derived from the popular Latin introduced by the legions among the Dacian population. More important than this was his *Romanian or Latino-Wallachian Orthography* (1819) in which for the first time he adapted the Latin alphabet to the Romanian language and argued for its adoption on the ground that Romanian was a Latin language. This Transylvanian school, although it had taken its rise from a split in the Romanian Orthodox Church, still was far less interested in the narrow religious aspects of the movement than in the general nationalistic contact with the West. It aimed to free the Romanian people from subservience to foreign masters; thus it reflected the same tendencies as were being developed among the Slavs by Dobrovský and his followers. It was typical of the Age of Enlightenment, and of its passage into the early period of Romanticism under the influence of the theories of Herder and his admiration for the popular speech and folk songs. To the same period belongs the epic poem of Ion Budai-Deleanu, *Tiganiada or the Camp of the Gypsies, a heroic-comic-satiric poem*, dealing with the times of Vlad the Impaler, 15th c. Prince of Wallachia. It is a work more remarkable for its value in Romanian literature than for its intrinsic qualities.

It was not long before the work of these

Transylvanian scholars was carried into the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, where it fell upon fertile soil, for the agitation was beginning that led to the partial independence of these countries from Turkish rule. The period coincided with the establishment of Serbia and the revolution in Greece; everywhere the same phenomena are to be observed. Among the Romanians there was the special fact that the intellectual leaders were becoming acutely conscious of the Latin basis of their language. As a result the scholars of the day consciously tried to reform the language on what they conceived to be its true patterns and to eliminate as many Slavonic words as possible. Despite the efforts of Timoteiu Cipario (1805-87) to adopt as a criterion the language of the 16th c. the final standard was really based on the ideas of the Latinizers A. Y. Laurian and Ion C. Massim (1825-77), who endeavored to recreate the language as it had been spoken in the 12th c. These discussions absorbed a large part of the energy of the writers for many years, resulting often in sterile polemics. To this group belongs also Andrei Mureșeanu (1816-63).

In 1818 George Lazar (1779-1823) opened the first modern school in Bucharest, in the Monastery of St. Sava; many of the most distinguished writers of the next years were among his pupils. George Asachi (1788-1869) and Ion Văcărescu (1786-1863) represented various phases of the Enlightenment and of French influence. In view of the nature of Romanian, however, there was naturally a special interest in Italian, and many of the authors undertook either to translate Italian books or to write on classical themes, as Vasile Aaron (1770-1832) with his tale of *Pyramus and Thisbe* and Ion Barac (1772-1848) with his poem *Argir și Elena*. French translations also began to appear; Costache Aristia (1801-80) translated Molière; Ion Văcărescu translated two tragedies

of Racine. At the same time the elements of the theatre were laid. Văcărescu translated *Regulus* by Heinrich von Kollen; Asachi translated and modeled dramas on the works of Kotzebue.

The young literature was, naturally, strongly influenced by the general romantic movement. Thus Ion Heliade Rădulescu (1802-72) translated many works of Victor Hugo, Lamartine, and Byron, not to speak of Dante and many other authors. His original works were largely epic poems and odes. In his later life, after he was exiled in 1848, he devoted himself to studies in philology and to developing the Italian influences in the Romanian language and literature. Another powerful factor in the literature of the day was the Russian influence exerted by Alexander Pushkin and the writers of his circle. Thus Costache Negruzzi (1808-68), who was born in Iași, had the opportunity of meeting the Russian poet personally during his residence in Chișinău; later, he also translated some of the poems of Victor Hugo and the latter's *Maria Tudor*, in addition to producing original works. Alexandru Donici (1806-66) under the same influences, wrote many fables in the style of the Russian fabulist Krylov.

At the same time there was an ardent quest for Romanian folk songs. Among the early collectors were Anton Pann (1797-1854) and the theoretician of the group, Aleksandru Russo (1819-59), with his *Cantarea Romaniei*.

The same period saw the development of many other authors as the romantic Vasile Cârlova (1809-31), who published but nine lyric poems—all masterpieces—during his short life; Nicolae Bălcescu (1819-52), a historian; Grigore Alexandrescu (1812-85), noted for his meditations, satires, and fables; Dimitrie Bolintineanu (1819-72), perhaps best known for his historical novels, as *Manoil and Elena*, and for his historical ballads and historical

drama; and the historian and archaeologist Mihail Kogălniceanu (1817-91). These men made up the traditionalist school. Many of their later works appeared in the reviews *Traian* and *Columna lui Traian*, published by Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu (1836-1907), who in addition to his historical works produced poetry, historical novels, and dramas. To the same group belonged the major prose writer, Alexander Odobescu (1834-95) with his two historical novels *Mihnea* and *Doamna Chiajna*, although most of his writings dealt with archaeology and history.

During this period a special place was held by Vasile Alecsandri (1819-90). He was a prolific writer in all fields of literature, reaching his height in his *Pastorales* and *Legends*, which contain large selections and extracts from the popular poems as reflected through his own talent. He left behind him a special school of younger poets, as N. Nicoleanu (1835-71), with his pensive satires and elegies; George Crețeanu (1829-87); Alexandru Sihleanu (1833-57); Dimitrie Petrino (1846-73) with his poems on the death of his wife; Flori de Mormânt; and many others.

The writers of these early periods often had didactic purposes. They felt it necessary to educate, to develop the national consciousness of their compatriots and to prepare, in Romanian, translations of the chief works of European literature. It was thus that during this period the change from the Cyrillic to the Latin alphabet was definitely made, that the general form of the language was fixed, and all the preparatory work carried out.

With the stabilization of the country in 1862 and the accession of King Carol I, there opened new opportunities for literary development. The newer group of educated men began to study more frequently in the universities of Germany, so that they became more familiar with the works of Goethe and the German philosophers. They began a conscious campaign to elevate the standards of

the literature. Thus Tito Maiorescu (1840-1917) translated into Romanian the writings of Schopenhauer, Spencer, and Ibsen; he also took a large part in the development of the Iași society *Junimea* (Youth), which published for many years the leading conservative literary journal in the country, the *Convorbiri literare* (Literary Conversations). Maiorescu emphasized the artistic side of literary works, developing a theory of art for art's sake. He wrote several volumes, also many articles on language, literature, and style, and he strove in every way to raise the literary taste of the population. The leading writers of the older generation published their works in this journal, among them Alexandrescu, and Alecsandri.

The most important poet whom Maiorescu developed was Mihail Eminescu\* (1850-89), the outstanding poet of Romania. Born in Botoșani, he was educated chiefly in Vienna and Berlin, where he studied philosophy. For a while he was a school inspector and editor but his mind was affected and after a few years of misery he died in București. He had won early fame with his poem *Venere și Madonna*; it increased with the *Epigonii* and his later poems, many of which were posthumously published. He was a deeply sensitive and artistic nature, but decidedly pessimistic in temperament, much like Leopardi, who influenced him greatly. His works show a harmonious blending of eastern and western ideas, together with the influence of the Romanian folk songs. His premature death was a great loss to Romanian literature.

At almost the same period that these artists were working, there appeared in Romanian the first traces of realism, coming again from France and Russia. Many of the authors turned aside from the more purely romantic and historical themes to trace and picture the life of the common people of the present. Among these authors we must place Ioan Creangă (1837-89), with his tales of peasant

life which illustrate the sly humor and the sound common sense of the peasants even among their difficulties and lack of education. Among them the most prominent are perhaps the *Memories from Childhood*. Nicolae Gane (1835-1916) was another of these authors of peasant life, although he added to his works a series of sketches on hunting and a translation of Dante. Petre Ispirescu (1838-87), starting with *Larks and popular tales*, wrote many stories for children. George Bariț (1812-93) of Transylvania wrote in the same general vein. Victor Crășescu (1849-1917) showed definitely the influences of Russian realism and V. A. Ureche (1834-1901) in his *Legende române* brought to life the traditions of the people.

The theatre reached its highest development in the works of I. L. Caragiale (1853-1912), with his marked development of social satire. His amusing treatment of the foibles and abuses of the times won him even more fame than did his purely psychological studies. His best plays are the *Scrisoarea din Urmă* (*The Lost Letter*) and *Noaptea Furtunoasă* (*The Stormy Night*). He pushed further a type of satire that had been started by Heliade Rădulescu and developed by Ion Ghica (1816-97).

Socialistic ideas were developed in Romanian through the journal *Contemporanul* in the 1880's; of this point of view, Ioan Dobrogeanu-Gherea (1855-1920) was the chief exponent. He had been born and educated in Russia, but had fled to Romania to escape political persecution. He had considerable influence over the generation, even though he met with little success politically.

The generation that followed Eminescu was largely permeated with his sadness and pessimism. His chief follower was Alexandru Vlahuța (1858-1917). The note of suffering bulks large in his works, but with the passing of time he emancipated himself from the deepest part of this influence and in his last

works, both of prose and poetry, as *Dreptate* (*The Law*), he reveals a newer interest in the life of the country and a new emphasis upon nationalism and democracy. In this he proceeded with Varru Delavrancea (1858-1918), whose powerful imagination won him success in both prose and the drama. To the period belongs George Coșbuc (1866-1918), whose poems deal with the life of the people both in his native Transylvania and throughout the Kingdom and won for him high esteem as ranking along with Alecsandri and Eminescu.

Duiliu Zamfirescu (1858-1922) steadily drifted toward classicism in style. He is perhaps best known by his novels that draw upon the life of the village of Comașteni, in which he bewailed the passing of the good old type of pious boyars, and deplored the financial upstarts that were taking their place in the life of the day.

Among the other poets of the period before the war, which was largely under the influence of Eminescu, we must mention Sl. O. Josif (1877-1913), with his translations of Goethe and Heine and his air of peaceful, tender melancholy; his friend, D. Anghel (d. 1914); Panait Cerna (1881-1913), with his religious moods; J. B. Hetrat (1851-1911); Alexandru Mateevici (1888-1917) of Bessarabia. In prose there were, among many others, D. C. Moruzzi (1850-1914), with the novel *The Death of Cain*; I. Adam (1875-1911); Em. Gârleanu (1876-1914).

French symbolism was represented in Romanian by the work of Alecsandru Macedonski (1854-1920) who, after serving as editor of the *Literatorul*, in which Zamfirescu cooperated, emigrated to France and published some of his later works in French. Others of this group were I. Minulescu and Ion Pillat who published *My Village* in 1925.

In general Prof. N. Iorga, (1871-1940), scholar, historian, and statesman, endeavored to found with his journal *Semanatorul* (*The*

Sower) a school that would stand between the extremes into which many of the older schools had fallen, and that would strengthen the national spirit and the brotherhood of the Romanians. Among the more prominent of the younger authors were Mihaïl Sadoveanu in prose novels and stories, and Ion A. Brătescu-Voinești.

The general unification of the Romanian lands brought, after 1918, Romanian literature into full contact with all of the varied schools that existed in Europe, and as usual

released the national talents. At the same time the constant political disturbances, steadily mounting to the Second World War, exercised a negative influence as the forces of Communism and Fascism gained fresh strength among the Romanian people and prepared for the debacle of the country, from which it now may hope to rise.

Hasnew, *Histoire de la littérature roumaine* (Paris), 1934; Gheorghe Adamescu, *Istoria Literaturii Române* (București), 1924.

CLARENCE A. MANNING.

ROMANSH—See Swiss.

RUMANIAN—See Romanian.

RUNDI—See African.

RUS'—See Ukrainian.

## RUSSIAN

SINCE THE beginning of the 19th c. Russian literature has developed until it is today recognized as one of the great literatures of the modern world. Yet it is often forgotten that while it first appeared abroad as a fully developed product of the nation, its beginnings go back to a remote period, while for centuries it remained apart from the great European development. Both chivalry and the Renaissance find no reflection in the Russian Middle Ages; the effect is almost as if in English we passed directly from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles and Beowulf to Pope and the Augustan age.

Russian literature takes its rise with the Christianization of the country. Of the centuries preceding this, there are only confused memories preserved in some of the folk tales. When, however, Prince Vladimir of Kiev accepted the Christian Faith in its Eastern form in the year 988, the way was open for the introduction of Byzantine culture and the Church Slavonic language as it had been developed by Saints Cyril and Methodius.

The literature then developed centered around the city of Kiev in the southwest and spread rapidly through all the territories now claimed as Ukrainian from the Carpathians to the Don. Yet very early, in fact by the time of the *Ostromir Bible* (1056-7), we begin to find words of definitely East Slavonic origin, for the monks steadily tended to introduce native words or native spellings into the text without trying to preserve accuracy of copying or to produce a translation into the vernacular speech. It is difficult to know how far the Church Slavonic language differed at this time from the colloquial speech since, except for scanty official documents, usually written by the clergy or monks, there are few records of the vernacular.

The literature of Kiev followed the traditions of Church Slavonic. There were imported into Russia and produced at home the necessary ecclesiastical books. *Gospels*, Church books, books of sermons, the writings of the Fathers, made their appearance. Among the earliest original writings were the sermon

of Ilarion of Kiev in the mid 11th c. and the sermons of Cyril of Turov in the next century. The earliest life of a Russian saint was probably that of the two royal sufferers Saints Boris and Gleb, written by the monk Nestor at the end of the 11th century.

Then too we find the *Chronicles* which were begun as a continuation of the writings of John Malalas of Constantinople and took shape as the *Primary Chronicle* covering the period from Noah to 1116 and the *Kievan Chronicle* which continues the story until the year 1200. We know that Nestor worked for a while on the *Primary Chronicle* but it is now believed that he was not the final editor, who was probably the Abbot Sylvester of Vydubitsky. Into these chronicles have been incorporated traditions and stories of various origin. Some of them, as the "Code of Yaroslav the Great" (1019-54) and the "Testament of Vladimir Monomakh" (Grand Prince of Kiev, 1113-25), bear testimony to the relatively high culture of the Kievan leaders, who in education and in general humanity were often superior to the contemporary rulers of Western Europe. Besides those, there is the *Petition of Daniel the Prisoner*, of the early 13th c. with its mixture of quotations from the Bible and popular proverbs, almost in the style of Hesiod. Then there is the account of the *Pilgrimage of Daniel the Abbot to the Holy Land* in 1106-8. He tells how he lit a candle at the Holy Sepulchre for the Russian land, and vividly describes Palestine under the Frankish kings.

Yet undoubtedly the outstanding production of this period is the single example of secular literature, in the *Tale of the Armament of Igor*, which seems to be contemporary with the expedition it describes, approximately 1185-7. Discovered in the late 18th c., the manuscript is so unlike all that we know of the 12th c. that many scholars, especially the French, have sought to prove that it is a forgery. There seems no doubt, however, of

its essential genuineness, and it further highlights the cultural level of the princes. The tale (it is written in a rhythmic prose, if not actually in metre) describes the expedition of Prince Igor Svyatoslavich against the Polovtsy, a Tatar tribe, and his defeat, capture, and final escape. The work has a vitality, a poetic flavor and a charm with its mixture of Christian and pagan motifs, that have never been equalled in Russian literature. It is one of the finest productions of mediaeval Europe and need not fear comparison with anything of the same period. It stands as a completely isolated work, imitated only in crude and unintelligible paraphrases of a later period. Unfortunately we do not know whether it was the work of an isolated spirit or whether it was one of a widespread type lost because of ecclesiastical criticism and the ravages of the Tatar invasion.

The path of Kievan literature did not run smooth. In 1170 Prince Andrey Bogolyubsky of Suzdal sacked Kiev and moved the centre of gravity to the north, where soon it settled in Moscow. Kiev and its surrounding country soon passed under the control of Poland and Lithuania; the culture of Kiev and Moscow steadily grew apart, so that when we next hear of the south, it is markedly separate, and its later history belongs in Ukraine.

In 1240 the Mongols and Tatars swept into the land, again sacked Kiev, and established control over Moscow. Even such a great foe of the German expansion to the east as St. Alexander Nevsky in the 13th c. was a subject of the Great Khan and died on a trip to his capital.

Moscow steadily grew more and more under eastern influences. The road to Constantinople was cut; and, while there was still some connection with the Balkan Slavs, and Serb and Bulgarian monks brought manuscripts to Russia, the culture of Moscow retrogressed actually, and not merely relatively to the increasing development of West-

ern Europe. Whereas Vladimir Monomakh was a cultured and literary gentleman, Dimitry Donskoy, who administered the first real defeat to the Tatars, at Kulikovo in 1389, could scarcely sign his name.

Formalism and religion increased at the expense of everything else during these centuries, but they were also the period when Russian architecture and ikon painting reached their height. The Lives of the Saints on more and more schematic patterns took predominance over all other forms of writing. So did the traditional folk tales. There also appeared the first formal piece of Russian theological writing, the *Prostyitel* (*Illuminator*) of St. Joseph Volokolamsky 1440-1515), which he wrote in opposition to the Judaizing movement in the Russian Church.

There can be no doubt, however, that the chief writer of the period was the Tsar, Ivan IV (the Terrible; 1530-84). We are not concerned with his personal character, his spells of uncontrolled rage; he was the epitome of the Muscovite culture of his time, and in his letters, largely written to Prince Andrey Mikhailovich Kurbsky, he showed himself a skilful pamphleteer by turning into keen political invective and argumentation the formal rhetoric that was the product of the Byzantine tradition. Behind the inflated periods of his letters, we can see the overwhelming pride and haughtiness of the dread Tsar, who incidentally had opened the first printing press in Moscow. He was far more effective than his rival, Prince Kurbsky (1528-83), who after his flight from Moscow took part in this unusual correspondence between sovereign and fugitive courtier in which the two men argued over the essence of the Russian tsarist power and the duties of servants towards it and towards religion. Kurbsky also wrote, under Polish influence, a *History of Russia*, in which he endeavored to condemn the policies of Ivan.

Compared to these writings, the *Domo-*

*stroy*, prepared by the priest Sylvester and giving the contemporary theory of patriarchal power in the average Russian family, can hardly count as literature; but it is interesting for the point of view that it expresses and for its picture of Russian manners before the great transition.

The 17th c. opened on much the same vein. Yet it ushered in the Troublous Times, when the old dynasty became extinct and when for a few years Polish troops occupied even the Kremlin. This invasion, which was ended by the accession of the Romanovs, gave to the Russians their first real contact with Western civilization and it was followed for the next c. by the calling of an ever larger number of scholars from Kiev to act as the teachers of the country. Yet the direct observable influence was very slight. The old spirit continued in the *Autobiography* of Avvakum, (1620-81) the leader of the conservatives in the Church controversy under Tsar Alexis, although it is interesting that in his impassioned account of his own life and hardships, he for the first time really tried to use the colloquial language of the day. There were also spasmodic attempts to introduce the miracle plays on a pattern practiced in Poland, and in the German suburb of Moscow, we find the first performances of dramas in the European sense.

The various types of folk song had by now taken definite shape, although not many were collected for another century. The most famous were the *byliny* or *stariny*, stories of Fair Sun Vladimir and his court, including the old Cossack Ilya of Murom. The germs at least of these tales go back to the Kievan period, for they almost ignore the existence of Moscow and attach themselves to times before the coming of the Tatars. But opinion is still divided as to whether these were late productions on old themes or they had existed in substantially their present form through the centuries. They merge almost



imperceptibly with the historical songs, commemorating events in the time of Ivan the Terrible and the later rulers; the songs that deal with Ivan the Terrible almost uniformly accept his point of view, whereas the later ones show marked hostility to Peter the Great. There were also large numbers of religious verses sung by blind beggars, often incorporating the apocryphal legends spread by the Bogomils in the Balkans, as well as many folk legends and tales of magic that reflect the lesser mythology of the pagan Slavs. These and the various seasonal songs, as the *Kolyady* for Christmas, continued to be the chief intellectual pleasures of the peasants for decades after the new literature was established.

This new literature was a direct outgrowth of the efforts of Peter the Great (1672-1725) to introduce Western manners and thoughts into Russia. He cared little for literature and was interested only in practical reforms, the forming of a Western army and navy, the building of St. Petersburg as a Western capital, and of providing his country with the material advances of the West. He broke the power of the Church, he reformed the finances, he forced the adoption of Western clothing, and it was only natural that under the rulers that succeeded him there developed a Western literature.

Russian literature of the 18th c. is a curious phenomenon. For a while it was fashionable for Russian critics of the 19th c. to smile at the writings of this period as tasteless and exuberant imitations of French pseudo-classicism, but opinions have changed and there is a growing appreciation of the tremendous vitality of the period, despite the artificial form in which it is concealed. It is frankly a literature that was bought and paid for. A poet could reap the highest rewards even to becoming the governor of a province, if only he pleased the empress or the appropriate patron. Under such conditions the

lyric poem was out of place; the fashionable forms were grandiloquent odes praising the various empresses, or satires on the foibles of the day.

Yet there was much work to be done and much was accomplished, despite the artificiality. Thus Prince Antiokh Kantemir (1708-44), perhaps the earliest of these writers, employed syllabic verse in the fashion of French and Polish. This was a false start, corrected by the theories of Vasily Kirilovich Trediakovsky (1703-69), who was the first to write humanistic criticism in Russian but who was ridiculed as a drudge even during his own lifetime.

The real father of Russian literature was Mikhaylo Vasilyevich Lomonosov (b. between 1708 and 1715, d. 1765). He was a remarkable figure, a true encyclopedia of science. Born on the White Sea, he made his way to Moscow; from there he was sent to study physics in Germany. On his return as Assistant Professor of Chemistry at the Academy of Sciences, he maintained the dignity of Russian scholarship against the Germans and distinguished himself in all branches of natural science. At the same time he formulated the rules of Russian Grammar and in his *Ode on the Capture of Khotin* (1739) he set the first example of what was to be Russian verse. Some of his *Meditations on the Divine Majesty* and his renderings of the *Old Testament* still retain a cold and majestic beauty that is almost unequalled among his followers. At the same time he set the limits of the variation between Russian and Church Slavonic, and grafted on Russian literature the rhetorical theories of Boileau with the high, low, and middle styles.

Another leader of the period was Aleksander Petrovich Sumarokov (1717-74), who became the first successful playwright in Russian and who won fame also for his satires on the vices and misdemeanors of the ruling class.

During the reign of Catherine the Great (1729-96) literature took another step forward. The Empress, a German princess, was proud of her Russian writings and dramas, although they were of little more than mediocre quality. At the same time, she corresponded with Voltaire and was a friend and benefactor of the French Encyclopedists and it has been well said that if Peter introduced Western civilization into Russia, Catherine introduced ideas. Her reign was deemed *le grand siècle*. Such poets as Gavril Romanovich Derzhavin (1743-1816) with his odes and lyrics (despite his frequent use of bathos) and Denis Ivanovich Fonvizin (1744-92) with his two comedies, *The Brigadier* and the *Unlicked Cub* (*Nedorosl*) marked a control of the material and spirit of Russian life and language that had not been previously reached. At the same time Nikolay Ivanovich Novikov (1744-1816) edited satirical journals and introduced deism into Russia as a foil to the Voltairean scepticism, but, taking liberties that displeased Catherine, he was silenced. Aleksander Nikolayevich Radishchev (1749-1802) commenced the oppositional writing with his *Journey from Petersburg to Moscow*, a savage attack on the conditions under which the serfs were living. Yet even here the spirit of imitation still dominated and Radishchev's work, bitter as it is, is far too much a recital of abuses that the 18th c. author ought to see.

Towards the end of the century, popular taste changed; the writers begin to imitate the English sentimental novel; soon there was an abundance of Russian Richardsons and Fieldings. Yet out of this change emerged Nikolay Mikhailovich Karamzin (1766-1826). He was in France during the French Revolution and became disillusioned in that country but he had an ardent admiration for England, freely expressed in his *Letters of a Russian Traveller*. His novels, as *Poor Liza*, were very popular; but Karamzin turned more and more

to history and in *Marfa the Mayor's Wife*, a tale of old Novgorod, he penned the phrase that was to be his future motto: "Uncivilized peoples love freedom; civilized peoples love order; and there can be no order without autocracy." He became court historiographer; his *History of the Russian Empire*, when the first 8 v. appeared, was the first massive Russian work to have an extensive sale. But its effect was that thereafter writers that dealt with history were regarded as liable to be reactionary. It was well written prose, however, and the language of Karamzin became the norm for the next generation.

To the same period belongs Ivan Andreyevich Krylov (1768-1844), the distinguished fable writer. He had tried other modes of expression with little success, but when he turned to fables, his fame succeeded all expectations. He left about two hundred, most of them original, and his works with their kindly but platitudinous humor have become the favorites of all classes of society. He was one of the most distinctively Russian characters of the day, and has retained his fame despite all changes of critical taste.

Early in the 19th c. German romanticism appeared in Russian through the writings of Vasily Andreyevich Zhukovsky (1783-1852). This amiable son of a Russian gentleman and a Turkish slave girl rose to be reader to the Empress and tutor of the children of Tsar Nicholas I. In addition he was the intermediary through whom Byron, Scott, Goethe, and Schiller were absorbed into Russian literature; he was the friend and adviser and teacher of nearly all the poets of the Golden Age.

Almost all the successful writers of the early 19th c. were liberal members of the aristocracy. They were amateurs in the best sense and they looked down upon the professional writers who had no heritage of birth or rank behind them. Such was Aleksander Sergeyevich Griboyedov (1795-

1829) who was killed by a Persian mob while on duty as Russian ambassador at Teheran. He spent most of his life in the East, but he is known for one comedy, *Gore ot Uma* (*Sorrow out of Intelligence*), which is still a standard piece on the Russian stage, with its clever satire at the emptiness of much that passed for Russian high society. Griboyedov wrote it in the East as kindly memoirs of his early years in the capital. For some years the Tsars refused to allow its production on the stage, but it is one of the most successful comedies and contrary to many opinions, the Russian comedies have often proved finer than the more serious dramas.

For a while the centre of Russian literary study was at the Lycée of Tsarskoye Selo, a school founded by Tsar Alexander I for the training of higher government officials and restricted to the aristocratic children of the day. It was near the palace, and Karamzin and Zhukovsky took an active part in the literary exercises of the students and helped them when they got into trouble with the authorities.

From this school came the greatest of Russian poets, Aleksander Sergeyevich Pushkin\* (1799-1837). The descendant through his father of a family famous in the reign of Ivan the Terrible and through his mother of Hannibal, the "Arab" of Peter the Great, he was educated in the Lycée, where he became famous for the perfection of his Anacreontic verse. On graduation he entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs but for his sharp epigrams on the regime he was soon exiled to the Black Sea and lived for some years at Kishinev and Odessa. Then he was transferred to his father's estates at Mikhailovskoye and was nearly involved in the Decembrist conspiracy. He was pardoned by Tsar Nicholas I, who became his censor and bound him in golden chains to life in the capital. Conditions became worse when he married Natalya Goncharova, a beautiful girl who had no apprecia-

tion of his genius or interests. Her flirtations involved him in a duel with Baron d'Anthes, the adopted son of the Dutch Minister, and Pushkin was mortally wounded.

From his poem *Ruslan and Lyudmila*, a pure romantic tale of magic and of love, through his Byronic poems, as *The Prisoner of the Caucasus*, *The Fountain of Bakhchisaray*, *The Gypsies*, to the glorification of Peter in *Poltava* and the idealization of the old Russia in *Boris Godunov*, a Shakespearean drama, Pushkin developed a verse in which every word contains the proper music, and which is as near perfection as any poet has ever reached. That exquisite art which is the characteristic of great lyric poetry he applied also to the epic and the drama. There is a softness and a sensuousness about his earlier work, discarded in *The Copper Horseman* and the writings of his last period.

Yet his greatest work is *Evgeny Onyegin*, a poem started on the model of Don Juan, but becoming a brilliant picture of Russian society; Tatyana Larina was the first example of a true Russian lady in the literature. Contrasted with her, the hero Evgeny, a bored Petersburg dandy who spurns her young and innocent love in the country and then woos her in vain when she is married, rich, and famous in the capital, is a slight and hopeless figure. In a few brief phrases Pushkin sums up the salient characteristics of a person, a class, or a period, and he possessed a sense of artistic form that has not been equalled. He combined all that was good in the 18th c. tradition and all that was universal in Romanticism as it was presented to Russia. Whether he was writing folk tales, as *The Golden Cock* or *Tsar Saltan*, or occasional lyrics, or exquisite little dramas, his skill never wavered.

Towards the end of his life, Pushkin turned to prose and in *The Captain's Daughter*, a story of the revolt of Pugachev in the 18th c. on the style of Sir Walter Scott, or the whimsi-

cal *Tales of Byelkin*, or *The Queen of Spades*, a supernatural gambling story, Pushkin set a new standard for Russian prose. Few could match his brevity, his conciseness.

Pushkin was the very symbol of the Golden Age of Russian poetry. Around him was a group of friends, mainly from the Lycée: Baron Anton Antonovich Delvig (1798-1831); Evgeny Abramovich Baratynsky (1800-44); Nikolay Mikhaylovich Yazykov (1803-46). In varying degrees they reacted to the periods of the 18th c. and Romanticism, but they were all gentlemen first and would have disdained the thought of being grouped with professional writers.

They were a short lived group, for almost as soon as they commenced their career, conditions became unfavorable to them. Up to this time the intellectual leadership had belonged to the aristocratic classes. But the young officers that had served in the armies against Napoleon were the standard bearers of Western idealism. When they returned to Russia and saw the reactionary policies of the last years of Alexander I, they started various secret societies and after the unexpected death of Alexander and the refusal of his brother Konstantine to accept or reject the throne, they tried to rouse a revolt. It was the last of the palace revolutions of the 18th c. and the first of the ideological movements of the 19th. It failed disastrously, and some of the ringleaders were executed, including Kondraty Fedorovich Ryleyev (1785-1826), the author of many historical poems. From this time on, the gentry as such gave up active participation in the progressive movements and either retired to their estates or accepted the ideas of the bureaucracy. There were no younger successors to the old group of poets and as they passed from the scene, they left a vacuum that was filled by men of a very different spirit.

The last of the group was Mikhail Yurevich Lermontov\* (1814-41), a stormy and

tempestuous poet, army officer, and hero. He was spoiled by his wealthy grandmother and after a short stay at the University of Moscow, he entered the Cadet School in St. Petersburg, then became an officer in the Guards, from which, because of a poem on the death of Pushkin, he was transferred to the active army in the Caucasus. He was a stormy petrel in the eyes of the authorities and they were more or less relieved when he too fell in a duel, at the age of 27.

Of all the writers that passed under the influence of Byron, Lermontov found himself most fully congenial with the foreign poet. Like Byron, he loved storms and excitement; like him, he was ready to risk his life on a moment's impulse. He loved strange and overwhelming passions with a steady disgust for the ordinary prosaic interests of mortals. From childhood he had dreamed of disillusionment and cynicism; his early poems were replete with the fierce passions of the East and the tortures of a banished soul. Yet after his exile to the Caucasus at the age of 23, Lermontov matured rapidly and during the last years of his life he produced a series of poems, many of which deal with the Caucasus and express his admiration for sincerity and his quick scorn of the fashionable world around him and of the world of letters.

Lermontov was a master of rhetoric and in his *Demon*, the story of the love of a fallen angel for a mortal maiden, he achieves some of the most brilliant passages of imagery in Russian. So too in *Mtsyri*, the story of a dying Caucasian boy, "a child in heart, a monk by fate," he shows that fierce love of liberty which actuated him and which with his Scotch ancestry through the Lermonts made him a Roderick Dhu at the Russian court. In a more sober and realistic tone, he describes the battle of Valerik in which he took part, but even here he cannot resist a cynical remark to the girl whose love he had spurned by masquerading as Don Juan.

All this led him to prose and in *The Hero of our Time* and the character of Pechorin, he created a new type of psychological literature in Russian. The work consists of a series of short stories connected with the leading character, who cannot be honest with himself or with other people, and who is satisfied to be an axe in the hands of fate, even when he has a broken heart. To this series belongs *Bela*, of the love of Pechorin for a Caucasian girl, and *Taman*, a story of smuggling which Chekhov regarded as the greatest short story in Russian literature. Besides the main character, he has left us the sympathetic picture of old Maksim Maksimich, the staff captain, that type of Russian officer who with simple, uncomplaining bravery and with no hope of fame or financial reward formed the backbone of the armies that were extending Russian influence and prestige along the borders of the Empire. The early death of the poet was a blow to the development of Russian literature, for he was the last to stand out for the old ideals and methods that had fashioned its rapid rise.

Fedor Ivanovich Tyutchev (1803-73), was a deeply philosophical poet who wrote, at infrequent intervals, a most melodious Russian, although he conducted his personal life almost exclusively in French. On another plane are the peasant poems of Aleksyey Vasilyevich Koltsov (1808-42). Remote from the literary world and a self-taught poet of humble origin, he remodelled in literary form the old folk motifs and was the first of the peasant poets.

The outstanding prose author of the period was Nikolay Vasilyevich Gogol\* (1809-52), singularly unlike his contemporaries. Born near Poltava in Ukraine or, as it was then called, Little Russia, delicate in health and shy in society, he went to St. Petersburg with high hopes of becoming a literary man and a professor of history; but his early efforts at poetry failed and his career as a professor of history was speedily ended. He became fa-

mous, however, with his *Evenings on a Farm near Dikanka*, stories of "Little Russian" life, well endowed with incidents of devils and witches. They struck a new note in the literature, which he continued with *Mirgorod*, the picture of the unruly Cossacks, which introduces the immortal Taras Bulba. They were accepted as realism, but in reality there was an unconscious caricature of his characters, which only added to their plausibility.

With these stories Gogol paid farewell to his native region; henceforth he wrote about the capitals and Russia itself. He tried his hand at comedy and in *The Inspector General* he so satirized the corruption of the lesser officials that even Tsar Nicholas laughed. It almost broke the heart of the author that what he hoped would evoke a call to repentance was treated as an amusing farce. At the same time he brought out his story *The Cloak*, the tale of a poor official Akaky Akakyevich Bashmachkin (the name is as ridiculous in Russian as in English) who concentrates his underpaid life on securing a new cloak. The reformers of the next decade accepted this as a plea for the reform of living conditions among the poor, and greeted it as the beginning of a new style of literature; as such, it ensured Gogol's popularity for the coming years.

Then at the suggestion of Pushkin he commenced *Dead Souls*, which was intended as a huge prose poem to inculcate Gogol's views as to the proper path that Russia should pursue. Yet in the first part, which alone he finished, the delightful swindler Chichikov, who travels around the country to buy dead souls with the idea of mortgaging them to the bank and absconding with the money before the fraud is discovered, meets such an amazing array of incompetent landlords that the impression of Russia is wholly negative and contrasts strangely with Gogol's panegyrics of his country. In vain he tried to continue the work. His characters emerged as

negative as before. In vain he tried fasting and prayer and even a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. More and more he developed a religious mania and a consciousness of persecution by the devil. When his definitely reform work, *Selected Passages from Correspondence with Friends*, was attacked by all parties, he became still more discouraged; he died in a condition near insanity.

The Decembrist Revolt and the stern measures of suppression adopted by Nicholas I had broken the spirit of the liberal aristocrats; and the thirties saw the rise of a group of journalists and thinkers that felt themselves sharply separated from the cultured aristocrats that had dominated literature since the time of Peter the Great. These new men gravitated into the two schools of the Slavophiles and the Westerners, whose disputes marked the course of Russian literature for decades.

The Slavophiles were on the whole rich and happy conservatives, who believed that Russia was being corrupted by the innovations from the West. They believed in the autocracy, in the Orthodox Church, and in the communal organizations of the peasants, even though they deplored serfdom. They did most of their work in the salons; few of them became distinguished writers. They were largely of the type of Sergey Timofeyevich Aksakov (1791-1859) who wrote (after 1840) *A Family Chronicle* and *The Early Years of Bagrov-Grandson*, the finest sympathetic study of life on the old patriarchal estates of Russia; and Aleksyey Stepanovich Khomyakov (1804-60) with his theological studies of the essence of the Orthodox Church, which were as much resented by the government as were the progressive ideas of the Westerners. He was followed by the Kireyevsky brothers, Ivan (1806-56) and Peter (1808-56), and a succession of other brilliant writers and critics, as Konstantin Nikolayevich Leontyev (1831-91).

The more fertile field was that of the

Westerners. They were foreshadowed by Peter Yakovlevich Chaadayev (1793-1856), who severely condemned Russian history and culture from a Roman Catholic standpoint (although he never joined that church) in *The Philosophical Letters*; but their great impulsion came when out of the Moscow circle of Stankevich appeared Vissarion Grigoryevich Belinsky (1810-48). The furious Vissarion, as he was nicknamed, became the leader and soul of the rising intelligentsia. He was the son of a poor physician and was compelled to make his living by his pen. Starting with the ideals of Schelling, he soon turned to the social teachings of the French pre-Marxian socialists; he demanded that all literature possess a definite civic message and interpreted this to mean that all good writings must be more or less revolutionary. The next decades saw this process carried further in the writings of Aleksander Ivanovich Herzen (1812-70); Nikolay Gavrilovich Chernyshevsky (1808-89) with his novel, *What is to be Done?*; Nikolay Aleksandrovich Dobrolyubov (1836-81) and Dmitry Ivanovich Pisarev (1840-78) who developed the new ideas to a point where he denied the value of art and even preached that "boots are greater than Pushkin." The group represented the growing interest in natural science, and ultimately formed the nucleus of the later nihilists before they adopted terroristic methods. One and all insisted that Russia must learn from the West and must apply without delay the latest lessons of advanced Western thought. They replaced literary criticism with political and sociological discussions and in a caste society they formed a casteless group, and died of tuberculosis almost as rapidly as the older aristocrats of revelry and duels.

Yet it was under their teachings that the vast amount of Russian writers lived for the next half century, and if they were not able to do more than sway the masters, their influence upon the lesser men was much more

dangerous and destructive. Naturally poetry felt their scourge most severely, and there are few important poets during the next years. It was the golden age of the novel.

Ivan Sergeyevich Turgenev\* (1818-83) is the most European of the Russian writers. He was typical of the group, for his quarrels with his mother had brought him to the verge of disinheritance, so that he found it more convenient to spend his time in Western Europe and return home only at infrequent intervals. Abroad he was the friend of all the literary men of Europe; he received an honorary degree from Oxford; he was the first exponent of Russian literature abroad. A confirmed foe of serfdom, Turgenev made his reputation with the *Memoirs of a Sportsman*, a series of hunting sketches that in their influence on the emancipation of the serfs have been compared to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. They are far more artistic, for Turgenev rarely pictures evil landowners but emphasizes in every story the superior human qualities of the serfs, so that as the stories appeared individually there was nothing in them that summoned censorship, but when they appeared in book form the impression they produced was overwhelming; it is said that Tsar Alexander II constantly kept a copy of the book before him.

For nearly twenty years, in a series of six novels, *Rudin*, *A Nest of Nobles*, *On the Eve*, *Fathers and Children*, *Smoke*, and *Virgin Soil*, Turgenev traced the rising development of the self-conscious progressive thinkers, those young men and women that were conscious of their social mission and their social obligations and were seeking for a way to do their duty to their people. The stories are preeminently readable. In almost all, the Russian woman is far more capable of self-sacrifice and of decisive action than the man. The most perfect story is the *Nest of Nobles*, but the greatest is *Fathers and Children*, with its masterly sketch of Bazarov,

the nihilist (Turgenev brought the word into general use) who tries in vain to subject all his impulses to scientific law. Unfortunately the younger generation took offence at the character and severely castigated the author, so that his reputation never recovered, and a note of bitterness, a loss of his old urbanity, colors his later work. Nevertheless his skill did not lessen and in his *Poems in Prose*, written almost on his deathbed, in little sketches and well-chosen words, he set forth his faith and his confidence in his country.

Aleksander Ivanovich Goncharov (1812-91) lacked the intellectual curiosity that strongly marked most of the men of his period. He lived almost the old vegetable existence and during his long life produced only three novels, but one of them, *Oblomov*, is a Russian masterpiece. This picture of the amiable man that cannot be stirred to action, even to marry his beloved, is a model of the Russian raised under serfdom. Oblomov is not indifferent, but his unwillingness to act until he can know the right course leads him out of the world, which is moving on in spite of itself. At times Goncharov may seem to be on the side of the status quo, but he reveals its weaknesses just as casually as he shows its virtues. He is undoubtedly the greatest Russian author that has failed to make an impression abroad, because of the slowness of his style and the small amount of action in his plots, but at home he has achieved a well deserved popularity.

To this generation belong the two great masters of Russian and of world literature, Count Leo Tolstoy\* and Feodor Dostoyevsky.\* Count Leo Nikolayevich Tolstoy (1828-1910) was undoubtedly the greatest figure of his day. Successful in all that he undertook, whether as army officer, land-owner, family man, or author, he was tortured throughout his life by the moral problems of humanity. Profoundly interested in ethical and religious problems but unable to attain any mystical

experience, he stands out through the sharp contradictions in his character and views. There is hardly an idea that he defends which he does not somewhere condemn, if not explicitly, then by the brilliance of his characters. He had a photographic mind and in his writings he pictures with amazing charm and accuracy that society against which he turned. His final death at the railroad station of Astapovo, where he was taken ill after leaving his estate at Yasnaya Polyana to escape the worldliness of his wife whom he had trained in the way in which she should go, is a final symbol of the conflict that raged within him as one mood or another gained the upper hand.

From the moment when he entered upon the literary scene with his *Childhood, Boyhood, and Youth*, Tolstoy remained an Olympian figure in the life of the day. His works are one long confession of Count Leo Tolstoy. Diabolically proud, he had an incurable inferiority complex; aristocratic to the last degree, he strove to live the life of a peasant. He presented realistic sketches of the Crimean War in his stories from Sevastopol, and Tsar Nicholas I ordered him kept out of danger. In *The Cossacks* he studied the same hero, himself among the natives of the Caucasus, and left inimitable pictures of the Cossack life. In such stories as *Lucerne* and *Kholostomyer*, (a Russian *Black Beauty*) he asks the most difficult questions of humanity and civilization, and without asserting, shows its emptiness.

Then after his marriage, while the happy side was uppermost, he wrote his masterpiece *War and Peace*, a study of Russia during the Napoleonic Wars and of the two aristocratic families, the Bolkonskys who were too busy thinking to live, and the Rostovs who were too busy living to think. Natasha Rostova is undoubtedly Tolstoy's ideal woman, and in Nikolay Rostov with his limited but good-hearted character we have a definite picture

of one aspect of Tolstoy himself. The other side is shown in Pierre Bezukhov with his constant struggle to find the right mode of life. In addition to this, the story is a condemnation of the Napoleonic cult and a vindication of the soundness of the Russian people who are able in their apparent lack of order to overcome the French military machine and to save their country. *War and Peace* is not so much a novel as a vast panorama of Russian life presented with little of the morbid moral hypochondria that was soon to develop in the author.

The cursed questions of the world were growing heavier when he wrote *Anna Karenina*, the tale of the brilliant and fascinating woman who leaves her son and her stupid official husband for her lover Vronsky, and goes to pieces in the process. Never has the downward step of an adulteress been traced with a surer hand and never has the real reason for her downfall been more completely hidden; for every reader feels on almost every page the horror of her life with Karenin and her superiority to the women that toy with their emotions and remain respectable. Contrasted to this is the love of Levin and Kitty, but again Levin shares all of Tolstoy's own moral problems and in the middle of an externally happy life he is torn and tortured by his desire to live well and to understand why he does so.

After *Anna Karenina*, the moral crisis that overwhelmed Tolstoy took an aggravated form, and he gave up all attempts at literature after writing his *Confession*, one of the great works of its type. For nearly a decade he busied himself with studies of theology and ethics and outlined his philosophy, which may well be summarized in the assertion that man must live by strict fulfilment of the *Sermon on the Mount*. Later he returned to the fictional form to write stories with a moral, as *The Kreutzer Sonata*, *The Death of Ivan Ilyich*, and various pieces left unpub-



lished, as *Hadji Murat*; and his successful drama, *The Power of Darkness*. He also published his third great novel, *Resurrection*, to secure funds for the removal of the Dukhobors to Canada. There are powerful passages in this, but on the whole it does not compare with the earlier works. The best works of his later days are his short sketches, as *Master and Man*, in which he expounds his moral views. We must also mention *What is Art?*, Tolstoy's ideas as to the meaning and significance of art as that which should appeal to the simple, pious peasant; and also his diatribe against Shakespeare, whom he detested as he had Napoleon.

The other outstanding genius of the period was Feodor Mikhailovich Dostoyevsky (1821-81). His father, an army doctor, secured an education for his son in the Engineering School, but fundamentally Dostoyevsky belonged to the shabby genteel. He soon left the army and took up literature, but from carelessness and gambling he was almost constantly in debt. His first story, *Poor Folk* (1846), is the tale of a poor clerk like the hero of Gogol's *Cloak*, but despite his poverty he is able to care for a girl who is more miserable than himself. The story appealed to the sentimental feelings of the forties, but Dostoyevsky lost his speedily acquired fame with his second novel, *The Double*, one of the mysteries of his career. His other early stories introduced the standard types of his later characters, the dreamer, who lives in a world of his own mental imagination and who is often torn by conflicting emotions; and the weak heart, the individual guided solely by his emotions and helplessly buffeted by fate, with no possibility of resistance.

In 1848 Dostoyevsky was a member of the group that centered around Petrashevsky and after an arrest, trial, and sentence to death, he was sent to Siberia at hard labor for four years and then was put in the army as a private. It was ten years before he was al-

lowed to return to Russia and resume his literary work. His confinement changed his ideas and made him perhaps more conservative, but it also sharpened his epilepsy and left him in delicate health.

On his return his first stories, as *The Village Stepanchikovo and its Inhabitants*, *The Humiliated and Insulted*, continue his old method, as does the *Memoirs of a Dead House*, his amazing picture of life in a Siberian prison.

Then he suddenly blossomed out with the *Memoirs from Underground*, one of the concentrated torrents of human gall and bitterness in literature. This was followed by his four great novels, *Crime and Punishment*, the story of the poor student Raskolnikov who kills a scoundrelly money lender to show that he is a superman and who is brought back to some degree of normalcy by the saintly prostitute Sonya Marmeladova; *The Idiot*, the story of the saintly Prince Myshkin who follows the promptings of his heart and is torn between the two proud women, Aglaya Epanchina and the unfortunate Nastasya Filippovna; *The Devils* (or *The Possessed*), the tale of the superman Nikolay Stavrogin and his dupes and doubles, Petr Stepanovich Verkhovensky, the cynical and ambitious revolutionist, Kirillov the engineer intent upon securing his freedom from God by committing suicide, and Shatov, the half-crazed intellectual who elevates nationality to God; and finally *The Brothers Karamazov* with the unrestrained Dimitry in whom there still burns an admiration for the good, Ivan the cynical intellectual who is forced to see that his own brain is not enough as a guide to life, and the saintly Alyosha. He also wrote three lesser novels, *The Gambler*, *The Eternal Husband*, and *The Raw Youth*.

Taken as a whole, the novels of Dostoyevsky push the analysis of the human soul farther than any writer before or since. Dostoyevsky is not interested, as is Tolstoy,

in the externals of his story. With a merciless scalpel and unerring logic he penetrates into the subconscious mind of his characters and shows them confronted with the cursed questions of God and the devil, of good and evil. His characters are ideas but they are personalized to the last item and each one of them strikes an answering chord in the human heart as symptoms of what man must avoid if he is to be happy and spiritually at ease.

Dostoyevsky teaches a Christianity that recognizes the good in the worst of men and the evil in the best. At times he resorts to melodrama. At times he indulges in vehement tirades. But he puts his finger on the evils of human nature and on man's efforts to secure spiritual peace. He is cruel and sympathetic, he is proud and humble, and his ideal is a true Christian life of submission to the world around us and full obedience to a conditional morality that judges man not by his acts but by his motives. All this stands in curious contradiction to his journalistic writings, which at times are Slavophile and often chauvinistic.

His influence on world literature has been tremendous; in a real sense all modern fiction is post-Dostoyevskian.

Beside these giants, the other writers seem insignificant. Such are e.g. the dramatist, Aleksander Nikolayevich Ostrovsky (1823-86), with his plays on the life of the Russian merchant class with their patriarchal mode of living; Nikolay Alekseyevich Nekrasov (1821-77), with his poems based on the sufferings of the people and the civic and humanistic journalistic verse that attracted the enthusiasm of his contemporaries; Aleksyey Konstantinovich Tolstoy (1817-75), the cultured gentleman and poet who was strangely attracted by the character of Ivan the Terrible; Mikhail Evgrafovich Saltykov-Shchedrin (1826-89), the satirist who treated for years all the sores of Russian social life and in the

*Goloviev Family* created one of the most gloomy pictures of life on the Russian estates; Aleksyey Feofilaktovich Pisemsky (1820-81), with his cynical skepticism and his tendency to criticize the intelligentsia, for which he was roundly condemned and almost forced from literature; Nikolay Semenovitch Lyeskov (1831-95) with his sketches of Russian saints and sinners and his novel on the Cathedral Clergy. Poetry was disregarded, and the few poets, as Afanasi Afanasyevich Shenshin-Fet (1820-92), found themselves in almost general disfavor.

Despite any defects of careless and hurried writings and of ideological weakness, Russia produced between 1810 and 1830 an amazing generation of writers. It is more surprising that it was a short lived dawn; few of the authors born during the next thirty years attained even to second rank. The best were the so-called Narodnik (Populist) writers, as Gleb Ivanovich Uspensky (1840-1902) who sought to give a realistic picture of the hardships of peasant life. The clashes of groups within the intelligentsia and the general conceptions of the duty of a writer and citizen served to deaden the literary talents of the younger men, and it was not until the next generation that literature revived.

The murder of Alexander II in 1881 marks a turning point in Russian literature. It introduced a new age of conscious reaction. Between 1875 and 1885 practically all the older writers either died or relapsed into silence; the ground was cleared for the new literary movement.

The 1880's were a gloomy period. The futility of the old dreams of social reform was manifest to all. The short story was preferred to the longer novel. Vsevolod Mikhaylovich Garshin (1853-88) portrayed morbid and insane personalities; Vladimir Galaktionovich Korolenko (1853-1921) cast a lyric glow over the hard life of the people, as in *Makar's Dream*. In poetry, Semen Yakovlevich Nad-

son (1862-87) tried to sound the old notes of civic obligation but confessed his inability to change the popular mood.

It was in this period that Anton Pavlovich Chekhov\* (1860-1904) began his work, and he always remained rooted in its twilight feeling. The grandson of an ex-serf, Chekhov supported himself while studying medicine at the University of Moscow by writing comic stories for the cheap reviews of the day; it was only later, when he became a writer for the *Novoye Vremya*, that he developed his more mature style. Yet he came to this through his comic work, and the comic spirit remained strong in his life and conversation, even though it vanished from his literary work. The victim of a joke may not feel the humor of it; from this starting point, Chekhov's characters come to notice the impossibility of expressing themselves completely even to their best friends, to persons reared in the same environment. This is the prevailing mood in both his stories and his plays. His hero is the sensitive, thwarted soul who suffers under the pressure of the unfeeling bourgeois society of the average provincial town. His dramas, undramatic plays but pictures of moods and shadows, fitted the doctrines of the *Moscow Art Theatre*, which had been inaugurated by K. S. Stanislavsky and Vladimir Nemirovich-Danchenko and in *The Gull*, *Uncle Vanya*, *The Three Sisters*, and *The Cherry Orchard*, he furnished the *Art Theatre* with its best Russian dramas. He died prematurely, of tuberculosis.

No literature could live indefinitely in this depressing atmosphere of discouragement and hesitation. Some new solution was necessary. For part of the Russian public, this was found in the development of Marxian theories, which assumed a prominent role in the mid 90's and transferred the burden of progress from the peasants to the growing class of factory workers.

The leader of this change was Maxim

Gorky\* (Aleksey Nikolayevich Pyeshkov, 1869-1939). The young Gorky, born and reared in the slums of Nizhni Novgorod and wandering among the *bosyaks* (barefoot migratory workers) and the most underprivileged groups of Russia, still retained a joy in life that seems almost impossible; in his early stories, as *Makar Chudra*, his outcast heroes live harder and feel harder than the smug peasants or intellectuals whom they despise. There is a sort of inverted romanticism in these heroes that won an instant hearing. As Gorky came into closer contact with the social democrats and the revolutionists, he became more realistic and endeavored to write long and didactic novels, but they did not have the freshness of his early stories. Even his play *The Lower Depths*, while it was successful, especially abroad, lacks the sensitiveness of the work of Chekhov. Then in 1913 he changed his style and in his autobiographic works, as *Childhood*, *Among People*, *My University Days*, he did his best work. He exercised a great influence upon the next generation, and when the Revolution of 1917 broke out, he became the outstanding guardian of the cultural past of Russia. He was the unofficial writer of the Soviet regime, but even in his last novel, *The Life of Klim Samgin*, he pictured the old pre-Revolutionary Russia rather than the new reality that he had had a great part in creating.

The most popular writer of the day was Leonid Nikolayevich Andreyev (1871-1919), a sharp contrast to Gorky. The most profoundly negative of Russian authors, he never attempted to draw living characters; he created automata for life to torture. Whether it was a story of failure or one of his symbolic dramas, as *The Life of Man*, he sought in sharp colors to produce abstractions that lead to a complete negation.

Other authors, more or less under the influence of Gorky, were V. Veresayev (Vikenti Vikentiyevich Smidowicz, b. 1864); A. Sera-

imovich (Aleksander Sergeyevich Popov, b. 1863); Aleksander Ivanovich Kuprin (1870-1939), the only Russian author that tended to become a popular writer in the American sense by treating in a readable style all types of subjects with no ideological content; and Ivan Aleksyeyvich Bunin\* (b. 1870), the greatest literary artist of the group. His novel *The Village*, represents the last act in the disintegration of the estate life so highly praised by Turgenev, and his story *The Gentleman from San Francisco* won for him the Nobel Prize. Mikhail Petrovich Artsybashev (1878-1927) wrote sexual stories, especially *Sanin*, which swept Europe by storm after 1905.

Those writers that were not affected by Marxism cast off the fetters of social improvement that had held so long upon Russian literature and struck out on a new course of "art for art's sake." They followed the French decadents and symbolists, but they found in the Russian religious sects and in various aspects of Russian life a real basis for their work, which was more substantial and more national than were the possibilities in France. They improved the technical side of literature; they broadened the available subject matter to include the past and the future, the entire world and the whole of the Russian Empire, instead of the capital cities and the few provinces immediately around them.

Among this group stood Dmitry Sergeyevich Merezhkovsky (1866-1942) with his novel trilogy, *Christ and Antichrist* (*The Death of the Gods* or *Julian the Apostate*; *The Resurrection of the Gods* or *Leonardo da Vinci*; and *Peter and Alexis*). More and more Merezhkovsky's thought came to fit into the stubborn framework of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis, with resulting damage to both his literary skill and the clarity of his thinking. Others of this group were Konstantin Dmitriyevich Balmont (1867-1943) and Valery Yakovlevich Bryusov (1873-1924), both mas-

ters of poetry. Bryusov's *The Republic of the Southern Cross*, a weird story of a hypothetical state at the South Pole and its destruction, as well as *The Fiery Angel* and *On the Altar of Victories*, show the breadth of his imagination. Vyacheslav Ivanov (b. 1866) was also of this group, as was Andrey Byely (Boris Nikolayevich Bugayev, 1880-1934), a brilliant poet and critic, but a man who became so imbued with the anthroposophy of Rudolph Steiner that at times his work is almost unintelligible, even to the educated reader. However, such a work as *The Silver Dove* is a masterly study of the conflict of East and West in Russia.

The influence of Vladimir Sergeyevich Solovyev (1853-1900), poet, mystic, philosopher and theologian, especially his last work, *Three Conversations with the Vision of Antichristis*, his most important prose production, grew on the Symbolist writers, for Solovyev under the guise of Sophia (Wisdom) had written mystical love poems to the Eternal Feminine. He especially shaped the development of the greatest of the group, Aleksander Aleksandrovich Blok (1880-1921). In his early poems, Blok was a slavish worshiper of the Fair Lady, the same vague mysterious creature as was the Sophia of Solovyev; with the passage of time, she disappeared, then reappeared as the Pretty Girl-Friend. It was a coarsening of the original conception, but she still retained the ethereal qualities of her first form. Blok came to include Russia under the same figure, and in many of his poems (as Lermontov in his last verses) he comes to glorify those qualities that the ordinary human vision would condemn. When the Revolution broke out, he welcomed it with *The Twelve*, the most striking piece of Soviet poetry, and with *The Scythians*, a thunderous warning to the West to be friends with the Soviets and take the consequences.

The last years before the Russian Revolution saw a marked multiplication of poetic

schools. Opposed to the Dionysiac mysticism of the symbolists, there was formed the Apollonian school of the acmeists, led by Nikolay Stepanovich Gumilev (1886-1921) with his positive mood and his use of clear images. Here too belongs his one-time wife Anna Akhmatova (b. 1889), the outstanding woman poet of Russia, and also Osip Emilievich Mandelstam. Another school was that of the Ego-Futurists, led by Igor Severyanin (Igor Vasil'yevich Lotarev, 1887-1942), with his vulgarizing of poetry to suit the ideals of a sophisticated bourgeois civilization; and there was also a movement led by Kruchonykh to produce "trans-sense" poetry, the writing in structures of artificially created words, without regard to meaning. Futurism too developed, but its leader Vladimir Mayakovsky did his best work after the Revolution.

During the First World War, Russian literature maintained on the whole a defeatist attitude; very few authors, as Leonid Andreyev, actively supported the cause of the Allies. The war was succeeded by the revolution and most of the moderately liberal writers, turning against the Bolsheviks, left the land.

The emigration has been remarkably sterile. Bunin has continued publishing, but the vast majority of the authors have drifted toward a romantic and nostalgic picturing of the Russian past before 1914, without regard to their previous experience of it. Few new writers have developed. For a while the Cossack *ataman* (commander) Peter Nikolayevich Krasnov won popular favor with such writings as *From the Two-headed Eagle to the Red Flag*, but he has become steadily more reactionary and mystical and his work will live only in selected extracts of vivid battle scenes. The only outstanding group of thinkers developed was that of the Evrazitsy, who sought the significance of Russia as distinct from both Europe and Asia; but this group too soon disintegrated and its philosophical and

historical works have not attracted the attention they deserve. Of the younger men, Syrin (V. V. Nabokov, b. 1899) is writing in English; M. A. Aldanov (b. 1886) has continued to write and develop.

The poets, and the various symbolists and experimenters, for the most part remained in Russia and despite the difficult conditions of life in the first years continued to produce. Prose nearly died during the height of the civil wars, when it was almost impossible to procure paper, and the authors were dependent upon the efforts of Gorky for the very means of existence. Yet it was not long before literature began to revive; but in a very different shape.

In poetry the Imaginists developed; outstanding was the peasant poet Sergey Yesenin (1895-1925). His ideal of the Revolution was a peasant utopia, but the piety of his early works soon gave way to a sacrilegious hooliganism as he tried to adapt himself to what he conceived to be urban life. This change was evident not only in his writings but in his daily life and his preposterous marriage with Isadora Duncan; his attempts at long poems were not successful, but he is decidedly undervalued for work that he did well. Yet he could not adapt himself to life, and committed suicide in 1925.

The same fate befell Vladimir Mayakovsky (1893-1930), the leader of the Russian Futurists. Capable of writing poems that almost begged for loudspeaker expression, Mayakovsky thundered against the old culture and glorified all that the Soviet accomplished. His longer works, as *The Mystery Bouffe*, 150,000,000 and his poems on the Five Year Plan, were quite in the spirit of the day, but Mayakovsky was a complete egotist and despite his valiant participation in the literary disputes, he was too much of an individualist for the times and followed Yesenin in suicide in 1930.

Demyan Byedny (Yefim A. Pridvorov,

1883-1944) was poet laureate of the Communist party. He had joined Lenin early and while not a great poet, some of his fables are preeminently readable and it is almost certain that parts of his works will grow in favor. He is often regarded as a mere journalistic poet but when he is at his best, he is decidedly more.

The Revolution brought to the front a group of proletarian poets, A. K. Gastev (b. 1882) and others, who glorified the machine and saw the future of humanity in terms of factories and of forges. They were favored at certain periods, but it is still doubtful how far their works will survive. Some of them, as A. I. Bezymensky (b. 1898), have shown signs of mastering their material and of allowing their poetical gift to take precedence over their communistic theories.

Among the leading poets of the present day who are deserving of mention are Nikolay Aseyev (b. 1889), the friend and admirer of Mayakovsky, Nikolay Tikhonov (b. 1896) who is acclaimed as one of the leading authors for what are really novels in verse, and the Constructivist Ilya Selvinsky (b. 1899). In a different sense Marfa Kryucheva (b. 1876) has from the peasant inspiration succeeded in preserving the old *bylina* forms and adapting them to the modern content as in *The Lay of Lenin*, where she retells the story of Lenin in the old folk-heroic manner. Yet on the whole, Soviet literature has again passed from a poetical to a prose period, much as Russian literature did a century ago.

Prose literature passed through many of the same phases as the poetry, although it was somewhat later in starting and the bulk of the older prose writers joined the emigration. During the Civil War, Evgeny Ivanovich Zamyatin (1885-1937) had much to do with training a group of younger authors, but he was fond of unclear statements and a complicated style as in *The Cave*, a comparison of life in Petrograd to that of paleolithic man.

Later satires and novels displeased the authorities, and his novel *We* was never published in the Soviet Union; Zamyatin went abroad.

The development of Soviet literature cannot be understood without consideration of the various ideological clashes that took place within the government itself. It was obvious that no counter-revolutionary literature could be published, but the question soon rose as to the real meaning of "counter-revolutionary" in the Communist ideology. To the most ardent writers of proletarian origin, the term included the writings of all persons that were not in their class and not members of the Communist party, and they demanded that all such should be suppressed. There were other Communists who felt that the non-Communists should be allowed to write, provided that they did nothing to contradict the official policy or create a menace to the established order. For such partial sympathizers the name Fellow Travelers was invented, and they were allowed to publish a journal. The discussion was long and bitter, and the government attitude and policy changed from time to time.

Thus in the beginning there was formed the *Proletkult* (*Proletarian Culture*), headed by Bogdanov, a Marxian theorist, and this group sought to do work independently of the Communist party. When it was forced to give up its pretensions, many of its members joined the *October* group and published first the journal *At the Post*, then *At the Literary Post*. The struggle of these groups against the Fellow Travelers, who had been given considerable autonomy during the years of the New Economic Policy, met with success in 1929 when the RAPP (*Russian Association of Proletarian Writers*) under the critic Averbakh became the practical dictator of literature and turned all the energies of the literary men to the service of the Five Year Plan. Their triumph was shortlived, for in 1932

the RAPP was dissolved and was replaced by the *All-Union Association of Soviet Writers*, which definitely launched the slogan of socialist realism as the goal of Soviet literature. This resulted in considerably more freedom for the authors; and, while it has never been accurately defined, socialist realism has been the distinguishing characteristic of most writers since.

Such political stress upon the writers could not fail to have its reflections upon the contents of the works. Nevertheless Soviet literature has developed a positive faith in the general organization of the country which had not existed since the Decembrist revolution and the transfer of literature from the hands of men who counted themselves an important part of the governing class to the critical intelligentsia.

Many of the early prose writers, as Boris Pilnyak (B. A. Vogau, b. 1894), treated the Revolution as had Bely and Remizov. Pilnyak's *Naked Year* was a tale of the brutality of the Revolution and the Civil War mixed with archaizing tendencies from the Russian past; he used this mannerism until he was finally denounced as a bourgeois and compelled to change his style.

On the other hand many of the early writers, forming the so-called *Serapion Brothers*, tried to write without mannerisms or theories. Some of them were men that had taken an active part in the Red Army and without being interested in the psychological study of characters or the details of Communist dogma wrote interesting stories of life as it went on during the years of struggle. Such were Isaak Babel (b. 1894) with his *Red Cavalry*, a collection of tales of the Cavalry Army of Budenny, and also Vsevolod Ivanov (b. 1895) with his tales of the struggles in Siberia, as *Armored Train 14-69* and *The Child*. Here also belongs Dmitry Furmanov (1891-1926) with his novel *Chapayev*, the account of a peasant soldier who became a successful

leader of the Red Army. These stories live because of the frankness and honesty with which they face the horrors of war, without any moralizing upon the rights and wrongs of the question.

It was not long, however, before there appeared stories more or less reminiscent of the older literature. Thus Konstantin Fedin (b. 1892) in *Cities and Years* introduced in the character of Andrey Startsev a hero quite similar in his weakness to the older leaders of the intelligentsia. The same is true with many of the novels of Leonid Leonov (b. 1899), who shows marked influence of Dostoyevsky in his analysis of human character and weaknesses, while Aleksander Fadeyev (b. 1901) in *The Rout* shows the same type of hero but with a strong resemblance to Leo Tolstoy.

Other writers sought to trace the spreading of the Communist way of life through various phases of existence. Thus Lydia Seyfullina (b. 1889) especially in *Manure* shows the reactions of the peasants, even those that were confirmed Communists, to the various aspects of the new philosophy that was changing not merely some one particular theory but all the elements of life. Thus there developed also a considerable school of writers dealing with sexual problems under the new conditions, as Pantaleimon Romanov (b. 1884) with his stories as *Without Cherry Blossoms* and his novel *Comrade Kislyakov* or *Three Pairs of Silk Stockings*; also Sergey Malashkin (b. 1890) with *The Moon on the Right Side*. On the other hand Feodor Gladkov (b. 1883) in *Cement* gives a good picture of the sincere and finally successful efforts of his hero, a returned soldier, to restore to order a ruined cement plant. The whole story is of a type with the ordinary American success novels of the last century and the doctrinal interludes are kept to a minimum. Meanwhile Mikhail Zoshchenko (b. 1895) kept up a running fire of satire both at the remains of the bourgeois

ideology and also at certain details of Communist life.

Among the older writers who returned from the emigration there is Aleksyey Nikolayevich Tolstoy (1883-1945). He had published abroad an interesting novel on the Russian collapse, *The Path of Suffering*. Among his later works is *Aelita*, a fantastic picture of an attempt to establish a Soviet revolution on the planet Mars, but he has won especial fame by his novel on the life of Peter I, one of the outstanding pieces of the new literature.

He is only one of a large number of authors that have attempted historical novels. Thus we have the *Stenka Razin* of Aleksyey Chapygin (1870-1937), a story of 17th c. Russia; and the works of Yury Tynyanov (b. 1894) as *Küchlya*, the biography of Kuchelbecker, a friend of Pushkin, and *The Death of Vazir Mikhhtar*, the last year of the life of Griboyedov. The outstanding author is, however, Mikhail Sholokhov (b. 1905) with his long novel *The Quiet Don*, a picture of the life of the Don Cossacks before and after the Revolution. It seems modeled on Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, and it comes nearer to that masterpiece than any other Soviet work.

There is also a considerable amount of satire on the foibles of the Soviets, as Valentin Katayev's (b. 1897) *The Embezzlers*, and the writings of Ilya Ilf (d. 1940) and Evgeny Petrov (killed 1942) as *Twelve Chairs*, *The Golden Calf* and *One-storeyed America*. There is satire also in the writings of Ilya Ehrenburg (b. 1891) and real humor in the description of his picaresque characters. *Envy*, of Yury Olesha (b. 1899), shows a clever psychological analysis of Soviet reality and a certain amount of laughter at the expense of the Babbits of Soviet industrialism.

Under the supremacy of the RAPP during the Five-Year Plan, most of the authors found it expedient to give up their other writings to cooperate. Thus Sholokhov interrupted *The*

*Quiet Don* to produce *Virgin Soil Upturned*, perhaps the best of these novels, which all tended to follow a definite pattern and which marked a pronounced retrogression from the variety that was visible during the preceding years. Thus Fedor Panferov (b. 1896) in *Bruski* produced a novel that in 1930 was universally hailed and almost as unanimously condemned in 1934, after the ending of the RAPP.

Russian drama has followed the same general course, but while the theatre has prospered, the quality of the plays has not kept pace with the development of the art of presentation. Among the best are Katayev's *Squaring the Circle*, a comedy of Soviet marriage, and *Fear*, by A. N. Afinogenov (1904-42), a study of the psychology of fear during a counter-revolutionary conspiracy in a university. Many novels have been dramatized, as well as some of the masterpieces of pre-Revolutionary times.

With the abolition of the RAPP, the distinction between Communists and Fellow Travelers dropped into the background, and there was considerably more freedom of expression. Relatively few of the more successful authors, as Nikolay Ostrovsky (1904-36), wrote in the old stereotyped Communist vein, but there is a growing emphasis on the various individualities of loyal Soviet citizens.

It was not long before the world situation began to cast its shadows over the Soviet Union and with the German invasion in 1941 all the literary forces were mobilized to aid in the defense of the Union. Many of the leading authors, Afinogenov, Ilf, Petrov, lost their lives in battle or by bombing. There has been a new outpouring of patriotic poetry, assured of the defense of the country and breathing hatred for the invaders, while many of the writers (Ehrenburg) have become super-reporters and commentators on the spirit of national resistance, especially as shown at Sevastopol, Stalingrad and Leningrad. Others.



as Konstantin Simonov, have inaugurated a new period in literature. Many historical novels have reinterpreted and glorified great figures of the past, as St. Alexander Nevsky, Ivan the Terrible, General Suvorov, General Kutuzov.

The successful repulse of the German onslaught has kindled a new fire of patriotism in Russian literature, but along with the growing strength of the socialist conscience, there is also a return to the technical methods and the psychological ideals of the old literature. Just as Russian literature of the 19th c. took over many of the qualities of the pre-Petrine literature, so the Soviets after a stren-

uous denial of the 19th c. are coming back to absorb the past and to continue the unitary course of Russian literature from its inception.

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CLARENCE A. MANNING.

RUTHENE—See Ukrainian.

SABEAN—See Ethiopic.

SALINAN—See North American Native.

SALVADOR—See Mexican; Spanish American.

SAMARITAN—See Aramaic.

SAMOAN—See Polynesian.

SANSKRIT—See Indian.

SANTA CRUZ—See Polynesian.

SANTA DOMINGO—See African.

SAUK—See North American Native.

SCANDINAVIAN—See Norwegian; Danish; Swedish.

SCHWYZTÜTSCH—See Swiss.

SCOTTISH—See English; Irish.

SEA ISLAND (Georgia and So. Carolina, U. S. A.)—See African.

SENEGAL—See African.

SERB—See Yugoslav.

SESUTO—See African.

SHAWNEE—See North American Native.

SHERENTE—See South American Indian.

SHIPAYA—See South American Indian.

## SIAMESE

HISTORY points to the existence of the Siamese race as far back as 4000 years ago, when the Thais formed a kingdom in the Yunnan region adjacent to the Chinese border, with a distinctive language and cultural development of their own. Research and study of Thai literature have, however, revealed little before the Sukothai period of the 13th c. A.D.,

by which time the Thais had migrated southward and set up a new kingdom in their present territory. King Ram Kamhaeng, founder of the Sukothai dynasty and first monarch of the new Thai kingdom, invented a Thai alphabet, based on Indian and Khmer (Cambodian) characters. He also ordered stone inscriptions to be made, recording his

biography and the living conditions that prevailed in the country. From these stone tablets, which represent the first extant Thai writings (ca. 1294 A.D.; preserved in the National Library in Bangkok), one can study the pure Thai language used by the original Thai (Siamese) stock.

The words used by King Ram Kamhaeng in his stone inscriptions were mostly monosyllabic; the sentences were short, the style rugged, simple and direct. An interesting feature to note, was the tendency toward rhyme formation, unorganized, apparently inconsistent, together with occasional insertion of alliteration. Famous lines frequently cited by the Thais run as follows:

"... Muang Sukothai ni di. Nai nam mi pla, nai naa mi kao. . . . Krai chag krai kaa chang, kaa; krai chag krai kaa maa, kaa. . . . Krai chag mug len, len; krai chag mug hua, hua. . . ."

"... This land of Sukothai is good. In the water are fish, in the field is rice. Whosoever wishes to trade in elephants, trades; whosoever wishes to trade in horses, trades. . . . Whosoever wishes to play, plays; whosoever wishes to laugh, laughs. . . ."

After the time of King Ram Kamhaeng, the Thai language became greatly influenced by that of the Khmers, a neighboring race then at the zenith of its power. The Thai language also borrowed much from Pali and Sanskrit, introduced to the country through Brahminism and, later, Buddhism. Synonyms and polysyllabic words were increasingly added, while several forms of poetry made their appearance about the mid 14th c. In creating poetic forms, the Thais greatly developed the use of rhyme, both internal and terminal, together with the use of accented and unaccented words. Likewise, as the Thai language is tonal in nature (with five tones in all), there exist a few poetic forms that call

for exact placing of tonal indications as well as rhyming in conformity with prescribed rules.

Thai verses may be divided roughly into four main categories, Klong, Chanta, Gapaya and Klon. Klong may consist of 2, 3, or 4 stanzas, the most popular being 4, and all require proper tones and rhymes in combination.

Chantas consist of meters of accented and unaccented words in several combinations, depending on the number of words in each stanza and the varying placement of the accented syllables. A very simple Chanta consists of 4 words to a stanza, with long and short words alternating.

Gapayas are very similar to Chantas, with strict limitations of words to each stanza (4, 6, 8, 11, etc.). There is placement of rhyme, but no requirement of accented and unaccented syllables.

Klons have only a rhyme scheme, with liberal allowance for the number of words to each stanza, usually 6, 7, or 8.

In addition to these four main groups, there are a few odd forms, for example, the Rai Yao, or blank verse, used mostly in religious writings.

In examining the products of Thai literature, one cannot help feeling that just as Thailand went through periods of prosperity and adversity at various times, owing to either its internal affairs or its state of peace or war with neighboring countries, so Thai literature has also had its times of rise and fall, almost parallel to the conditions in the land. Two most productive and brilliant periods for Thai literature are found, one, in the time of the old capital of Ayuthia of the 17th and early 18th c.; the other, in about the first hundred years of the present Chakri dynasty, known also as the Ratanakosindra (modern) period.

During the flourishing period of old Ayuthia, great love for poetry spread throughout the whole country, so much so that it

became not unusual for conversations to be carried on in verse. Popular also was the folk pastime of versification—Dog Soy, and Sa-grava—wherein, at festivals, men and women divided themselves into groups to take turns to compose and sing out answers to each other in rhyme. Likewise credited to the Ayuthian period was the origin of the State boat song, sung in forceful chorus by the oarsmen of the long, narrow, gilded royal barges when the king made a ceremonious tour along the waterways.

Many of the written works of the Ayuthian poets were destroyed during the great Burmese war of Buddhist era 2310 (1767 A.D.), when the Burmese troops attacked the old capital, and sacked and burned it. Nevertheless, enough was preserved to indicate that many plays had been produced during the time, with some of the stories adapted from old religious tales, some built on folklore, and some borrowed from foreign sources, such as the romantic *Enao* of Java. Most of these plays were written in verse and sung to music.

The beginning of the Ratanakosindra period (ca. 1783 A.D.) was marked by an intense militaristic spirit, for, after the destruction of Ayuthia, the Thais had to unify their country and rebuild their homes. This militarism was, in turn, reflected in the prolific development of prose, especially in the form of novels built on historical facts, together with the voluminous versification of the lengthy epic of the *Ramayana* of India, the main themes of which were warfare, courage, and striving. As decades passed, romanticism gradually crept in, and love stories with extravagant imagination and supernatural characters made their appearance, most of them in verse. From the time of King Rama II (1809–24) a so-called Plaeng Yao (long verse) came into fashion, wherein love letters were put into verse, and men and women

proudly displayed their poetic abilities in sending messages to one another. Likewise conspicuous in this period were the relatively short Niras or odes, written by the poets to express their sentiments (mostly concerning their sweethearts or wives), whenever they made a long journey from home. A great interest in plays was also renewed. King Rama II, himself a celebrated poet, rewrote several old plays, the most famous being the *Enao* of Javanese origin, and several parts of the epic *Ramayana*, adapted for the stage, are still popular.

In spite of the fact that the Thais have shown great interest and productive ability in literature, especially in poetry, their work is very little known outside of their own territory. This is because the rendering of Thai poetry into a foreign language is most difficult. To translate a Thai verse into English, for instance, is almost impossible, owing to the completely different style of versification and the extravagant employment of words of diversified roots which make for rich synonyms in the Thai language. The word "stream," for example, may be rendered as *nam*, *wari*, or *dhara* by the Thai poet, or even as *kongka* and *nati*. The word "flower" may be designated as *dog-mai*, *mali*, *malai*, *boopa*, or *boopachat*. These synonyms allow repetition of thoughts without creating monotony. Indeed, they make possible such abundance of internal rhymes as cannot be effectively matched in English.

The range of composition and the resourcefulness of the Thai poets may be briefly illustrated, perhaps, by three well known composers in Thai literature, namely Sri Praj, Suntorn Pu, and Narindra.

Sri Praj was a child prodigy in the time of King Narai of Ayuthia, in the 17th c. An apparently simple fellow, Sri created a name for himself through the quickness of his wit and the sharpness of his tongue. At one time,

when he visited the governor of Chiengmai, a town in the northern part of the country, the governor, himself a poet, wanted to match wits with him. A conversation was carried out in Klong See, or the verse with four stanzas, which required correct rhyme and tonal placement.

The governor asked: Sri, when was the king with you so pleased?

Sri answered: When he in the woods did feast.

Governor: Your face, though, is dark as night.

Sri: But 'neath the skin, I'm pure gold bright.

Suntorn Pu was born in the latter part of the 18th c. in the Ratanakosindra period. Known as the drinking poet, Suntorn Pu passed through a wide variety of experience, ranging from early poverty and imprisonment to later wealth. As a consequence, his verses, often produced extemporaneously, reflected much thought and philosophy:

Cane and sweet palm, they stay not in one's memory,

But gentle words ring forever in the ears.

A thousand wounds can still be healed,

But not the heart, when once it bleeds.

Not drunk with wine, I am yet drunk with love,

How can I my heart control?

The power of intoxication lessens as the hours do pass,

But passion keeps its hold through day and night.

Narindra became famous through an ode in which he wrote melodiously in praise of his wife's beauty and of his concern in having to leave her to go to war (to serve King Rama I at the beginning of the Ratanakosindra pe-

riod, when the Burmese forces had to be driven out of the country). Two of his poems read:

Ah my most beautiful, world enchantress,  
Were there a twig up in the sky,  
There I should place you, behind the misty clouds;

Alas, there's no such haven to hide my dearest love.

\* \* \*

To place you under the care of the Goddess  
Uma or Laksami,

The God Siva, knowing of it, may yet try to win you,

Through three worlds I searched, (and now conclude),

Only in your own heart can I place my trust.

The beginning of the 20th c. brought Thailand one more prominent poet, King Vajiravudh, or Rama VI (1911-25). Educated in England, King Vajiravudh became an ardent admirer of Shakespeare, and, upon returning to his homeland, translated several of Shakespeare's works, including *Romeo and Juliet*, and *As You Like It*. His translations preserve the qualities of the original text to an amazingly high degree. Being likewise a scholar of Pali and Sanskrit, the king also adapted into Thai several old stories of India. His original compositions include short plays and poems, mostly of a didactic nature. Numerous poems of his were set into songs for use among school children and scouts.

Among King Vajiravudh's contemporaries, some of the writers proved to be poets of moderate ability. The majority of them showed more inclination toward prose, in the form of novels. Novel writing, indeed, might be said to be the modern trend. The productions so far, however, have not been of impressively high quality, the themes being, in the main, naive, and the character portrayals

not yet penetrating. But the literary fertility of Thai makes us hopeful of a richer growth.

W. A. Graham, *Siam*, 2 v. (London), 1924; Reginald LeMay, *An Asian Arcady*, Heffer (Cam-

bridge); W. A. R. Wood, *History of Siam*, Unwin (London); Tamra na Muangtai, *Parithat Varnakadi Thai*, Bamrung Nukulkich (Bangkok); King Rama VI, *Athibai Klong*, Sobhon Press (Bangkok).

SAIYUDE BHAKDI.

SICILIAN—See Arabic; Italian.

SIENESE—See Italian.

SIERRE LEONE—See African.

SINDHI—See Indian.

SLAVONIC—See Yugoslav.

## SLOVAK

SLOVAK literature cannot be considered apart from Czech, although it has had a more individual and unusual development. After the passing of the Slovak areas into the domain of the Hungarian crown, the language lived on in the mountain valleys with little cultivation or standardization. For centuries books printed in Bratislava and elsewhere in the country tended to assume the usual Czech forms. Whether this was due to a recognition of the superiority of Czech culture or to the use of Czech editors and typesetters is still a matter of dispute. The fact remains that Slovak did not enjoy those early periods of flowering that marked Czech. The bulk of the people remained Catholic and what education there was came from Hungary. It was only the small number of Protestants that tended to make their way to Prague, and these easily acquired the very similar Czech tongue.

At the end of the 18th c. there arose among the Slovaks a tendency, largely Catholic, to demand their own speech and to separate it from that of the Czechs. Jozef Ignác Bajza (1754–1836) wrote the novel *René Mlád'enca prihodi a skusenosti* (*Adventures and Experiences of the Young Man René*), and very soon Antonín Bernolák (1762–1813), a priest and a philologist, seriously undertook the task

of adapting Western Slovak for literary purposes, so as to guard his people against the heresies inspired by the Czechs. In 1787 he published his *Dissertatio Philologica-Critica de Literis Slavorum* and later a *Grammatica Slavica* and a great *Lexikon Slavicum, Bohemico-Latino-Germanico-Ungaricum*. His work produced a sharp reaction in such men as Dobrovský, Kollár and Jungmann, the first two of whom were of Slovak birth. These writers argued that there should be but one language for the two groups. Bernolák, however, was followed by a poet of considerable ability, Jan Hollý (1785–1849), who was well trained in the classics and translated into the language of Bernolák passages from Virgil, Theocritus, Homer, Ovid, and Horace, and also wrote *Cirillo-Methodiada*, an epic on the career of Saints Cyril and Methodius. He was a pupil of Kollár and shared his enthusiasm for Slavonic unity, at the same time that he defended Slovak separatism.

For a while it seemed as if the new movement would be frustrated. But the idea of a separate Slovak language did not die out, and in 1846 L'udevít Štúr (1815–56) secured permission from Budapest to publish a paper in Slovak, although it had been denied when he suggested publication in Czech. He chose a central Slovak dialect this time, seeking to

bring together the Protestants and the Catholics, in opposition to the increasing Magyar pressure. He was aided in this by Jozef Miloslav Hurban (1817-88) and Michal Miloslav Hodža (1811-70), but these men were rather theorists than active exponents of the principle. For thirty years after their first enthusiasm they wavered between Czech and Slovak, as the Hungarian political situation varied and more or less pressure was put upon them by the Hungarian government.

Of the poets of this period, who were definitely Romantic, we may mention Andrej Sládkovič (Ondrej Brakatoris, 1820-72); Samo Chalúpka (1812-83); Janko Král (1822-76); and Ján Botto (1829-81), best known for his epic *Janošíkova smrť* (*The Death of Janošik*), the story of a Slovak national hero in his revolt against the oppression of the feudal lords.

After 1867, with settled relations between Austria and Hungary, the Hungarians began a definite campaign of Magyarization, which weighed still more heavily upon the Slovaks; in 1875 the Matica (Museum and national cultural center) in Turčianský Svätý Martin was closed and the collections moved to Budapest. Counteracting influences came from the Czechs and from Russian realism, especially of Turgenev. Svetozar Hurban Vajanský (1847-1916), son of Hurban, after early verses, distinguished himself in prose. Still greater was the poet and dramatist Hvizdoslav (Pavel Országh, 1849-1921), strongly influenced by love of nature. He covered a large field, choosing subjects from the Slovak life of the day and also writing many poems and dramas on subjects taken from the Bible, as *Hagar*; *Cain*. His *Sonnets of Blood* are among his best works and the best that Slovak literature has produced. Martin Kukučín (Matej Benzur, 1860-1928), a physician, has been called the Slovak Gogol. His novels, the most important of which is *The House on the Hillside*, deal with life in Croatia or with his wide

travels in South America. Also in the naturalistic school belongs Jozef Gregor Tajovský (b. 1874).

By the end of the century, the influence of Thomas G. Masaryk was making itself felt in Slovakia, especially among that portion of the younger people who studied in Prague and rallied around the journal *Hlas* (*The Voice*). The leaders, objecting to the separation that existed between the intellectuals and the people, worked steadily for union with the Czechs. They developed under the newer Czech movements including symbolism, as is shown in the poetry of Ivan Krasko (Ján Botto, b. 1876); Vladimír Roy (1885-1932), and Ivan Goll (b. 1874). Some of the writers, as Janko Jesenský (b. 1874), were in the Czechoslovak Legions in Siberia, and Martin Razus (1888-1936) clearly showed the influence of the war.

With the liberation of Czechoslovakia, there came a break from the old Hungarian restrictions and a growing communication with the Czechs, but there still remained in Slovakia an influence of the Hungarian poets, especially Ady. Of the poets of the day, E. B. Lukáč (b. 1900) and Ján Smrek (b. 1898) were most sensitive in their use of language. Another group, centering around the periodical *Dav* (*The Crowd*), were farther to the left; many younger writers were more interested in social motifs than in the sufferings of the nation. In prose Milo Urban (b. 1904) with his *Living Whip*, a realistic novel of life in a Slovak village during World War I, was the first Slovak novelist to become famous abroad. Ivan Horváth (b. 1904) has tried to give his works a cosmopolitan background by setting them in various centers of Western civilization.

The situation was made worse by the growing wave of nationalism and the desire for separation from the Czechs on the part of some groups of the Slovak population, but the tragic events that followed Munich and

the setting up of a Nazi-controlled Slovak government again put a stop to active literary work. Now that Czechoslovakia is liberated, the literary movement should continue on an even wider scope, permitting closer coopera-

tion but at the same time preserving the essential features of Slovak literature.

Paul Selver, *Czechoslovak Literature*, 1942; Arne Novak, *Přehledně dějiny české literatury*, 1921.

CLARENCE A. MANNING.

SLOVENE—See Yugoslav.

SOLOMON ISLANDS—See Polynesian.

SOCIETY ISLANDS—See Polynesian.

## SOUTH AFRICAN

IN HIS bibliography of books in Afrikaans Dr. P. J. Nienaber found, between the years 1861 and 1943, 5,330 books; since then, several hundred have been published. An indication of the tempo is the fact that after 1937 as many Afrikaans books were published as in the whole of the preceding period. Libraries in English-speaking centers like Johannesburg and Durban bear eloquent testimony to the increasing interest in Afrikaans literature.

What is Afrikaans? There are still people who think of it as an artificial product of some political hot-house or as a patois of inferior quality. In fact it is a development of the original Dutch planted at the Cape in 1652, which in a new environment and under the influence of Malay, Portuguese, Bantu, German, French and English, grew with unexampled rapidity, but grew along lines that had been followed by Latin in its passage to the Romance languages and by Old English in its transition to modern English. It is therefore a legitimate linguistic phenomenon. But for a long time it was kept back by antiquated views of language and its literature was suppressed in favor of European (English and Dutch) books.

Now that these artificial restrictions have been removed, there has been a great outburst of Afrikaans writing and Afrikaans has shown itself to be a vigorous and racy instrument. "The appearance of the Afrikaans language,"

wrote the late Sir Patrick Duncan, former Governor-General of South Africa, "and its vigorous assertion of vitality and growth is, merely as a philological event, attracting the attention of the scholar. Its capabilities as an instrument for the expression of the whole scale of human thought and emotion in literary forms of abiding value will come as a discovery to many." "Afrikaans," wrote Sir Thomas Holland, the Principal of the University of Edinburgh, "has survived the criticism of the Dutch highbrow; the indifference of the English immigrant; and even the indiscretions of over-enthusiastic propaganda," and he comments on the overwhelming reception accorded to the Afrikaans translation of the *Bible*.

There is no doubt that Afrikaans is peculiarly suited to express the spirit of the country. This has been the testimony of English-speaking South Africans. The brothers Hobson began their stories of South African animal life in English but they turned to Afrikaans, finding it a more suitable instrument, closer to the soil, more typical.

It is true that Afrikaans literature has to some extent been affected by the violence of the party struggle in South Africa. But its native vitality and sincerity will not be permanently so affected. There are signs of a new interest in the great things of literature and the Afrikaans Radio has been popularizing

the masterpieces of Greek and Latin, and French, Italian, and German classics.

The earlier history of written Afrikaans (from ca. 1875) was mainly linguistic and political: linguistic opposition coming from the Hollanders and political opposition from the English, who, in the previous century, had tried to suppress Afrikaans.

But out of the South African War (1899-1902) came genuine literature, strongly tinged with the sufferings of the war. For the first time the seasons appeared in their South African setting—winter in June and summer in December; and generally there was an advance in naturalness and directness. The literary experience of other countries, which had been absorbed through the medium of English, produced a rapid advance in technique; there was a broadening of interest that augured well for the future. Many works were written that gave an intimate insight into Afrikaner life and hence were useful in the building of a United Nation. The Afrikaner had the feeling that at last he had something of his own; literature had at length become something intimate.

The younger poets prided themselves on refining the use of words and on modernizing their technique. Many of them became sophisticated where the older poets were simple and strong. And with the emotionalism that was let loose by the Second World War, some of them were swept away by extreme Nationalistic sentiments. But this is a passing phase; the balance of character that marked the older Afrikaner must, in due course, return. Meantime it can safely be said that the most intimate revelation of South Africa is to be found in the Afrikaans writers.

English South African writers have suffered by being less genuinely South African. They have tended to look to England and to write by English standards. Some of them have tended to despise what is their own as something merely "Colonial."

Yet in the very earliest English poems written in South Africa we find Pringle (1828) expressing the authentic atmosphere of the veld, and since his day there have not been lacking poets who have written genuine South African literature in English. In particular the younger generation of English-speaking South Africans strenuously object to the idea that their writings are merely an appendix to the literature of England. They claim that their roots are in South Africa; that their ancestors bore a share in opening up their country; that they differ from writers in England by having passed through a difference experience and by being bilingual, if not trilingual. Even poets who, like Roy Campbell, have lived most of their lives out of South Africa, retain a very strong South African feeling.

It would seem that the natural development would be for South African English writers to draw with increasing directness and honesty on the South African background. The period of exploitation by unilingual English travelers who picked up stray bits of information about the country in clubs and pubs, is happily all but past. The horrible distortions that appeared in the form of fiction or travel literature may now be relegated to a museum of curiosities. And in proportion as the English-speaking South African learns to share the literary creativeness of the Afrikaner, a new fruitfulness and understanding must be born that will be by no means unimportant for the growth of national unity in South Africa.

*Afrikaans Writers.* The first real Afrikaans poetry begins after the Anglo-Boer War with C. L. Leipoldt, J. F. E. Celliers and J. D. duToit ("Totius"). Of these the first, a doctor of medicine and a journalist of European experience, is the most spontaneous. His lyrics are still unsurpassed in Afrikaans; his prose is wide-ranging and interesting. The shadow of the war lies on all the writers of



this period; but, particularly in Leipoldt, their interest broadens in their later years. Celliers' first poem, *Die Vlakte*, is notable for the influence of Shelley. Among the early poets, too, was E. N. Marais, whose work on the white ant is said to have influenced Maeterlinck.

Perhaps the most popular Afrikaans writer is the late C. J. Langenhoven. His humorous-satirical spirit expressed itself chiefly in sketches and stories. His political opinions find vent in many of his shorter pieces, interpreting for the first time the feelings of the Afrikaner toward the "foreigner," whether English or Dutch.

South African animal life found sympathetic interpreters in the brothers Hobson and, in A. A. Pienaar, whose studies of wild life in East Africa (*The Adventures of a Lion Family*) have become famous.

Another writer that has attracted attention outside South Africa is Christiaan M. van den Heever (b. 1902), a prolific poet and novelist, now Professor of Afrikaans in the University of the Witwatersrand, where also T. J. Haarhoff (b. 1892) has produced original and translated prose and verse in an attempt to popularize the Greek and Latin classics.

One of the wittiest and most epigrammatic of Afrikaans poets was the romantic A. G. Visser, whose interest in the classics is seen in his poems. The life of the Cape Coloured people (i.e. the peoples of mixed race) has been successfully portrayed by C. H. Kuhn ("Mikro"), while the songs and customs of the Cape Malays have been the special study of I. D. du Plessis, a fine poet and an enterprising scholar. The younger poets, who pride themselves on a more refined technique, are represented by W. E. G. Louw, N. P. van Wyk Louw, and the first Afrikaans poetess, Elizabeth Eybers.

*English Writers.* Among the early South Africans that wrote in English was Thomas Pringle, whose *Narrative of a Residence in South Africa* (1835), like his lyrical poems, shows considerable feeling for the South African landscape. Dorothea Fairbridge wrote romances on the early history of the Cape, and Ethelreda Lewis made a hit with her *Trader Horn*. But the best known names among writers of fiction are those of Olive Schreiner, Pauline Smith, S. G. Millin. The sensitive and lonely nature of Olive Schreiner has become well known through *The Story of an African Farm*. Her anti-Imperialist sympathies made her condemn imperial policy in Rhodesia (*Trooper Peter Halkett*) and champion the cause of the Boers: she always sided with the underdog. Finely sensitive in her understanding of the country and contrasting with "uitlander" writers like Rider Haggard, is Pauline Smith, whose stories, like the *Little Karroo*, show real imaginative insight. Mrs. Millin, too, has made a name beyond South Africa and has produced a large number of novels, written with economy of style and technical competence.

Sir Percy Fitzpatrick's *Jock of the Bushveld* is widely known and Leonard Flemming, in books like *A Fool on the Veld*, has written amusingly of the farmer's life in South Africa.

In verse the most distinguished poet is certainly Roy Campbell, but valuable verse has been written by F. C. Slater (*The Voortrekkers*), A. S. Cripps (Mashonaland scenes). Campbell's work has won European recognition; under its passionate invective there is a sensitive spirit. His *Flaming Terrapin* and *Mithraic Emblems* contain fine poetry.

C. M. van den Heever and T. J. Haarhoff, *The Achievement of Afrikaans*, Pref. by Sir Patrick Duncan (Johannesburg), 1934; T. J. Haarhoff, *Afrikaans, its origin and development*, Pref. by Sir Thos. Holland (Oxford U. P.), 1936.

T. J. HAARHOFF.

## SOUTH AMERICAN INDIAN

THE ORAL literature of South American Indians consists principally of myths, tales and songs. In the high civilization of the Inca of Peru other types of literature, such as sagas, poetical romances and dramas, are reported to have been composed, but very few specimens have been preserved. Before the 16th c. no system of writing was known to South American Indians. The *quipu* or knotted cords of the ancient Peruvians were a device for recording numbers; it is doubtful whether they were a mnemonic system for reciting history or poetry; they certainly were not a form of "writing." Comparatively few literary texts have been transcribed in their original native language. Consequently, it is almost impossible to judge the style and form of Indian oral literature.

The loss of most of the literature of the Inca has deprived us of a precious source of insight into their culture. The mythology of the tropical forest Indians, which is better known, reflects their way of life and their main preoccupations. Mythology gives validity to ceremonies marking the life crises and other important events, and folklore reveals the strong animistic beliefs underlying the religious systems. The folklore frequently throws light on Indian psychology; tales about deception and revenge, on the one hand, and those about practical jokes or comic characters, on the other, are particularly valuable in this respect. Unfortunately, we still lack sufficiently detailed descriptions of many South American cultures to be able to establish the subtle connections between the mythology as it expresses the Indians' psychology and the whole cultural pattern.

South American myths and tales do not fall into clear-cut categories. The themes on which they are based overlap in different cycles or assume a different significance. For

example, in one tribe a group of trickster stories may form a connected series in their cosmogony; in another tribe the same stories are told only as unassociated anecdotes. In some cases the cataclysms about which tales are told are closely connected with the life of the Culture Hero; in other cases they are merely accidental catastrophes. The transformation of men into animals or vice versa and the changes in nature by which the Indians explain some striking peculiarity may be the work of the Culture Hero or, in other instances, may occur spontaneously. Examples of variations in the character or development of a single theme may be multiplied almost ad infinitum.

Nevertheless, if the majority of the myths and tales collected in South America are roughly classified according to subject matter, the number of categories is not very great. The following are the most important types: creation myths, in which are included the adventures of the Culture Heroes that gave the world its present physiognomy; myths about cataclysms, which may or may not be related to the Culture Hero cycle; transformations; star myths; myths purporting to explain the origin of institutions; myths validating a rite or charm; ancestor stories; ghost and spirit tales; animal stories properly speaking.

Creation myths are surprisingly few. The Witoto Indians of the Putumayo River region have one of the most complete accounts. According to their belief, the universe originated in the "Word," that is to say, the magic formula. Later, born of the "Word," there appeared "Our Father" who out of emptiness created the world. The ancient Muisca of Colombia, on the other hand, conceived of creation as the emergence of Light from "Something Big." The ancient Inca believed that Viracocha, their Culture Hero and Su-

preme Being, first created the earth and the sky and later the sun and moon. According to the Ona of Tierra del Fuego, the Supreme God made the world, but the First Man gave it its present form.

In South American mythology one of the most important characters is the Culture Hero, the "Old Man" or "Grandfather," as the Indians sometimes call him. His deeds and adventures are cast in a more or less uniform pattern from the Guianas to Tierra del Fuego. He is often the maker, if not of the whole world, then at least of some of its main features. He is the transformer *par excellence*, and his earthly career is distinguished principally by a monotonous succession of changes which he makes in men, animals, plants, etc. (Tupinamba, Taulipang, Mosetene, Ona, Yaghan, Inca, Chibcha). The Culture Hero also is a wanderer who travels throughout the tribal territory teaching the first men the religious and social rules of the tribe and their most important arts and crafts. Once the Culture Hero has finished his creation, his transformations, discoveries, and lessons, he departs, usually to the west to the end of the world where he takes up his abode among the dead. With rare exceptions, the Culture Heroes are conceived of as human beings, but very often helpful animals share with them the glory of having enriched tribal culture. Birds in particular are credited with making a large number of useful discoveries, gifts and suggestions (e.g., the owl gave the Ona their political system). In Peru and perhaps elsewhere (Chibcha, Tupi-Guaraní), the Culture Hero was raised to the rank of a Supreme Being.

Among the important protagonists there is also a pair of brothers, generally twins, who figure as Culture Heroes, transformers and tricksters. The creator himself seldom is a solitary character; more often he is accompanied by a partner who contradicts or opposes him. Twins appear as Culture Heroes

in the mythologies of the Tierra del Fuego tribes, the Caingang, the Bororo, the Bakairi, the Yuracare, the Tupi-Guaraní, the Jivaro, and the Guiana tribes. A salient and constantly recurring trait of the twin stories is the opposition between them, which manifests itself in their adventures. In these stories the strong and clever brother is thwarted again and again by the weak and stupid one, who over and over again succumbs to danger and must be restored to life by the more able one. Frequently the twin brothers are identified with the sun and moon, into whom they transform themselves at the end of their terrestrial career. In Mataboro, Apinayé and Bororo mythologies, however, Sun and Moon are personified; but the stories told about them are almost identical to those about the Twins elsewhere.

The Twins by their exploits changed the face of the earth and deeply influenced culture. Sometimes they are even the creators of mankind (Bakairi). In Tierra del Fuego the Yaghan divine pair introduced the use of fire and taught men the arts of killing birds and hunting, and the making of fish spears. They also told people the names of things, revealed the menstruation tabus, taught them how to make love, and finally introduced death. In Bakairi mythology, the Twins stole Sun and Moon from the red vulture, introduced sleep, separated the earth from the sky, acquired fire, formed rivers, and created the Bakairi and all the other Indian tribes. They provided mankind with food plants and taught them the musical arts.

The main episodes of the Twin myth form a cycle that has been recorded in countless tribes from Panama to the Gran Chaco and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but not in the southern tip of the continent. The basic scheme of this popular cycle is as follows: The wife of the Culture Hero has been deserted by her husband and goes in search of him. She is killed by jaguars who give the

Twins, whom they find in her womb, to their own mother. She brings up the Twins but eventually they learn from another animal that the jaguars are the murderers of their real mother. They take revenge upon the jaguars and then begin their career of miraculous deeds. In the end they climb to the sky by means of a chain of arrows and become Sun and Moon.

There are two common types of explanation for the appearance of mankind on the earth: Men were created by the Culture Hero out of clay, reeds, wood, or some other substance, or they came from some other region, generally the underworld or the sky, where their existence is simply taken for granted. There are few exceptions. Spontaneous generation is assumed among only one group (Cashinawa); in two cases (the Indians of Huarochiri in Peru and the Mbayá of the Chaco) men are said to have been hatched from eggs. The myths often tell of successive creations of mankind until the Culture Hero is satisfied with his work. Sometimes, for one reason or another, the first people are destroyed (Peru, Choco Indians of Colombia, Taulipang of Guiana). The theme of successive creations recalls similar episodes in Central American mythology.

According to the Ona, Kenos, the first man, moulded peat moss into sexual organs that united to produce the first couple. But quite often tradition assigns a different origin to men and women. Sometimes women are said to have come from the sky (Chaco Indians); in other instances they first appeared in the shape of birds or animals after the flood (Ecuador, Eastern Brazil) or were fished from a pond (Guiana).

South American Indians tell tales about four cataclysms that destroyed all or most of the life on the world or at least caused great hardships to men and animals alike. In some mythologies (Peru, Chaco) these disasters followed each other successively, as in Cen-

tral American cosmogony. The catastrophes were the Great Fire, the Long Night, the Flood, and the Period of Cold (the last, only in the Chaco and Tierra del Fuego). The episode of the rebellious objects and domesticated animals that attacked mankind, which has been mentioned in Maya mythology, has also been recorded in Peru and in the Chaco. There are countless versions of the myth of the Flood. Generally it is caused by the Culture Hero (Peru, Chibcha, Yaruro) or is brought about by the violation of a tabu (Chaco, Witoto, Jivaro). A few people escaped by ascending mountains that became taller as the waters rose (Inca, Araucanians, Jivaro) or by climbing trees (tropical America). The motif of a Noah's ark is rare and may be traced to European influence.

South American Indian mythology is also very much concerned with the origins of civilization. In the beginning animals or supernatural beings were in possession of the basic techniques—fire making, agriculture, etc.—but in time they gave them to mankind or lost them to some wily hero. For example, the Culture Hero or an animal usually is said to have stolen fire from a beast or a supernatural being that was its jealous owner. The Culture Hero often acquired the first food plants and taught men agricultural techniques. Plants frequently are associated with parts of the human body: They grow from a corpse (Peru, Guiana, Amazon) or are shed by a mysterious child whenever he is beaten (Tupinamba). Seeds also were procured by theft and were brought to the earth by people that had gone to live in the land of the spirits (Witoto). The myth of the miraculous tree that bore every kind of edible plant and that was felled by the Culture Hero, is most often found in the northern part of the continent. Sometimes Sun and Moon are conceived of as objects (e.g. feather balls, headdresses, metal plates). The theft of Sun and Moon from their original owners, the vultures, was

one of the many exploits of the divine Twins (Bakaïri).

There are many myths about celestial constellations. As a rule these are men, animals, or objects, that have gone to the sky at the end of some adventure. Orion is sometimes pictured as the severed leg of a man who was mutilated by his unfaithful wife. According to Chaco mythology, the Southern Cross is part of a gigantic ostrich.

Natural phenomena—rain, lightning, fire—frequently are personified and appear as characters in tales. Sometimes storms are said to be caused by birds, the South American equivalents of the North American Thunderbirds.

Very often the origins of certain institutions, initiation ceremonies, ritual dances, and magic practices, are explained in myths that enhance their prestige and value in the eyes of the living generation. For example, initiation into men's societies is accompanied by rites that aim at terrorizing the women as well as at creating cohesion among the adult males. In this connection there is a myth that explains that these rites formerly were celebrated by the women who at that time ruled over the men; eventually the men discovered the secret, killed the women and took over the ceremony to keep the women in subjection.

Animal spirits and the spirits of the bush and waters appear in countless tales. Sometimes animal spirits are the protectors of their species. They punish hunters that destroy wantonly and reward those that have shown them friendliness. These tales fulfill an obvious economic function. In other stories the spirits are mischievous but stupid beings that are easily outwitted by men. The pranks played on bush spirits by the Twins or by other heroes are related in several humorous stories in the folklore of the Tupi-Guaraní and Carib Indians. The forest demon Curupira is an important character in the modern folklore of Brazilian Indians and mulattoes.

Sometimes this goblin is depicted as the friend of hunters, at other times as a dangerous ogre. There are also many stories about the love of a spirit and a woman, and a few stories about the gratitude and generosity of spirits that have been rescued from some danger by a man or woman. Stories about ghosts and ogres stress the element of horror; they often have a nightmare quality. Tales of miraculous escapes form part of the lore about spirits and ogres, but where the theme of magic flight occurs it seems to be due to European influence.

Legends about great shamans who are endowed with enormous magical power form part of many folklore collections (Shipaya, Cashinaua, Witoto, etc.). The Shipaya, a Tupi tribe of the Xingú River region, have a series of stories about shamans who were ready to improve man's lot, but who were thwarted in their good intentions by the stupidity of mankind. The Cashinaua and Witoto tell tales about a man that, after suffering a great disappointment, became enraged and went around the world killing monsters. To the same category of myths belong those about ancestors. Among certain tribes such tales have an important ritual significance. Among the Cobeuo, for example, ancestor myths are related during religious ceremonies. The Kaggaba tell stories about their ancestors to explain the origins of their institutions and religious life.

Animals figure prominently in South American Indian mythology and narrative literature. They have already been mentioned as the common companions of Culture Heroes and as the benefactors or enemies of mankind. Even spirit stories are in a way animal tales, for, as we have said, the spirits are often those of animals.

In the folklore of modern Indians of Peru and Bolivia, Fox plays an important part. He is a trickster—greedy, mischievous, but stupid. His enterprises always end badly. He is often

associated with another animal—in the Chaco with the hawk—that is wise and benevolent.

Many animal stories are simply etiological and are built around the theme of the transformation of a man or woman into an animal that still has some trait of its human ancestor. A great part of the folklore of the Fuegian Indians consists of such stories.

The motif of the helpful animal has a very wide distribution in the southern hemisphere, where it is combined with the theme of the visit to the sky and the swan maid motif. Generally the story contains the following episodes: A man captures a bird woman by stealing her plumage. Later he goes to the abode of his father-in-law, a fierce man who imposes on him many ordeals. He emerges victorious, thanks to the help of various animals.

Among Amazonian Indians and in some Guiana tribes, the exploits of Turtle form an important cycle. Like Brer Rabbit, Turtle is a clever, mischievous character, who outwits the ferocious but stupid jaguar and other animals. These stories, made famous by the collections of Couto Magalhaes and Barbosa Rodrigues, have a strong African flavor and probably were disseminated by the Negroes.

Many South American Indian stories have a purely humorous intent. The Trickster cycle of the Chaco—that is, the stories about Fox—is a delightful example. The Carib of the Guianas enjoy telling tales about the misfortunes of a lying braggart, who is more or less the equivalent of a Baron Munchhausen.

The parallels between the mythologies of North and South America have not yet been worked out very fully. The following are some of the motifs common to both: Trickster's attempt to juggle with his eyes; the marriage of Trickster to his own daughter; the killing of the stone man (Patagonia); the flying head; the star woman; the magic flight; the magic pregnancy and the miraculous recognition; Sharpened Leg. The adventures of

Trickster in Chaco folklore parallel those of Coyote in many North American tales.

*Poetry.* Since South American Indian poetry is never dissociated from music, it must be studied in connection with songs and chants. Few generalizations can be made, because of the scarcity and poor quality of the material at our disposal. Except in Peru, few collections of native songs have been gathered. Those collected in Peru are of recent date and give us an imprecise and imperfect idea of the ancient native lore. The wide contrast between the high civilizations of the Andean peoples and the primitive cultures of the lowland tribes obliges us to consider separately the poetry of the two areas.

East of the Andes, songs have been recorded in so few tribes that a comparative study would at present be an unprofitable pursuit. There is no poetry among the primitive Yaghan of Tierra del Fuego. Their extremely simple songs are sung without words or with meaningless syllables. Among the Ona the songs that accompanied shamanistic performances, or that were sung during initiation rites or at war, have the same pattern.

Among the Caingang of Santa Catharina dance and feast songs also are based on meaningless syllables or words. These songs "gain their variety from the difference in the syllables and from the rhythmic patterning." In each song there are at least two definite, frequently repeated syllabic patterns, but the arrangement of the patterns does not follow any order, except that there is a general kind of alternation. The songs have no meaning, but the natives are ready to give interpretations, which are generally bad guesses based on a few words recognized in the welter of nonsensical sounds. The funeral dirges of these same Indians, however, are enumerations of details about dead relatives. They are rather long compositions that express a whole range of regrets. Some Caingang songs are said to have referred to past wars, to hunting

and other economic activities. Challenges uttered against enemies also took a poetical form and were sung as an invitation to fight.

The songs that Chaco Indians sing to accompany their dances are also based on nonsense syllables; a few words are thrown in here and there haphazardly. The interpretation of these songs is rendered even more difficult by the fact that very often they are borrowed from tribes that speak a different language. Shamanistic chants are made up of the same kind of meaningless elements interspersed with words that may be translated as invitations to the spirits to do this or that. Some other songs are merely continuous repetitions of simple sentences, such as, "The shaman arrives, he is welcome."

We must accept with considerable caution Dobrizhoffer's statement that the Abipon, a warlike tribe of the Gran Chaco which is today extinct, had epic songs in which they enumerated in a regulated number of verses and with incredible details all their past military glories. According to Dobrizhoffer, they expressed indignation, fear, aggressiveness, or joy in appropriate words and modulations of the voice. The Mbayá, another Chaco tribe related to the Abipon, are said to have improvised songs to celebrate the visits of chiefs. Their modern descendants, the Caduveo of the Matto Grosso, still chant with high-pitched and long drawn notes warlike songs composed in a dactylic form. Modern Toba-Pilaga have, in addition to shamanistic chants and dance songs, erotic songs which are sung by women at feasts. Small girls dance to the tunes of ditties with nonsensical words.

The verses of a Tupinamba song praising a snake for the variegated designs on its back were recorded by Montaigne when a group of these Indians was brought to Paris. He compared this short composition to Anacreontic poetry.

The verses of the dance songs of the Guiana Indians generally are short statements about

matters that may appear trifling to us but that may be loaded with emotional significance for the Indians. Two specimens read, "Like an alligator, I have travelled to the creek head," and "There is a Negro coming. Don't kiss him. Get out of the way, far." Some longer dance songs contain descriptions of the details of the accompanying ceremony or give encouragement to the dancers.

The Carib Indians of the Roroima region (southern British Guiana) have songs consisting of a stanza and a refrain. Those that have been recorded express a nostalgic regret for the Roroima mountains. The dance songs of these Indians are full of obsolete words and nonsensical syllables. The singers themselves do not know the meaning, especially since many songs have been borrowed from other tribes. Work songs, that is to say, songs sung to facilitate by their rhythm the performance of heavy tasks, are rare in South America. Those recorded by Koch-Grünberg in the Roroima region may well have developed out of contacts with Negroes.

The poetry of the Witoto Indians, a tribe that lives on the Putumayo River, is known to us in a large body of texts collected by Preuss. The songs, which are chanted during feasts, are short pieces that allude to the purpose of the ceremony being performed and to its salient rites. Their meaning is generally obscure, for they contain many references to mythical animals and to the behavior of these creatures in the underworld. Some dance songs, although couched in stereotyped, archaic language, have strong sexual implications.

Most other specimens of the poetry of the Indians of tropical South America are quite similar. As a rule they are very short compositions constantly repeated. Among the Yaruro, a very primitive tribe of Venezuela, the shamans are said to be capable of singing in a single night as many as 6,000 stanzas describing the voyage of their soul to the land

of the gods. Some songs are traditional; most are improvisations that follow a definite pattern of phraseology suited to the music.

South American Indian poetry reached its peak in ancient Peru. Unfortunately, only a few scattered specimens have survived. The elevation and delicacy of the feelings described in these verses has made many critics doubt their genuine Indian character. Yet, even though the translations give them a somewhat European touch, their authenticity cannot be denied, for in form and sentiment they conform to the Indian poetry of Central and North America, and in spirit they are in harmony with the high level of civilization reached in the Andes. The most beautiful specimens of Inca poetry are hymns sung to Viracocha, the Supreme Being, and to the Sun, the head of the Inca pantheon. The serene and dignified tone, the simplicity of the images, and certain expressions of religious anxiety, give them some similarity to the *Psalms*.

"O Creator, Thou who residest at the end of the World, Thou unequalled, who hath given being and courage to men, who hast said that men should be men and women should be women. Thou hast made them by saying these words, Thou hast formed them and hast given them life. Those whom Thou hast made, protect them so that they may live healthily and safely, without danger and in peace. Where art Thou? Art Thou above in the sky or amidst thunders and stormy clouds? Hear me, answer me, grant me long life, lead us by Thy hand, receive this offering wherever Thou art."

(Text quoted in the Spanish chronicle of Molina. See Christobal Molina, *Relación de las fabulas y ritos de los Incas. Colección de libros y documentos referentes la historia del Peru*, v. 1. Lima, 1916).

"O Viracocha, Lord of the world (whether Thou art male or female, Lord of heat and of procreation), being like Him Who makes

magic with saliva. Where art Thou? May Thy son be not far from Thee. He may be above, he may be below or Thou mayest be near Thy rich throne or scepter. Hear me from the upper sea where Thou residest. From the lower sea, where Thou art, O Creator of the world, Maker of man, Lord of all lords. My eyes fail with the longing to see Thee, to know Thee. If I see Thee, if I look at Thee, if I understand Thee, Thou shall see me. The Sun, the Moon, the Day, the Night, the Summer, the Winter move to their appointed place not vainly and in order. They arrive wherever Thou bearest Thy royal staff. Hear me, listen to me so that I may not grow weary and die."

(This text, given by the Indian chronicler Yamqui-Pachacuti, has been translated by Father Miguel Mossi. See Lafone-Quevedo, Samuel. *Culto de Tonapa. Los himnos sagrados de los reyes del Cuzco según el Yamqui-Pachacuti. Revista del Museo de la Plata*, v. 3, 1892, pp. 323-379.)

The other poetical compositions of the Inca, miraculously preserved by Garcilaso de la Vega, Morúa, and Huaman Poma are short, simple pieces that express lust for war, nostalgia and unhappy love. Other poems celebrate the juya bird or allude to mythological themes. A famous poem transcribed and translated by Garcilaso de la Vega describes how thunder is produced by a wicked god who breaks the jar of a celestial girl, his sister.

Quechua song: "O beautiful girl, your brother has broken your little jar and now there is thunder and lightning. Thunderbolts are falling. O comely girl, you shall give us beautiful water when it rains. Sometimes you shall also send us hail and snow. The Maker of the world, the God that animates it, the Great Viracocha assigned this task to you and gave you life."

(Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios reales de los Incas*. Buenos Aires, 1943, v. 1, p. 123.)



The wars and achievements of the Inca rulers were transmitted from generation to generation in romances or sagas composed and recited by the *aumata*, poets and historians, at ceremonial gatherings. None has survived, but certain details in Sarmiento's history of the Inca suggest that he drew upon them for his Spanish text. Ballads were recited at funerals in commemoration of the dead.

Modern Peruvian popular poetry in the old Quechua language is known from several collections of songs, in particular those of Mrs. d'Harcourt. Some scholars are inclined to regard these songs as survivals of ancient Inca styles and inspirations, but since there is no possibility of making comparisons, such a decision is hypothetical. The Spanish influence on these compositions ought not be minimized, though in recent times it has been, for purely nationalistic reasons.

That the Chibcha of Colombia, who were achieving a civilization almost as great as that of the Inca, must have had a rich oral literature may be inferred from their beautiful mythology. But nothing has survived. Some idea of their religious poetry may be gained from the songs of the Kaggaba, a Chibcha-speaking tribe of western Colombia. The songs collected there by Preuss are charms to be recited during ceremonies to curb the demons; they are accompaniments to dances.

South of the ancient Inca lived the warlike Araucanians; they have survived as a powerful and energetic tribe. The Spanish chroniclers of the 17th c. who described the culture of these Indians stated that they had composers who sang at feasts and whose talents were rewarded by the chiefs. Like the Inca, they had sagas celebrating the great deeds of former chiefs. Not a single specimen of early Araucanian poetry has come down to us, but we have relatively good collections of modern songs. These songs, which are often improvised, have as their subjects war, love, friendship, death, or the minor events and

miseries of daily life. There are also songs that are sung during the construction of huts or during threshing for the entertainment of the participants; they are not work songs. Some songs are charms and are sung before games or other enterprises. As in Peru, the best compositions are hymns to the Supreme Being; these are sung at ceremonies, the famous *ngillatun*. Unfortunately, they were recorded only in recent times and it is not always easy to distinguish between Christian elements and those that are part of the traditional background. In Araucanian oral literature we also must include shamanistic conjurations, of which we have several texts.

No systematic study has been made of Araucanian prosody, but Lenz has analyzed some of its characteristics. A salient trait of all Araucanian songs is the monotonous repetition of a single verse, as many as five times. The number of syllables in a verse usually varies from six to ten. The rhythm is trochaic, sometimes iambic, but the alternation of accentuated and unaccentuated syllables is capricious. In the melodic recitations these irregularities disappear in the contraction or prolongation of syllables. In the syntax frequent use is made of vocatives and dual forms, since the songs usually are addressed to one person.

*Drama.* Some of the masked performances of the Amazonian Indians, particularly the tribes of the Orinoco and Rio Negro tributaries, may well be regarded as incipient dramatic forms, since the dancers sing and perform in the manner of the spirits whom they impersonate. Several chroniclers maintained that the Inca had a regular theatre, but under this term we must understand ritual representations that may have included symbolic dances and narrations by one or two performers who were answered by choruses. Those who favor the hypothesis of the existence of a native drama in ancient Peru give as evidence the drama *Ollanta* which is known to

us in manuscripts of the end of the 18th c., but which may have been composed between the end of the 17th and the middle of the 18th c. It is a romantic love story about a famous chief Ollanta and the Inca's daughter, who is priestess of the Sun in a convent. When this sacrilegious love is discovered, Ollanta rebels against the emperor, whom he defies for many years, until at last he is defeated by a vile ruse. The magnanimous emperor pardons him and the tale has a happy ending. The subject, composition and meter are obviously of Spanish inspiration; the play definitely is a poor imitation of the contemporary Spanish theatre. Some songs interspersed in the text were taken from Indian folklore and have a more genuinely Indian tone.

During the colonial period edifying dramas in the Quechua vernacular were composed by the Jesuits or under Jesuit influence. These "autos sacramentales" can hardly be regarded as an expression of native talents.

*Proverbs.* The proverb is a literary form that is exceedingly rare in the Americas. Its absence has been regarded as one of the most striking contrasts between the literary types of the Old and the New World. In South America, proverbs are found among the Araucanian Indians, a tribe that has been exposed to long, continuous Spanish influence. However, since many of their proverbs have an Indian turn and since there is a native word for the form, it is not unlikely that proverbs may represent a heritage of the older native culture. Among Araucanian proverbs are: "Riches vanish like the perfume of flowers." "A spider may save a life" (i.e., small things may have vital importance). "When mountains grow angry, it thunders" (i.e., you are using violent arguments instead of reason).

Two proverbial sayings of the Menuane Indians of the Putumayo region have been quoted by Whiffen, but these are simply

traditional statements passing judgment on their enemies, the Andoke. (The Andoke retorted upon their foes, as in "If a Karahone gives you a pineapple, beware!") The Menuane are said to have a great many such proverbial statements, but no other examples are given, so that it is not possible to know their content. Generally speaking, a proverb is a precept derived from human experience and should not be confused with stereotype statements about such and such a group, etc.

*Riddles.* Like proverbs, riddles are considered to be alien to most American Indian cultures. Araucanian riddles probably are Indian imitations of Spanish originals. However, this cannot be so in the case of Menuane riddles. These Indians perform animal dances that are combined with riddles. The dancers turn around a man who asks a riddle. All those that cannot solve it follow the man, imitating his movements, which are clues. Whoever solves the riddle takes the place of the questioner. The riddles are about animals and undoubtedly belong to the native culture.

In the folkloric texts collected among the Cashinaua Indians by Caspitarano de Abreu, there is a list of riddles, but few of them actually are riddles in our sense of the word. They belong rather to the category of quizzes.

*Charms.* Charms consisting of meaningless syllables or expressing an underlying wish are probably present in all the native cultures of South America. Among the Arekuna and the Taulipang there are a great many charms, which form a literary type in themselves. They are short compositions that mention the desired effect and allude to a myth which is told in connection with the charm and guarantees its efficacy. To disarm an enemy, the Taulipang would repeat:

"I disarm my enemy when he is about to strike. When they are wild with anger, I make their bodies weak. I remove the strength of their hearts. I make them laugh. That is what the people of today must say when they

want to stop their enemies. They have to call me. I am Pipeza. I am here. When the wild animals are ready to kill me, to tear me up, I make them weak.

"I remove the savagery of their hearts. I make them laugh. I stop their weapons. That is what the people of today must say to their enemies when these are ready to kill them. They have called me. I am Maluime."

(The charm is explained by a myth. Once upon a time, the Lightnings wanted to kill the Armadillos. But they had heard about the plan and pronounced this charm. When the Lightnings arrived, the Armadillos walked about, in strange and ridiculous antics. The Lightnings laughed and made peace. See Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*. Stuttgart, 1923, v. 3, pp. 223-224.)

*Oratory.* Oratory has been cultivated by most South American Indian tribes as one of their most important arts. Eloquence is one of the main prerequisites to attaining and holding chieftainship among the Araucanians and the Chaco Indians. In the Chaco a chief customarily makes a long speech every morning and evening, to which no one is obliged to listen, and on every solemn occasion. Long boastful speeches are also very commonly part of every festive drinking bout. The participants give vent to old grudges and often end by challenging those by whom they feel they have been injured or insulted. There is little documentation about the literary devices of South American Indian oratory, save for the statement that repetition is a usual device and that grammatical forms and phrases and images foreign to daily conversation are widely used in speeches.

*The Sources of South American Indian Folklore.* In the present state of South American ethnology, a general analysis of Indian oral literature is rendered difficult by the lack of comparative studies and the poor quality of much of our source material. Relatively few collections of myths have as yet been

made by conscientious and well trained specialists; most of those that we must utilize were recorded by early missionaries and by travelers who too often were content with bad and truncated versions. Some collectors even improved on the originals to suit their own taste. These disadvantages are to a certain extent compensated for by the early date at which some stories were transcribed. Myths of the Taino Indians of the West Indies were put in writing by Pane shortly after the discovery of America. Thanks to the efforts of the French cosmographer André Thevet, we have a fair knowledge of the mythology and folklore of the Tupinamba Indians of the region of Rio de Janeiro, although these Indians disappeared about four centuries ago.

Soon after the conquest of the Inca empire, the chroniclers of Peru, particularly Francisco de Avila, served science by recording various myths and tales of the Indians. The one-sided interest of the Spaniards in myths and legends that paralleled biblical material and their own historical traditions, resulted in the permanent loss of a large portion of the native mythology. Nevertheless, the cosmogony and Culture Hero cycles of these Indians are known in their general lines. The mythical origin of the Inca lineage is comparatively well known. In addition, Avila's recently discovered manuscript in the Quechua language gives us a fair idea of the mythology of the Indians of the Peruvian coast. The stories of the local gods are interspersed with many other folkloric themes; together they provide extremely interesting material for comparisons with the folklore of the rest of the Americas. Other vestiges of the cosmogony of the littoral peoples have come to us in Calancha's chronicle. Some inkling of the variety and richness of the early cultures of Peru also may be gained from a mere inspection of the histories of the gods and demons painted on the vases of Chimú.

The mythology of the Chibcha of Colombia has survived only in fragmentary form.

Like so many other Spanish chroniclers, Pedro Simon was interested in and recorded the adventures and wanderings of the Culture Hero, but gave no heed to other material equally available to him.

The ancient cosmological myths of the Araucanians of Chile have perished; only the story of the Great Flood has survived. The modern folklore of these Indians, who belong even today to one of the most populous tribes of South America, is known through several valuable collections recorded in the vernacular or in Spanish. Unfortunately, these myths and tales have been so deeply influenced by European themes and patterns that it is almost impossible nowadays to make a distinction between native elements and recent accretions. Monsters, spirits, and ghosts are all favorite characters; as in modern Andean folklore, Fox appears in animal tales as a trickster.

Except for the aforementioned Tupinamba myths that were transcribed in 1555 and some Cariri myths recorded in the 17th c. by Martin de Nantes, the mythology of the primitive tribes of South America remained little known until the 19th c. At that time the interest of scientific minded travelers was once more directed toward mythology by the rapid development of folkloric studies in Europe. Very valuable myths and tales, notably those of the Yuracare Indians, were included in d'Orbigny's monumental work. A great many mythological texts appeared in accounts written by missionaries. Indeed, except for the collections made by certain anthropologists who now began a systematic investigation of South America, the best transcriptions were made by missionaries.

The great impulse to the study of Brazilian Indian folklore was given by Couto de Malgalhaes in his now classic work *O Salvagem* and by Barbosa Rodriguez in his collection *Poranduba Amazonense*. Both authors obtained their texts from half civilized

Indians who spoke the *lingoa geral*, the Tupi dialect used along the Amazon River and its tributaries.

For the Indians of the Guianas we have a valuable collection of myths made by Brett, but unfortunately he published them in mediocre English verse. His collections were continued by Roth, Koch-Grünberg, Gillin, Farabee and Ogilvie, so that today the folklore of the Carib, Arawak and Warrau tribes is the best known in South America. The mythology of the Witoto, a wild tribe of the Putumayo River, was recorded by Preuss in a monumental work that is, nevertheless, marred by fantastic lunar interpretations. The Brazilian scholar Capistrano de Abreu obtained from two Cashinaua Indians a splendid assortment of myths and tales which he transcribed in the native Pano dialect of this tribe. The Finnish anthropologist Karsten published a few myths of the warlike Jivaro, a people famous for their shrunken head trophies.

The folklore of the modern Tupi-Guaraní tribes is known principally through the collections made by the intrepid Brazilian anthropologist Curt Nimuendaju among the Apapocuva-Guaraní, the Tembé and the Shipaya. More recently Nimuendaju has transcribed myths from some of the last remnants of the Gé tribes, the Apinayé and the Sherente. These Indians, who may represent the early ethnic strata of Brazil, are especially interesting because of their complex social structure and rich ceremonial life. A comparison of their mythology with that of other South American tribes undoubtedly will help to solve many problems of culture contact and diffusion.

The expedition of the German anthropologist Karl von den Steinen to the headwaters of the Xingu, which led to the discovery of Indian tribes untouched by modern civilization, had a profound influence on the course of South American ethnology. He re-

corded at length the Culture Hero myths of the Bakairi, a Carib tribe, and some creation myths of the Bororo. Considerable material on Bororo mythology may also be found in Father Colbacchini's remarkable work on these Indians, whose social organization and mythology recall those of the Gé tribes.

Among the best contributions to South American ethnology made by the Swedish anthropologist Nordenskiöld are the myths and tales that he collected among the little known tribes of Eastern Bolivia. The main sources for Chaco mythology are found in the works of Campana, Karsten, Métraux, Nordenskiöld and Palavecino.

Finally, the mythology and folklore of the now almost extinct tribes of Tierra del Fuego, the Yaghan and Ona, are among the most abundantly documented on the continent, mainly through the endeavors of Father Martin Gusinde.

The comparative and analytical study of South American folklore was initiated by Ehrenreich in the late 19th c. Since that time, this important work has been neglected except for some specialized researches, such as those of Lehmann-Nitsche on stellar mythology and on etiological themes.

Among the few popular collections of South American mythology, those prepared by Koch-Grünberg and by Krickeberg are the best.

It is still premature to try to establish historical theories on the basis of our present knowledge of South American folklore. Ehrenreich's attempt to attribute certain types of myths to a specific linguistic family has not been borne out by the distribution of their themes on the continent. For example, the Twin story, which he assigns to the Tupi-Guaraní, has been told by countless non-Guaraní tribes, and was familiar to the Andean peoples as well. Even the themes of Peruvian and Colombian mythologies may not be regarded as distinctive of the area of the Andean high civilizations, for both the

motifs and the patterns that characterize them occur among the tribes of the pampas and the tropical forest area.

There appears to be a certain amount of correlation between the mythology of the Chaco tribes and that of the marginal tribes of Eastern Brazil (e.g. such motifs as the adventures of Sun and Moon, the women born from the body fragments of a woman, the star wife, etc.). The folklore of the Fuegian peoples has several ties with that of the Araucanians and of the Chaco Indians; e.g., the pattern of their Twin-story cycles frequently recurs in South American lore. Nonetheless, it is too early to define South American folklore in terms of geographical areas. The culture areas of South America have hardly been established; for wide regions material is entirely lacking and in others the material is so inadequate that every characterization based on existing sources would be misleading. There is indeed still much to be done before South American mythology and folklore will be well documented and familiar.

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ALFRED MÉTRAUX.

SOVIET—See Russian.

SPANIOLISH—See Judeo-Spanish.

## SPANISH

*Middle Ages.* Cantares. The slow rise of the Spanish language from Latin coincides with the Spanish recapture of the land from the Moors. The great events of these centuries were preserved in epic songs, *los cantares de gesta*, songs of the deeds. One of the earliest of these is the lost but partly reconstructed (257 lines) *Cantar de los siete Infantes de Salas*, or *de Lara*, a typical Spanish 10th c. story of murder and revenge. Of a later type is *El Cantar de Bernardo del Carpio*, a song of Roland from the Spanish point of view, regarding Roland as an enemy; this was reshaped from the *Chronicle* of Lucas de Tuy, ca. 1225. The classical epic, *El Cantar de Mio Cid*, is the only completely preserved older epic (1140). It falls into three sections: (1) the banishment of Don Rodrigo, the Cid, by Alfonso VI, ca. 1075; (2) the mistreatment of his daughters by their husbands, the Counts of Carrión; (3) their rehabilitation and the punishment of the Counts at the Cortes of Toledo.

This old Spanish Cid epic, with its frozen

locutions, is most varied and rich. There is dignity and tenderness in the Cid's leave-taking from his wife, parted "as the nail from the flesh." From the reckless deeds of the banished Cid we turn to the sadistic cruelty of the Counts; among the followers of the Cid there is the cheer of comradeship and faith. Deftly the moods are introduced, whether of adventure, of love, or—as here—of foreboding:

Entrado son los ifantes al robredo de Corpes.  
Los montes son altos, las ramas pujan con las  
nuoves,  
E las bestias fieras que andan aderredor. . . .  
Con quantos que ellos traen, yazen essa noch,  
Con sus mugieres en braços demuestranles  
amor;  
¡Mal gelo cumplieron quando salie el sol!

Now the infantes have entered the oak wood  
of Corpes.

The mountains are high, the branches over-  
top the clouds,

And the wild beasts that roam. . . .  
 With all their men, they camp there through  
     this night,  
 With their wives in their arms, they show  
     them their love;  
 Alas, woe was in store for them, when the  
     sun would rise!

A fragment of a 13 c. epic, *Roncesvalles*, has been found (published by Menéndez Pidal, 1917); and vigorous research seems to indicate a fertile period of such works. Pidal believes there was a *cantar de gesta*, e.g., on Rodrigo, the last Gothic king, whose ravishing of Count Julian's daughter led the Count to summon Taric the Moor from Africa into Spain (711 A.D.); this event is told in Arabic chronicles of the 11th c., in the Latin *Chronica Gothorum*, and in a fable of the *Chronica Silensis*, of 1115.

Into this Spanish epic flow, there pour strains of the French *chansons de geste*, as in *La gran conquista de Ultramar* (written under Sancho IV, 1284-95), a tale of the Knight of the Swan that reads like a chivalry novel.

French influence due to the Cluniac movement in Spain turned emphasis from the national subjects and irregular versification of the so-called *mester de juglaría* to the spiritual subjects and regular versification of the *mester de clerecía*, consisting generally of strophes of four monorhymed alexandrines, called *cuaderna vía*. This trend begins with translations in uncertain octosyllables, as the rhymed hagiography (saint's life) *La Vida de Santa Maria Egipcíaca*, who in her worldly life

Tanto quiere jugar y reir  
 Que nol' miembra que ha de morir

Likes so much to laugh and play  
 That she forgets she has to die.

This anonymous poem of the early 13th c. is followed by the voluminous works of Gonzalo de Berceo (1198-1265?). He was probably a secular priest and a minstrel, in the manner of St. Francis, the *joculator Domini*. Thus at the end of *La vida del glorioso Confesor Santo Domingo de Silos* (1230) he prays:

Padre, entre los otros, a mí non desempares,  
 Ca dizen que bien sueles pensar de tus  
     juglares.

Father, with the others, take me under Thy  
     protection,  
 For they say that Thou useth to think well  
     of Thy minstrels.

The public he addresses, however, is the same large crowd to whom the *juglares nacionales* turned. Besides his other lives of saints (*San Millán de Cogolla*; *Santa Oria*) Berceo wrote a series of *Miracles of Our Lady*; in one of these (*Duelo que fizo la Virgen Maria*), he gives an archaic song of the soldiers on guard at Christ's tomb; his language throughout is varied and expressive.

The same form is used in the 10,000 lines of Juan Lorenzo de Astorga's *Libro de Alixandre* (ca. 1250), which pictures Alexander in combat, refusing to be a "tributary vassal of the King of Babylon." The impressive descriptions of nature, of oriental marvels, of the majestic tent of Alexander with its symbols of the twelve months, blend with an Iberic ascetism that pales before the Amazon Queen Caletrix:

De la su fermosura no quiero mas cantar  
 Temo fer alguno de voluntad pecar.

Of her beauty I will sing no more  
 For fear lest I lead someone into sin.

The anonymous *Libro de Apolonio*, reshaping a Byzantine story of the King of Tyre, a bit more boldly presents the awakening of love:

Alcó contra la dueña un poquiello el cejo,  
Fué ella de verguenza prisa un poquillejo.

He lifted his eyebrows just a bit, to the lass;  
And, just a little bit, bashfulness overcame  
her.

The popular *cuaderna via* form was also used for the inspiring patriotic *cantar*, *El Poema de Fernán Gonzales* (ca. 1250), by a monk of San Pedro de Arlanza. In the course of the 14th c. the epics and chronicles of the olden style died.

Lyricism. Various sources may have blended to produce the early Spanish lyric. Ribera emphasizes the influence of the popular Arabic lyrics, stemming from Mucadam ben Muafa in the 9th c. His principal strophes were the *zéjel*, a monorhymed carol with chorus (AAbbba, AAccca, AAddda); and a *gūexah* of alternate rhymes. These forms appear in the Arabic *cancionero* of Abén Guzmán (1095-1150). Pidal emphasizes the native popular "romance" poetry, in an idiom between Late Latin and Old Spanish, which still in the time of Alfonso VI (1126-57) must have been rich in *canciones de mayo*, *de vela*, *de segadores* (songs of May; watchman's, reaper's songs) and the like, and many women's songs, as the *villancicos* of the shepherdess and the *serranillas* of the *serrana*, the girl-guide through a mountain pass. Some of the Castilian poetry of the early 13th c. —e.g. *La razón de amor* and *Elena y María*—shows the influence of the French *débat*, as does the more scholastic *Disputa del alma y del cuerpo* (*Debate between the body and the soul*).

The first Spanish trovador, King Alfonso X, the Wise,\* using the Gallo-Portuguese

tongue, wrote the 450 *Cantigas de Santa María*, mainly miracles, but with 41 loores (praises) and 15 hymns. They are very simple, with primitive refrains that seem pious echoes of olden May songs:

Quem a Virgen ben servirá  
A paraíso irá.

Whoso serves Our Lady well  
Will go to Paradise.

Similarly rooted in the popular, and in this respect very different from the Provençal troubadours, were other trovadors, Pedro Amigo de Sevilla; King Sancho I; Airas Nuñez de Santiago; King Don Dinis of Portugal. Juan Zorro and Pero Meogo imitated the women's songs (*cantigas d'amigo*); those supposedly sung by the man (*cantigas d'amor*) were imitated by Nuño Fernandes Torneol. Whole collections of popular lyric songs can be found in the *Cancionero da Vaticana* and the *Cancionero Colocci-Brancuti*; only the *Cancionero de Ajuda* contains primarily learned material. The Castilian language rarely appears in these poems; but the poetical prose diction of the 13th c. translation of *The Song of Songs* forms the basis of the classical language of mysticism, as already mirrored in Berceo's *Santa Oria*, who hopes to go to heaven:

Luego en esti tálamo querria ser novia.

Then in that bridal bed I should like to be  
bride.

Didacticism. The prose of the period is entirely didactic. Outside of the legal (*fueros*) and the historical (*crónicas*), it ranges from stories to proverbs, from debates to expositions of man's estates. It is a learned literature, by compilers of oriental material such as *exempla* (stories with a moral) for preachers, but also more interesting material, e.g. *Calila*



e *Dimna*, fables in dialogue of a king and his adviser. Rich in matter from natural history, these stories, coming from India through the Arabs, were fused with Castilian traditions by Infante Don Juan Manuel (1282-1349), in *El Conde Lucanor*, also called *El libro de Patronio*, from the man who gives advice to the count through the stories of men or animals. The oriental influence appears in the lengthy and polite introductions to the exempla, in the vague suggestions of actual persons, in the endless wise digressions. The native strain is present in particular characters, flesh and blood persons in the Castilian countryside.

The moral stories, *El libro de ejemplos*, of Climente Sánchez (1379-1426) are arranged alphabetically (A to M). Women are attacked, increasingly, after the translation from the Arabic *Sendebâr* ordered by the Infante Don Fadrique in 1253 and called *Book of the devices and tricks of women*; and the clergy are criticized in *El libro de los gatos* (*Book of the Cats*; but probably a bad rendering of the Hebrew *agadas*, stories). The Jewish influence is more certain in the *Disciplina clericalis* of the convert Petrus Alfonsus. *El libro del caballero Zifar*, called the first chivalry novel, has a basic frame-story within which are adventures, advice, miracles, fairy tales, and picaresque fun. The oldest Spanish novel that praises woman (in spite of unrequited love) is Juan Rodríguez de la Camar's *El siervo libre de amor* (ca. 1440). An historical report, by Pedro Rodríguez de Lena, of Quiñones' defense of the San Marcos bridge of Orbigo near Leon, with 9 companions against 62 knights, in honor of his lady (1439), was given the style of a novel a century later by Juan de Pineda, as *El libro del Paso honroso de Suero de Quiñones*.

The most poetical of the "books of the estates" of man is *La danza de la muerte*, where death as a minstrel invites men of every estate to follow him, and only the monk

is ready. The "dance of death" seems to have entered Spain from France via Catalonia; the monks of Montserrat used to perform one, *Ad mortem festinamus*.

Violent satire against the court, under the guise of a convent visited by a Provincial, appears in *Coplas del Provincial* (ca. 1470); *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo* is a complaint of the people (as Revulgo) against Enrique IV. A more homely wisdom appears in Íñigo López de Mendoza's\* collection of *Proverbs old women tell at the fireside, alphabetically arranged*—among them:

Hard bread needs a sharp tooth.  
A woman who looks around a lot, spins little.  
Many words, many mistakes.

Wisdom and irony blend in the rhymed adages, *Proverbios morales*, compiled for King Pedro the Cruel (1350-69) by the rabbi of Carrión, Sem Tob. The author's spirit is manifest in his lines:

The rose, that springeth from the thorn,  
I deem no less because thus born;  
Nor is the value of good wine  
Lessened by its source, the vine.  
The falcon is not less esteemed  
When its vile nest it seeketh,  
Nor should *exempla* less be deemed  
Because a Jew speaketh.

A century later a similar wise irony permeates the little *Dialogo entre el amor y un viejo* of Rodrigo de Cota, in which an old man, granted the fires of love, grows ashamed of his decaying body youthfully flaming.

In the later Middle Ages, the oriental spirit developed an external form, generally called *mozárabe*; in art, *mudéjar*; in literature, *aljamiado*: barbarian. Thus the *Coplas de Yoçef* are written in Spanish with Hebrew letters; *El poema de Yuçuf* with Arabic letters; as well as an Alexander poem and other ma-

terial. The legend of Buddha, however, came into Spanish through the Latin, in *La Estoria de Josaphat e de Barlaam*, and left traces in many tales.

Individual Medieval Authors. Juan Ruiz,\* Arcipreste de Hita, wrote the 7,000 lines of *El libro de buen amor*, a miscellaneous gathering of miracles, exempla, fabliaux, debates (Mrs. Lenten and Mr. Flesh), held together by a rhymed autobiography and a Pandarus tale:

De la santidad mucho es bien gran licionario,  
Mas de juego de burla es chico breviario.

It is a very well extended reader of saintliness,  
But also, a little breviary of play and fun.

With metrical variation from 4 to 14 syllables, and an extraordinary vocabulary, the work has masterstrokes of portraiture, in the picture of the archpriest's servant, Don Furón, in the subtleties of the descriptions of love. The book ranges widely over human moods and failings; it parodies legal, Moorish, and liturgical speech; it piles on humorous stories, uses mock-heroic motifs, yet develops its fables smoothly. And the ironic, at times obscene, jester also can pray. *El libro de buen amor* is a fit contemporary of Boccaccio and Chaucer.

Pero López de Ayala (1332-1407), diplomat, chancellor of Castile, historian (*Crónica del Rey Don Pedro*), is a social satirist in various moods and metres. In the *Rimado de Palacio* he extends the *cuaderna via* to a kind of sestina and sonnet, in its 1,465 strophes scourging the manners and actions of the court. His satire contains no humor, but a sadness, a pious sorrow at the misery of the poor and the misfortune of the Church, whose Pope is a prisoner at Avignon.

Don Enrique de Villena (1384-1434) is one of the many-sided men of the Middle Ages, a dabbler in magic, an interpreter of dreams. He applies an allegorical-moral inter-

pretation to *The Twelve Labors of Hercules*, and teaches manners in the *Arte cisoria*, a manual of carving and etiquette. He wrote a poetics, *Arte de trobar*, and made the first Castilian translations of the *Aeneid* and *The Divine Comedy*.

The Marqués of Santillana, Don Íñigo López de Mendoza,\* developed old Spanish poetic patterns (10 *serranillas*) and new ones from Italy (42 *Sonetos hechos al itálico modo*). In *Prohemio e carta al Condestable de Portugal* he defined poetry as "a fiction of useful things covered with a beautiful veil." His *Infierno de los Enamorados* copies Dante's Canto V, as Diana shows Hippolytus the unhappy-lovers in hell. Bound by the tradition of *el arte mayor* (a sequence of 10 or 11 syllable lines with hovering accent), Don Íñigo was not wholly successful in bringing the pure hendecasyllable into Spanish verse.

Scarcely more successful was Juan de Mena (1411-56) who first translated the *Iliad*, and first—if the popular *Coplas de ¡Ay Panaderal* be really his—satirized the decaying knight-hood. His *Labyrinth of Fortune* (also called *Las trescientas*, *The Three Hundred*, i.e. strophes) imitates Dante's *Paradiso*, but there are touching scenes of Spanish history and lives of saints. He was followed by Juan de Padilla (1468-1522).

Moral in form, but erotic in spirit, is the *Corvacho o Reprobación de amor mundano* of Alfonso Martínez de Toledo (1398-1470), archpriest of Talavera. With sensuous and sadistic stories, set in a sanctimonious frame, he sets out to prove the wickedness of women. With rich vocabulary and lively style he pictures especially the coquetry and pretense of the city women.

Gómez Manrique (1412-90), nephew of the Marqués de Santillana and uncle of Jorge Manrique, in his *Poesías* uses vivid similes and his poetic power mainly for political ends. But his "liturgical" drama (following the older *Misterio de los Reyes Magos*) of the

adoration of the shepherds, *Representación del nacimiento de Nuestro Señor*, and his *Lamentaciones* for the Holy Week, are important relics of the Spanish medieval theatre.

Jorge Manrique\* is a learned poet. His 51 varied *Poesías* deal mainly with inner aspects of man; nature has little place in them. He builds an elegy (*Coplas por la muerte de su padre*) into a philosophy of death:

Nuestras vidas son los ríos  
Que van a dar en la mar  
Que es el morir . . .  
Y consiento en mi morir  
Con voluntad placentera  
Clara y pura.

Our lives are the rivers  
That run toward the sea  
That is our dying . . .  
And I assent to my dying  
With a gentle will  
Clear and pure.

Fernán Pérez de Guzmán (1376-1460), the first Spanish biographer (in the vein of Plutarch), presents two volumes of heroes and saints, and a sympathetic and critical study of contemporaries, *Las generaciones, semblanzas y obras*. Still more famous are the 24 portraits in the *Libro de los claros varones de Castilla* of Hernando de Pulgar (1436-93).

The work of the 15th c. poets is preserved in many *cancioneros*, ordered by King Juan II of Castille and Alfonso V of Aragon. Thus the *Cancionero de Baena* contains, among the works of 54 Castilian poets, the devout and the obscene lyrics of Alfonso de Villasandino, the political and allegorical Dante imitations of Francisco Imperial, the realistic rhymes of Rey de Ribera. The *Cancionero de Stúñiga* is filled with popular verse, and poems of the sentimental Carvajales; Juan de Tápia; Pedro

de Santa Fe. The wittiest of all these poets is Juan Álvarez Gato (1440-1496?).

*The Renaissance.* The Spanish Renaissance is interlinked with the Counterreformation and with baroque. Kept by its Church loyalty from the merely secular humanist rouse, Spain not only renewed Latin, Greek, and also Hebrew studies, but by its keen introspection anticipated modern psychology. The study of traditional theology that culminated in Luís de León and Francisco Suárez was prepared by the philosophy of Luis Vives (before Bacon to use inductive methods and experiment), Martyr Anglerius, Lucius Marineus Siculus, and other scholars at Alcalá and Salamanca. The Spanish discoveries and colonization helped develop a national unity, and the broad popular basis of Spanish life and art maintained a practical realism. The sciences were drawn to the new needs, as by Pérez de Oliva, who foresaw the telephone. Mathematics and astronomy were applied to navigation; the ocean depths were fathomed and mapped. Arias Montano studied atmospheric pressure; Fox Morcillo, fossils. The typical attitude was expressed by Francisco Sánchez el Brocense (1523-99?), in the preface to his *Paradoxa*, that all things may be freely examined, save the orthodox faith.

A more critical note came into Spain in 1510 to 1530 with the works of Erasmus, which stirred many of the clergy and converted Jews (*cristianos nuevos*) against the religious folklore, without, however, seriously disturbing their fundamental faith. Charles V saw himself as a champion of the Church against the paganization of the contemporary papacy and against German Protestantism. Cardinal Ximénes de Cisneros founded the University of Alcalá de Henares to strengthen theology; and he and his collaborators on the polyglot Bible, *Biblia Complutense*—the Greek scholar Hernán Núñez, the Hebrew scholar Alonso de Zamora, the Latin scholar

Antonio de Nebrija—accepted the Latin Vulgate as their only norm.

The Erasmian influence blended with a pseudo-mystical intoxication at thought of immediate contact with God, especially in such women as Sor María de Santo Domingo, "la Beata de Piedrahita"; María Cazalla; Isabel de Vergara; Ana Osorio. It carried away Augustín de Cazala and Ponce de la Fuente, and was used in antipapal propaganda, as by Chancellor Gattinara and his secretary Alonso de Valdés (d. 1532). It found literary expression in the famous *Diálogo de la doctrina cristiana*, by Juan de Valdés (d. 1545), twin brother of Alonso. Of more literary significance is Juan's *Diálogo de la lengua*, which for the first time in history abandons the moral judgment of literary works to weigh their style. A vigorous attack on the pope (Clement VII) is in the dialogue on the sack of Rome, in 1527, the *Diálogo de los cosas ocurridas en Roma*, by Alonso de Valdés, who turns to religious satire in the *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón*, an examination of the souls of the dead.

Evidences of more modified Erasmian influence abound. Military heroism is praised as a civilian virtue by Juan López de Palacios Rubios (1450–1525) in his *Tratado del esfuerzo bélico heroico* (1524). Human dignity as a fundamental quality of pagans and Christians alike is elevated by Fernán Pérez de Oliva (d. 1531) in *El diálogo de la dignidad del hombre*. Life and death are examined in detached irony by Francisco López de Villalobos (1473–1549) in his medical and philosophical works, especially in the canción *Venga ya la dulce muerte*. Aristocratic, as opposed to popular, opinions are upheld in *Coloquios o diálogos* (1547) by the otherwise conservative historian Pero Mexía (1499?–1551). Criticism of morals and customs comes through the mouth of a shoemaker's rooster in Cristóbal de Villalón's *Crotalón*; its 19 chapters in prose are called cantos because the

cock is singing them; they are a forerunner of Cervantes' *Coloquio de los perros* (dogs). Andrea Laguna (1499–1560) presents ironic criticism of foreign customs in his *Viaje de Turquía*. The Inquisition was displeased with the attempt of Juan Huarte de San Juan (1530–91?) to explain endowments and talents by a psychology dependent on bodily conditions and sociological surroundings, as in his *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* (1575). To avoid such clashes, the main editor of the second polyglot Bible (Antwerp, 1573), Benito Arias Montano (1527–98) proposed, after the strict Spanish indices of 1551 and 1559, a more tolerant one, the *Index* of the Duke of Alba (1569), which later won the sanction of Rome.

Yet, in the long run these elements (though seen also in poetry: Luis de León, and in the novel: Cervantes) remained the exception; while under the leadership of the Jesuits and with the mystic spirituality, another side of humanistic culture, the aesthetics and psychology of the classics, was renewed.

Among the classical influences on Renaissance Spain, while Aristotle was chief in philosophy, Plato was outstanding in literature. Ovid played a part, for it is the love element in Plato that predominated. Despite Boscán's translation (1534) of Castiglione's *Courtier*, and other Italian works, however, it was not the Italian concept of Plato, but the neoplatonic ideas of Plotinus, that were most potent in Spain. These ideas had come there through the Christian Fathers, and through the Arabs and the Jews (Avempace, Avicbron, Maimonides, Averroes) to Ramon Lull and especially to Abrabanel, or Leone Ebreo (b. 1490). His *Dialoghi d'amore* (1535), written in hispanized Naples and thrice translated into Spanish (1568, 1582, 1590), were also popularized by the plagiarist Maximiliano Calvi (1576) and condensed *a lo divino* by Cristóbal de Fonseca (1592). Leone pictures the soul seeking creative love (God) through

beauty, but more successfully as it loosens the bodily ties, silencing the senses to find the form of beauty, the divine intellect, within, and achieving its goal when ravished by death into the primal beauty. Thus, where the Renaissance in other lands is concerned with man and nature, and seeks to link them in a controlled world by logical thought, the Spanish Renaissance reaches beyond to the relation of man and God, and beyond reason reaches forth with intuition and deep faith.

Renaissance Theatre. The glory of Renaissance Spain is her theatre. The nativity plays of Gómez Manrique (1412-90) were developed in the hedonistic spirit of the Italian Renaissance by Juan del Encina (1469-1529), who after his sojourn in Rome changed the shepherds of Bethlehem into Italian pastoral figures, concerned with a pagan dalliance of love and the enjoyment of the hour. *Carpe diem*:

Tomemos hoy gasajado,  
Que mañana vien la muerte.

Let us enjoy this very day,  
For tomorrow we die.

In his *Cristino y Febea*, e.g., Cristino, having become a hermit, is triumphantly restored to the shepherd state, "for there are more good shepherds than monks, and better ones." More moderate is Bartolomé de Torres Naharro (d. after 1530), with simple *comedias a noticia*, realistic scenes (*entremeses costumbristas*) as *La Soldadesca* (*The Soldiers*) or *La Tineleria* (*The Kitchen Staff*); or comedies of intrigue, as *Comedia Jacinta*. *Comedia Himeneae* is the typical Spanish comedy *de capa y espada* (of cloak and sword) in a nutshell, with its essential *pundonor* (point of honor), as well as a paradox and *agudeza* (sharp wit).

The various currents of the time blend

charmingly in the work of the Portuguese-Spanish Gil Vicente (1465-1539), best of these early playwrights, and also a goldsmith of note. With bold use of mythology, severe criticism of the church, conscious sensuality lightened by humor, Vicente's plays are marked by brilliant technique and equally lively control of either tongue. The third *auto* of his *Trilogia das barcas* (1517-18, -19), in Spanish, shows a maiden flirting with the angel of the barge of death. There is irony in his *Amadis*, and frank pagan joy in his *Templo de Apollo* (1526), in which the peasant speaks Portuguese while the gods speak the Castilian of Charles V.

Pagan too is the great forerunner not only of the classical drama but of the novel: *Celestina*, or the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* (1499 at Burgos, 16 acts; 1502 at Seville, 21 acts; Act I is very long). This tragic *acción en prosa* combines the go-between (*Celestina*) theme with that of the unfortunate lovers. Against the vulgarity of the servants stands the aristocratic dignity of the true, and truly noble, lovers: the shrewd, scheming, realistic *Celestina*; the pure and gentle *Melibea*, victim of her love.

From the religious drama the Spanish theatre received even greater impetus. The passion plays and mysteries were followed by Biblical plays: *Auto de Cain y Abel* by Jaime Ferruz; *Tragedia llamada Josefina* (1535) by Micael de Carvajal; *Entremés de Noemi y Ruth* by Sebastián de Horosco (1510-80). Corresponding to the English morality play was the Spanish one-act *farsa sacramental*, wherein abstractions argued dogma. Under the Protestant attack upon the Eucharist, the *autos sacramentales* developed; at first, as in Hernán López de Yanguas' *Farsa sacramental en coplas* (1620), they glorified the Sacrament, for presentation on Corpus Christi day; but they soon ranged afield, into parables as in Juan de Timonedá's *Ternerio sacra-*

mental (1575) and then to any theme, supposedly to be interpreted *a lo divino*, even Graeco-Roman mythology.

Some playwrights chose classical themes without allegorical purpose: *La Venganza de Aganemnon* (1528) of Fernán Pérez de la Oliva; *Filomena* (1564) of Juan de Timoneda. But more favored were modern subjects, in new strophic forms, as the *Nise lastimosa* and *Nise laureada* (1577) of Fray Jerónimo Bermúdez Salamanca, on the murder of Ines de Castro, wife of the Infante Peter of Portugal, in 1355. These were written in unrhymed hendecasyllables, with sapphic choruses. Cristóbal de Virués (1550-1609) followed the more sensational taste for Senecan blood-and-thunder drama in his *Atila furioso* and in love tragedies old (*Elisa Dido*) and new (*La infelice Marcela*).

Much more suited to the stage were the works of the Sevillian actor Lope de Rueda (d. 1565). His language is flavorful, his dialogue brisk and, although his plot structure is weak, he created many popular types in his realistic *pasos* (events, i.e. short dramatized stories) as *Las aceitunas* (*The Olives*) and his comedies, as *Eufemia* and *Armelinda*. He introduced colonial figures, Negroes from the Caribbean, with a Creole Spanish as colorful as themselves. Another Sevillian, Juan de la Cueva (1550-1610), sought in his *Ejemplar poético* to standardize popular taste. His plays vary from the classical *Tragedia de Ajax Telamón* to the popular *Comedia de la muerte del Rey Don Sancho* and the *Comedia del Infamador*, which bears a germ of the Don Juan story.

The height of the Spanish Renaissance drama was attained by Lope de Vega.\* Scorning the rules and in general the themes of the classics, Lope drew from every native and popular source, with well-knit plots, lively, even beautiful, yet natural dialogue, variety of characters, in many meters and strophic

forms. He continued the bulky *Celestina* in his autobiographical *acción en prosa*, *La Dorotea*. He made the pastoral comedy genuinely rural, as in *El villano en su rincón* (*The Peasant in his corner*). He tinged the realistic with a fairylike fancy. Emphasizing the patriotic (*El mejor alcalde el rey*; *The best judge, the king*), he especially developed the Spanish psychology of jealousy and honor, in many portraits of honest and heroic women. We can only glimpse the many-sidedness of Lope's prodigious production; his 500 extant dramas (of some 1,500) range widely. Most of them are built in three long acts, *jornadas* (days). His religious plays include *autos* (*El viaje del alma*; *The Soul's journey*), comedies (*Lo fingido verdadero*; *Fiction proving Truth*), legends (*La buena guarda*; *The Good guard*). Among the few plays based on classical mythology is one on Orpheus, *El marido más firme* (*The most constant husband*). *La Imperial de Otón* (*Otto's Imperial Crown*) treats the rebellion of Otocar of Bohemia against Rudolph of Hapsburg. The masterpieces are dramatized romances of Spanish history: *Las famosas Asturianas* (*The Famous girls of Asturias*); *La Estrella de Sevilla* (*The Star of Seville*); *Fuente Ovejuna*; *El alcalde de Zalamea*. Pastoral or Oriental backgrounds mark other plays; the *capa y espada* mood, still more, as *El perro del hortelano* (*The Gardener's dog*); *La Dama boba* (*The Lady Fool*).

Lope's work, with its balance of action and character, its neatness of significant situations, its *sinceridad religiosa*, sums up the Spanish temperament. If Lope does not dwell upon ideological questions, that aspect of Spanish concern enriches the religious, philosophical drama of Tirso de Molina,\* who is even more picturesque and individual in his vocabulary than Lope. He reduced his plots to a few patterns, developed by continuous improvement. Tirso, in spite of his wide worldly

knowledge, is pious, almost ascetic; St. Bruno, hero of *El mayor desengaño* (*The Greatest disillusion*), queries:

Of what use letters and studies,  
dignities, honors, degrees,  
books, chairs, offices,  
if the scholars are damned?

He sets chaste youths against seductive women in *La mujer que manda en casa* (*The Woman that rules the house*), in *El vergonzoso en palacio* (*The Bashful one in the palace*). But he also shows virtue in women: saintliness in *Santa Juana*; courage and mother-love in *Doña María de Molina*; innocence, and chastity violated, in *El burlador de Sevilla* (*The Seducer of Seville*) and *Don Gil de las calzas verdes* (*—with the green trousers*). Its picture of spiritual pride inclines many to attribute to Tirso the effective, anonymous *Condenado por desconfiado* (*Damned for lack of faith*), sprung from the contemporary controversy over free will; in this play Christian humanism opposes its gentleness and humility to the arrogance and self-sufficiency around.

Don Guillén de Castro y Bellvís\* limits his interest, even in national themes, to individual issues. Neglecting the current figure of the *gracioso*—also called *bobo* (fool); he plays the same role as the Shakespearean clown, but in spite of his popularity lacks Shakespearean depth—Guillén sets his figures in sharp opposition: Christian and Moor in *Las mocedades del Cid* (*Youth of the Cid*) and *Las hazañas* (*Deeds*) *del Cid*; man and woman in the divorce drama *Los mal casados* (*The ill-wedded*) *de Valencia* and the adultery drama (based on Cervantes) *El curioso impertinente*. Yet he shifted the tragic story of Don Alarcón so as to produce a *comedia* with a "happy ending."

The vigor and noble spirit of the Mexican-born hunchback, Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza (1581–1639) animate his 21 dramas

of poetic justice, as *La verdad sospechosa* (*The Suspicious truth*), *Ganar amigos* (*How to make friends*), *Las paredes oyen* (*The Walls are listening*), *El examen de maridos* (*The test of husbands*), *El semejante a sí mismo* (*His own double*). Corneille imitated this mood in *Le Menteur*; but the Spanish baroque theatre continued Alarcón's other phase, miracle and magic as in *El Antecristo*; *La cueva* (*The cave*) *de Salamanca*; *Quien mal anda, en mal acaba* (*Who does evil, ends in evil*), an Inquisition trial of a Moor accused of using a demon's help to win his bride.

The Renaissance Lyric. The humanistic poets that studied classical and Italian poetry were nonetheless primarily interested in the popular poetry of Spain. They collected and continued the old romances, published them in the *Cancionero* of Fernández de Constantina, and *Cancionero general* of Hernando de Castilla, and the like; whereas the people printed them on broadsides, *pliegos sueltos*. The orally transmitted romances, called *viejos* (old ones) and *tradicionales*, deal with popular national themes, in 8-syllable verses with uniform assonance after 16 syllables. They are simple, rude, but clear-cut; they lead the reader in *medias res* (into the midst of things) as do the epics. The Moorish romances and the border ballads, *romances fronterizos*, have learned ingredients, as have the *romances juglarescos*, mainly on French themes (Charlemagne) or Celtic (King Arthur). All these mixed types are gathered in the *Romanceros* of Nucio (1550), Nájera (1550), Fuentes (1550), Sepúlveda (1551), Timoneda (1573).

The poets of the 16th c. wrote learned imitations, *romances artísticos* or *eruditos*, of these popular ballads, gathered with the genuine ones in *Romanceros generales* of the early 17th c., and in many collections of the 19th and the 20th century: Herder, Grimm (1815), Depping (1817), Durán (1832),

Wolf and Hofmann (1856), Menéndez Pelayo (1906), Menéndez Pidal.

With olden metres and vocabulary but new charm and wit, Cristóbal de Castillejo (1490–1550) imitated Ovid and Catullus; his erotic verse remains only in an expurgated edition (1573). He greets high ladies with flirtatious trifles (*Vuestros lindos ojos, Ana; your pretty eyes, Anna*); his chiseled form is at its peak in the quintillas of the imagined dream *Yo, señora, me soñaba, un sueño que no debiera*; I, my lady, dreamed a dream I should not. Juan Boscán de Almogaver (ca. 1495–1542) brought a more polished Italian technique into Spanish poetry; the hendecasyllable the Marqués de Santillana had clumsily introduced, he smoothed and adapted to the Spanish tongue, minimizing the occurrence of a final stress. Three books of his poems, finished in style but lacking in life, were first published by his widow in 1543.

The vitality deficient in Boscán is richly present in his friend Garcilaso de la Vega\*, whose work—3 eclogues, 1 verse epistle, 5 odes, and 38 sonnets—was published in one volume with Boscán's (1543), and is the finest lyric treasure of the Spanish Renaissance. The world of love and beauty evoked by grave and gentle Garcilaso remains a wonder of lyrical self-analysis. His first eclogue (ca. 1536), in stanzas, grows from his own unhappy love. The second, in tercets with internal rhyme, is more philosophical; the third, in *ottave rime*, weaves a pastoral tale. *La Flor de Guido* transforms the quintilla into the jewel of the *lira* form (a7, b11, a7, b7, b11) later used by Luis de León and S. Juan de la Cruz. In these deftly handled forms, Garcilaso presents an harmonious balance of reason and passion, and reminds us of the essential identity of beauty and goodness, of evil and pain.

Garcilaso's less endowed pupil, Gutierre de Cetina (1520–57?) cultivated the elegant madrigal, and with *plateresc* traits (as of the

silversmith's art) wove artificial triflings around his loves. Also artificial was Hernando de Acuña (ca. 1518–ca. 1586) who set Charles V's translation of the old-fashioned *El Caballero determinado* of Olivier de la Marche into double quintillas, and wrote elaborate sonnets in praise of Spanish unity.

Greater praise of Spanish glory came from the Sevillian Fernando de Herrera\*, with his great odes celebrating victory over the Turks at Lepanto, the Portuguese at Alcazarquivir, the Moriscos (baptized Moors that stayed in Spain after 1492) at Las Alpujarras; his *estancias largas* (long strophes) draw power from the Bible. Similarly clear and austere are his sonnets and other lyrics of love. His contemporaries, however, preferred Garcilaso's rococo, which, along with Italian models, was imitated in the simple and tender, though elegant *Poesías* (pub. by Quevedo, 1631) of Francisco de la Torre (ca. 1534–94). More graphic and sensuous is Francisco de Figueroa (1536–1617; the Tirsi in Cervantes' *Galatea*), who heaps up *piropos* (exaggerated compliments) in his description of his love:

Sunbeams, gold, ivory, sun, ties, life . . .  
ebony, snow, purple and jessamine,  
amber, pearls, rubies . . .

—and who destroyed the greater part of his *canciones*.

Rodrigo Caro (1573–1647) laments the vanished Roman glory of the Seville country in the classical *A las ruinas de Italia*. A pervasive disillusionment marks the anonymous *Epistola moral a Fabio* (1626), in calm and dignified tercets. Still more baroque in mood, despite their classical form, are the sonnets and satires of Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola (1559–1613), and the more chastened work of his brother, the priest Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola (1562–1631).

Prose. Though also fostered by treatises from France, Germany, and the Netherlands,



asceticism and mysticism, combined with sharp criticism of social customs and mores, had a strong native growth in Renaissance Spain. The first archbishop of reconquered Granada, Fray Hernando de Talavera (1428-1507) in his *Breve forma de confesar* and *Tractado provechoso de vestir y de calzar* (*Useful treatise on how to dress and be shod*) sharply criticizes the festivities, drinking, bull-fights, cosmetics, of contemporary culture. With keen psychology he indicates that some persons may drink water with a more sensuous delectation than others drink wine. Lifting the medieval *Art of Dying* (*ars moriendi*) to a mystical faith, Alejo Venegas (1493-1554) in his famous *Agonía del tránsito de la muerte* with wide learning counsels a spirit ready to welcome death's coming. (His treatise bears an "etymological" glossary of difficult terms.) Fray Alonso de Madrid transformed the medieval *Contemptus mundi* (*Scorn of the world*) into an active though gentle *Arte para servir a Dios* (1521); its third part moves toward mysticism, linking morals intimately with faith.

Shifting emphasis from "save your soul" to *omnia ad maiorem Dei gloriam* (all things for the greater glory of God), the *Ejercicios espirituales* of St. Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556) point the path to a refined prayer: imaginative, analytical, rhythmic, ejaculatory. This is also the concern of the Franciscan Bernardino de Laredo (1482-1545), whose *Subida del monte Sion* projects man's will as a boat upon the sea of the Lord's will. More directly mystic, especially in the *Epistolario espiritual*, is Blessed Juan de Avila (1500-69), in his commentary on the 44th Psalm, where he presents spiritual concerns in realistic metaphors. His pupil Luis de Granada\* emphasizes spiritual exaltation, in his *Guía de pecadores* (1556); and in his *Introducción al símbolo de la Fe* (1583) most vividly describes natural objects and scenes—the pomegranate, the peacock, the human body—as

symbols of God's glory. His translation (1536) of the famous *Imitatio Christi* he developed in *Libro de oración y meditación* (1554), in magnificent oratory, blending rhymed prose with rounded periods. His Latin *Rhetorica ecclesiastica* (pub. 1770) systematically examines the problems of rhetoric, as those of mysticism are considered in *Memorial de la vida cristiana* (1561). His images are lively: Faith must be tuned like a violin; neglected, it is money in the cash-box, medicine on the shelf. Even more vivid is the story by Malón de Chaide (d. 1589) of *La Conversión de la Magdalena*, in which lively lyrics come between conversations that are as homely as the soil:

"But tell me, Magdalena, wouldn't it be best to wait till our Lord leaves the table? Because tears are not the right seasoning for the dishes."

"I want to get there before he leaves the table; for that dish comes too late which arrives when the cloth is cleared."

More specifically Spanish mysticism came through the Franciscan tradition in Francisco de Osuna,\* whose *Tercer abecedario* (1527) makes clear that the first essential of Christian perfection is recollection, achieved by an ascetic life and meditative prayer, whereafter God may invade the soul with objective—not imagined—consolations (*gustos*) and even ecstatic union. He too uses homely figures—"There is no fire which would cleanse (the soul) better, no file which would smooth her better, no razor which would shave her better"—of the discipline to which God subdues the soul. The same path, with emphasis on contrition, is followed by the Augustinian chaplain to Philip II, Alonso de Orozco (1512-91), and by the Franciscan Juan de los Angeles.\* Most vivid is Juan's picture of the mystic union of the soul with God, first in *Triunfos del amor de Dios* (1589), elab-

orated in *Lucha (Struggle) espiritual y amorosa entre Dios y el alma*.

Mysticism becomes "the science of love" in the *Tratado de la oración* (1556) of San Pedro de Alcántara (1499-1562), founder of the Recollects and paternal friend of Saint Teresa. Diego de Estella (1524-78) calls the ascetic sufferings of the mystic "steel blows of God to strike from the flint of your heart sparks of the fire of love." But the highest expression of Spanish mysticism is in Santa Teresa de Jesús, Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada.\* The self-analysis of this Carmelite nun, unbuttressed with theological learning or terminology, strove to express the ineffable in most original symbols. Two allegories are fundamental: in her *Libro de su vida* (1562-66), the watering process; in her *Castillo interior* or *Las Moradas (The Chambers; 1577)*, the seven compartments of a crystal globe. In her *Relaciones* (1560-79) and *Camino de perfección (Way of Perfection; 1585)* these are reenforced with many striking similes, as Saint Teresa pictures the progress of the soul: after *recogimiento* (recollection) binds the will to God, *quietud* and *unión de las potencias* (uniting simplification of the powers of the soul) do the same for the understanding and the memory, until the soul joins God in ecstatic moments (*desposorio*) and finally in mystical union (*matrimonio*). Between such ecstatic moments, Saint Teresa infused her poems with her divine yearnings: "I live without living by myself"; "O beauty beyond all beauties!"

Fray Luis de León,\* humanistic editor of Saint Teresa, brought Platonic, Biblical, and mystic elements to a literary synthesis. In *Los nombres de Cristo* (1583 in 2 books; 1585 in 3) he discusses the mystic implications of the various Biblical appellations of Christ, in a Platonic dialogue of urbanity and beauty. His deep love of nature constantly slips into his speculations; even his piety is transfused with it, as when, in *La perfecta*

*casada (The perfect married woman; 1586)* he urges the newly married Doña María Varela Osorio, for whom the book was written, to rise betimes:

The eye is delighted with the birth of light and with the delicacy of the air and the variations of the clouds; to the ear the birds lend agreeable harmonies.

The same enthusiasm for all God's creation animates his somewhat Horatian poems, as *Vida retirada; Noche serena; A Felipe Ruiz; Al Apartamiento; A Don Pedro Portocarrero; A Francisco Salinas*. Love of nature keeps these lyrics from any decidedly mystical tone; but the ascetic and mystical overshadow the fine sense of nature in the work of San Juan de la Cruz.\* His prose *La Subida del monte Carmelo* pictures the preparation of the mystical trial. From the *cognitio vespertina*, the "evening knowledge," men must pass through the Dark Night of the Soul to reach the intuitive *cognitio matutina*, the "morning knowledge" of the Divine Light. Both in prose and in poetry (*El Cántico espiritual; Llama de amor viva*), San Juan de la Cruz fuses symbol and substance in clear unity, with vivid diction and imagery.

From the mystic "science of love" developed the "saintly indifference" (later, the doctrine of pure love) as in the beautiful anonymous *Soneto a Cristo crucificado*, which ends:

No me tienes que dar por que te quiera;  
pues aunque lo que espero no esperara,  
lo mismo que te quiero te quisiera.

You need not make return to me for my love  
Because, even did I not expect that which I do,  
I should love you the same as I do now.

Historical prose abandoned the medieval chronicle form for lively description and keen

analysis of causes and growth, in the story of the Morisco rebellion against Philip II (1556-98), *Guerra de Granada* (1568-71), of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza.\* An eye-witness effect is produced, with quoted speeches, portraits, digressions on Moorish customs, and graphic description:

There were bleaching skulls of men and bones of horses, heaped up, scattered where and how they came to rest. Fragments of weapons, bridles, remains of harness . . .

With less literary style but more critical documentation, Jerónimo Zurita (1512-80) wrote the *Anales de la Corona de Aragón* to the death of Ferdinand the Catholic (1516); Estéban de Garibay (1525-99), the *Ilustraciones genealógicas de los Reyes de España*; Florian de Ocampo (1495-1558) and his nephew Ambrosio de Morales (1513-91), *La Crónica general de España* (1514-86). Such treatises were raised to literary distinction in *La Historia de España* (1601) of Juan de Mariana.\* In some places imitating the archaic style of his ballad sources, in others (e.g. the ambushing of Peter the Cruel, in 1369, by his brother Enrique) moving with the power and speed of a novel, Mariana treats Portuguese, Leonese, Aragon, and Catalan events from a Castilian point of view. History more directly used as propaganda appears in the protests—*Brevísima relación de la destruyición de las Indias*; *Apologética historia*, of Bishop Bartolomé de las Casas (1475-1566)—against the maltreatment of the Indians. But perhaps the freshest and most effective historical work of the time is the *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo* by Fray José de Sigüenza (1544-1606), a noble and wise presentation in a rich and classical yet personal style.

History in epic form tempted several poets of the period. Bernardo de Balbuena (1568-1627) turned from the bucolic melancholy

of his earlier eclogues to write *El Bernaldo o Victoria de Roncesvalles* (1624), an anti-Roland of 5,000 octavos, drawing fairies and heroes from all the epic cycles, falling far below his Italian model, Ariosto. Even feebler, in this manner, was *Las lágrimas de Angélica* of Barahona de Soto (1548-95). Alonso de Ercilla (1533-94) turned to colonial history, his rather clumsy *La Araucana*, with artificial mythology but vivid eye-witness descriptions, presenting the campaign of Reinoso against Chile. Fray Diego de Hojeda (1570-1615), in the 12 cantos of his *ottave rime* *La Cristiada*, with simple but vivid imagery—Christ's robe is heavy with the sins of men—tells the story of the Passion of Christ.

Prose Fiction. The Spaniards were fighting the Moors while the ladies of France read Chrétien de Troyes' *Yvain and Perceval*; thus while Ariosto in Italy was poking fun at the romance of chivalry, the Spanish reveled in these long-winded, erotic adventure tales. From the more concise and effective *Amadís* (1508) of Garcí Ordóñez de Montalvo on, the scenes were laid in Gaul, England, Greece, Asia Minor, never Spain; from the universally popular fantastic, only one novel of chivalry (*Tirant lo Blanch*, 1490, by the Catalan Juan Martorell) turned to realistic elements. In endless flood these works poured forth: *Esplandián*, 1510; *Palmerín de Oliva*, 1511; *Lisuarte de Grecia*, 1514, up to the 4 parts of *Don Florisel de Niquea*, 1551. The same mood flowed through hundreds of ballad tales. The pious could hope only to turn the form *a lo divino*, as in *El Caballero del Sol* (1552) by Pedro Hernández de Villalumbrales; and Cervantes deemed it wise to use the form, even in his satire of its weaknesses.

Even earlier was the vogue of the pastoral romance, if we consider any serious and psychological novel its legitimate ancestry. Diego de San Pedro discovered a new world of sentiment with his *Cárcel de amor* (1492), in which the innocent scruples of the fair

damsel leave the hero slowly dying of a broken heart. In the anonymous *La Cuestión de amor* (1513) two lovers, one mourning the death of his beloved, one living in unrequited love, argue as to which is the more unhappy. From Portugal comes an equal melancholy: in the *Canciones* and *Menina e moça* (1544) of Bernaldim de Ribeira, and with yearning and sighs and *saudade* (melancholy) in the *Siete libros de la Diana* (1559) of Jorge de Montemayor.\* This develops in a slow but melodious prose, with the lovers exchanging wooing songs:

Diana: Toma pastor, un cordón  
Que hice de mis cabellos.

Sireno: Un nudo ataste, amor, que no desatas.

: Take, Shepherd, a lace  
I have made of my hair . . .

: Love, you have knitted a knot you  
will never loose.

Like the romances of chivalry, these stories bred sequels; the most effective was Gáspar Gil Polo's *La Diana enamorada* (1564) in which "neither the yoke of marriage nor the bridle of modesty" checks Diana from falling in love once more—her husband's timely death keeping all virtuous. The work moves through beautiful Valencian landscapes, with a learned background for its bathing nymphs and suggestions of adultery. With humorous irony Luis Gálvez de Montalvo (1549–91) in *El Pastor de Filida* (1582)—amid his bucolic scenes assigning assistant shepherds to milk the cows and cure their scabs—and with a pious turn Fray Bartolomé Ponce, in *Clara Diana a lo divino* (of the same year) bring this series—and, roughly, this genre—to their end.

Two other types of sentimental fiction had smaller span. The conquest of the Moors permitted more gracious feelings towards them; the popular tale of the lovers released,

by Rodrigo Narváez, alcaide de Antequerra (told in Book 4 of Montemayor's *Diana*) is developed by Antonio de Villegas in *Del Abencerraje y de la hermosa Jarifa* (1551) and in *Historia de los bandos de Zegries y Abencerrajes o Guerras civiles de Granada* (I, 1595; II—Moorish rebellion—1619). Gínez Pérez de Hita (1544–1619) pictures the devotion and courage of the Moors. The erotic, sentimental adventure tales of Byzantine Greek (*Daphnis and Chloe*; *Theagenes and Chariclea*) were translated; then imitated in *Clareo y Florisea* (1553) by Alonso Núñez de Reinoso, and brought into the mystic current by Jerónimo de Contreras in *Selva de aventuras* (1565).

The most typically Spanish of all the Renaissance forms of prose fiction was the picaresque novel, the story of a rogue. Setting the fashion and the style—first person narrative of realistic scenes as the picaro (vagrant soldier back from Picardy and the Netherlands) passes from master to master, and trick to trick—was the anonymous *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554). The commonplace rascal Lazarillo is briefly ennobled by his contact with an impoverished but deeply honorable hidalgo, for whom the servant cares. Contrasted with Lazarillo's using a straw to sip the broth of his blind beggar master is his enticing the starving hidalgo (whose pride makes him say he has just dined) to share his own scanty meal. The 122 editions of *Lazarillo de Tormes* indicate its popularity; successors added little to the type. Thus Mateo Alemán\* is both more cynical and more moralistic; his *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599; 1602, with continuation by Luján) supplies a rich rascal. Francisco López de Ubeda's *La pícara Justina* provides an adventure, as does Alonso de Castillo y Solórzano (1584–1648) in *Teresa del Manzanares* (1632) and *La Guarduña de Sevilla* (1642). Combining such rogue tales with "autobiographical" adventures, Vicente Es-

pinel (1550-1624) wrote *Marcos de Obregón* (1618). The Alonso, *mozo de muchos amos* (servant of many masters, 1624, 1626) of Jerónimo de Alcalá Yáñez presents his story in dialogue. With other variations, such as *La monja alférez* the soldier-nun, and *Estebanillo González* (1646) rich in details of Spanish soldier life abroad, the genre worked to its end.

For in the meantime Miguel de Cervantes\* had caught all these forms of fiction into his famous *Don Quijote*. He had worked his way through them all. The bucolic mood stirs in the fragment *Galatea* (1585), with poetry and literary criticism (*Canto de Caliope*). He praised the new (Renaissance) poets in *Viaje del Parnaso*; he wrote classical tragedies (*Numancia*), observing the three unities of time, place, and action; in the vein of the sentimental adventure stories he wove the intricate maze of *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* (1616), and in the core of *Don Quijote* he also set a maze. He dabbled in the popular theatre with such *entremeses* as *El rufián viudo* and *El juez de los divorcios*. Among his *novelas ejemplares* are the idealistic *La Gitanilla* and *La Española Inglesa* and the realistic *El celoso extremeño*, even the local-color rogue story *Rinconete y Cortadillo*. Such tales (*Marcela*; the *Curioso impertinente*) and Moorish themes (*Historia del cautivo*) recur, with many other motifs, earnest or parodied, in the masterwork *Don Quijote*.

At a tragic moment of cultural history, when the Council of Trent sought to restore religion to the paganized Renaissance world, Cervantes saw the break between man's high aspirations and the material claims of the world of flesh. Seeing his own life as a failure, he sensed in the lowly wise, the scoffed-at idealist, the "wise fool" superior to but scorned by the world, the symbol of his own questioning. *El licenciado Vidriera* (1613), the student that believes himself of glass, is one side of this *noli me tangere* symbol be-

fore the world; the knight of the woeful countenance, the wise-fool, *cuerto-loco*, Don Quesada el Bueno, Don Quijote, is another.

Many from Cervantes' time to our own have sought to interpret this masterpiece. From the melancholic debris of medieval unity, generating relativism and uncertainty (Jean Cassou, *Cervantes*, 1939) the explanations run to the knight and his squire Sancho Panza as the schizothymic and the cyclothymic personality (J. Goyanés, *Tipología del Quijote*, 1932). Despite its first impression of haphazard, *Don Quijote* is a highly organized work. Casaldueño sees the various sallies of the knight as circular movements, with tangential adventures, harmonized in number and tone, with tales and criticism correspondingly inserted in the balanced whole. The chivalrous, the amorous, and the literary themes are intertwined. With its central core in the very middle of each part, the tale is overlapped with a fourfold passion action, an organization of four "cascades" beyond the sallies, the adventures, the returns. With the problems, the landscape alters: steep, wild, nightmarish; or pathetic; or burlesque. There are atmospheres and climates of dust, and light, and shades; and noises and words are arranged accordingly. There is psychic reaction to these climates, mainly in Sancho, but also in the other central characters: from Ama to Dulcinea, from the Cura and Barbero to the Duchess and Sansón Carrasco. There are love and womanhood in a hundred shadings. There is the crying contrast of flesh and spirit, even more in Maritornes and Doña Clara than in the squire and the knight. There is a masterwork, tinged with the baroque, rich with the humanistic past, endless in perspective toward the future.

The short story or novelette also came to a new power in Cervantes. Before him there were continuations of the medieval exemplum, as in the seven dialogues of Antonio de Torquemada's *Cóloquios satíricos* (1553), or

trivial and vulgar treatments of Italian themes, as in the 165 stories of Juan de Timoneda's *Sobremesa y alivio de caminantes* (Dessert and entertainment for travelers; 1563) and the 22 *patrañas* (fabulous tales) of his *Patrañuelo* (1576). Native themes were introduced by Melchor de Santa Cruz in *Floresta Española* (1574), with the story of Don Pedro, the king who sentenced the cobbler that had slain the archdeacon to a year's abstinence from shoemaking, because the archdeacon that had slain the cobbler's father had been sentenced to abstain for a year from saying Mass. Cervantes hispanized salacious stories into tales of honor, virtue, dignity, and justice, while keeping them real, and rich in local color and manners (*costumbres*).

The *Decameron* framework was adopted by many storytellers of the time. Antonio de Esclaba (*Noches de invierno*, *Winter Nights*; 1609) has four old men boil chestnuts, drink wine, and tell stories; Salas Barbadillo (1581-1635)—author of the picaresque *Hija de Celestina*—in *La casa del placer honesto* sends four Salamanca students to carouse in Madrid; Castillo Solórzano in *El tiempo de regocijo y Carnestolendas* (*The time of mirth and carnival*; 1627) gathers together three knights and their families. Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses (1585-1638) joins his tales (in picaresque fashion) to one hero, in the violent *Varia fortuna del Soldado Pindaro* (1626) and in *Historias peregrinas y ejemplares* (1623) sets six erotic adventures in six Spanish towns. The better storytellers, however, follow Cervantes' simple, direct method. Thus Juan Pérez de Montalbán (1602-38) wrote *Sucesos y prodigios de amor en ocho novelas ejemplares* (1624); and María de Zayas y Sotomayor (1590-1661) forged such excellent plots of illicit love—defending women's rights—in her *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares* as to be almost as influential on later storytellers as Cervantes himself.

*The Baroque.* The moil of the Renaissance in Spain, the African Latinity (cultism), the Arabian manner of thinking (conceptism), the visualization of ideas (Jesuitism) drew everything ascetic and sensual, rational and irrational, practical and metaphysical, into a unique, grandiose, indefinite condensation of irreconcilable attitudes: the baroque. Interpreted in many ways, in Catholic Spain it strove, in the spirit of the Counter-Reformation, to win as much as possible of the heroic and the sensuous from the worldly Renaissance into the sanctuary.

Thus José de Valdivielso (1560-1638), author of *autos* and epics, official censor of Cervantes, wrote poems of childlike simplicity in *Romancero espiritual del Santísimo Sacramento* (1612):

Unos ojos bellos  
adoro, madre;  
Hicelos llorar  
y llorar me hacen.

Two beautiful eyes (Christ's)  
I adore, my mother;  
I made them weep (by sin)  
And they make me weep. (by repentance)

But the outstanding representative of baroque poetry is Luis de Góngora y Argote,\* whose work gave rise to the style called gongorism and in its excesses *culteranismo*. Many poets paraphrased the verses from his romances and his *letrillas* (short poems adapted to music); in his most popular work, *Las Soledades* (*The Solitudes*), and in *Polifemo*, the poems exhale the mild sensuality of mythological amours, in tender allusions, daring figures, and astounding, abstruse diction. Such poems as "He served the King in Oran"; "In a pastoral lodging"; "Let me weep on the shore of the sea"; "Not all the birds are nightingales, that sing among the flowers"; "For battles of love, a field of feathers"; "In the purple hours,

when rosy is the dawn and clear red is the day" were eagerly accepted patterns for the poets ahead.

Juan de Arguijo (1567?-1623) dreamed of the unity of the arts, and draped his pallid melancholy in chiseled sonnets (*Ariadna; Narciso; Andromeda*). Pedro de Espinosa (1578-1650) favored the gongorists in his anthology *Flores de poetas ilustres de España* (1605); in his own work (as the ode *Fábula de Genil*) he mingles asceticism and a deep love of nature, seen mythologically and allegorically; later, as Fray Pedro de Jesús, he wrote religious sonnets. Even those that opposed gongorism succumbed to it; Juan Martínez de Jaureguí (1583-1641), author of *Antidoto contra 'Las soledades'*, in his translation of Lucan's *Farsalia* and in the dove-flight to heaven of Saint Teresa (*A la palomba que salió de la boca*—to the dove that set forth from the mouth—*de Santa Teresa*). Francisco de Rioja (1583-1659) in archaic forms and epithets sang the praises of the flowers of nature; against the flight of time he wooed resignation and dismissal of the things time takes. Esteban Manuel de Villegas (1589-1669) in his cantilenas ("I saw a bird complaining on a thyme") and other poems carries gongorism to technical virtuosity.

The morbid and mordant aspects of baroque, satire and irony, hunger for life amid ascetic meditations on death, swirl in the work of Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas.\* Social and political satire sears his pages. Defending liberty, he attacks the reign of Don Dinero (Sir Moneybags) and Spanish politics in *Epístola satírica y censoria escrita al Conde-Duque*; in his *Sueños* (*Dreams*; 1606-10) he exhorts the Inquisition to further rigors, and paints grim pictures of the Last Judgment and of Hell. The conflict in Quevedo of world-seeking and flight from the world (L. Spitzer: *Weltsucht und Weltflucht*) burns to misanthropic sarcasm in his

picaresque *Don Pablos* or *El Buscón* or *Gran tacaño* (*The great niggard*; 1603, revised 1626), a spoiled picaresque, son of a witch, living in a room adorned with human skulls. Don Pablo's hangman uncle informs him that his father, hanged as a robber, had left him 300 ducats; he wins a maid who, hearing him count the money twenty times, thinks he is rich. The cynicism of Quevedo is confirmed by his 242 letters; yet there was room in his soul for beautiful and relaxing poetry. The *conceptismo* of his thought called for the *culteranismo* of his style, as in this apostrophe to a bird:

Lira de pluma volante,  
Silbo alado y elegante,  
Que en el rizado copete  
Luces flor, suenas falsete.

Flying lyre of plumes,  
Winged and elegant whistle  
Which with the curled tuft  
Shines a flower, sings falsetto.

The baroque *desengaño* (disillusion) appears most strongly in Baltasar Gracián,\* who feels the decadence of his age, and in *El Criticón* balances the wise but emasculate man of culture against the rude but forceful natural man. Similarly, while he seeks a rhetoric based on spontaneity, he defends the *Arte y agudeza de ingenio*, for "art cannot be denied where so great difficulty reigns." His *Oráculo manual* is rich in such observations as "Temper the imagination; now correct it, now abet; that is all you need for happiness." All his works abound in such *agudezas* and *prudencias*: "A ship is only an anticipate coffin." The *Discreto* knows that when elderly ladies become virtuous, it is "rather because the world rejects them, than to look for heaven"; for he sees "the illusion of entering the world and the disillusion of leaving it."

Baroque drama is at its most romantic in

Luis Vélez de Guévara,\* who glorifies faith (*Juliano Apóstata*) but moves from the pompous and spectacular, the exalted and the miraculous, to the violent and the revolting, in such plays as *El caballero del Sol*, wherein a wild animal changes into Don Sol's dead wife to urge him to wed again and secure an heir; *El Diabolo está en Santillana*: Lope masked as a ghost regains his bride from Peter the Cruel; *La serrana de la Vera*: the peasant-girl pursues and kills her faithless husband.

Similar themes and moods, but with the barbarous and gruesome refined through masterly technique, mark the dramas of Pedro Calderón de la Barca.\* With consciously elaborated parallels and contrasts, majestic and rational even in the lyric forms, Calderón presents to the eye of man a many-sided, prismatically broken reality, beyond which we discern the one idea in the eye of God. With a new subtlety of dialogue and thomist symbolism, he builds words, music, setting, into consummate theatre. At times individuals are lost in puppets or types (*El gran teatro del mundo*) or in abstractions (*La vida es sueño*; *Life is a dream*: Segismundo represents mankind). The extreme baroque architect Churriguera has given his name to the blend that, through conceptism and cultism, Calderón attains: a poetic Churriguerism, with the octosyllables varying with the mood, and piled farfetched figures, as when Dawn

Antes que el sol  
Rubios cabellos descoja  
Y en espejos de cristal  
Mire mejillas de rosa.

Before the sun  
Spreads her red hair  
And in crystal mirrors  
Beholds her rosy cheeks.

The baroque spirit is manifest in Calderón's themes. His high sense of justice shines in

*El alcalde de Zalamea*; there are typical *pundonor* plays in *El médico de su honra*; and in *El pintor de su deshonra*, wherein Don Juan is led by the lover to paint his faithless wife, until he discovers the truth and kills them both. But his *autos sacramentales* present in startlingly simple figures the Catholic themes of redemption, grace, and the Eucharist, till then presented only in the abstract language of the theologians. God, too, is *El pintor de su deshonra*. He is supposed to paint his spouse, *Naturaleza humana*, who is kidnapped by *El Mundo* and led astray by *La Culpa*. Discovering the truth, however—in this *pundonor* play uplifted *a lo divino*—God kills *La Culpa* but spares Human Nature. Calderón points out the human source of the *pundonor*, in his Herod play *El mayor monstruo los celos* (*The Greatest monster, jealousy*). But his theology and his realism leap again into baroque cascades when Segismundo (*Life is a dream*, II, 18) confuses dream and actuality—as the baroque painters lose the boundary between color and sculpture, as his contemporaries Descartes and Spinoza leap the frontiers between thought and existence, as the later Calderón-admirer and Gracian translator, Schopenhauer, leaps those between the objective world and the will. The baroque spirit is perennial, and hardy.

This was a period of vivid theatre in Spain, with elaborate stage settings and rhetorical performances, which added intensity to the baroque mood. Francisco Rojas Zorrilla (1607-48) attained the baroque sublimity (*Del rey abajo ninguno*; *Below the king, nobody*) as well as a grotesque caricature, creating the comedy *de figurón* (of absurd figure; caricature). Agustín Moreto (1618-69) added a moral and psychological note (*El desdén con el desdén*; *Disdain versus disdain*); Luis Quiñones de Benavente (d. 1652) united all his *entremeses* under the pompous title *Jocodería*: *True falsities or gay and moral blame of public disorders*.



In religious literature, too, the baroque extravagance appeared. The personal revelations of Sor María de Agreda (1602-65) are conveyed in her *Mística Ciudad de Dios* with grandiose pomp; her life of Mary, in the style of the apocrypha, reaches majestic might. The quietist priest Miguel de Molinos (1628-96) in *La guía espiritual*, in classical diction sets forth what Menéndez Pelayo calls an "ecstatic nihilism," a disillusioned "saintliness." In Fray Hortensio Felix Paravicino (1580-1633) pulpit eloquence reached the extreme of a flowery gongorism. In his poems, as in these *Oraciones evangélicas*, classic restraint has disappeared.

*The Eighteenth Century.* From the extravagance of baroque, Spain was drawn back in part by the influence of the French Enlightenment, carried by the French-born kings Felipe V and Fernando VI, and continued by such critics as Forner and Luzán. But a native impulse within the Church also fostered the return of reason; and most forceful in this direction was the Benedictine Fray Benito Jerónimo Feijóo y Montenegro.\* His *Teatro crítico universal* (a 19 v. cyclopedia, 1726-60) and his series of *Cartas eruditas* (*Learned letters*), in an easy and entertaining style that enriched the language, blast ignorance, prejudice, superstition. With a journalistic touch he considers the girl said to have been born of a cow; but he examines as well Aristotle's ignorance of medicine; he urges a dignified church music, defends the dignity and the rights of women, treats of the plurality of worlds, advances a psychology of nations, and in general (without the scepticism of Voltaire) spread the doctrines of critical examination and cultural growth.

A disciple of Feijóo was the botanist and literary historian Fray Martín Sarmiento (1695-1771), especially in *Demonstración crítico-apologética del Teatro crítico universal* (1757). Feijóo's linguistic ideas were pursued by the Jesuit P. Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro

(1735-1809), a forerunner of scientific linguistics; his literary concerns, by P. Juan Andrés (1740-1814); his esthetic insights, by P. Esteban Arteaga (b. 1747).

A similar attack upon ignorance was directed on another plane by a friend of Feijóo, the Jesuit P. José Francisco de Isla (1703-81) in his burlesque satirical novel, *Fray Gerundio de Campazas*. The peasant-priest Gerundio mixes learned rhetoric and popular superstitions; using *Scripture* as a "toothpick," he picks the public mouth with an absurd shaft of classical mythology and grotesquely interpreted sacred texts. Though in this following Cervantes, and also showing old Spanish taste in translating Lesage's *Gil Blas* from the French, P. Isla, in his many sermons—he preached the funeral oration for Ferdinand VI (1759)—observed a more balanced French style. A more negative voice of unrest, outcrying against the emptiness of the time, was that of Don Diego de Torres Villarroel (1693-1770). This professor of mathematics, in *Sueños morales* (1743) and *Vida* (1743-58) and his charlatan calendars *El gran Piscator Salmantino*, put his finger on the national decay and called for an intellectual change.

José Cadalso (1741-82) applied the principle of relativity to human affairs; he admits no absolute progress, nor trusts the goodness of man. His *Cartas Marruescas*, 1793 (following Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes*, 1721, and Goldsmith's *Chinese Letters*, or *Citizen of the World*, 1762) present a Moor writing letters about conditions in Spain. In addition to social satire, he discusses such scholarly matters as the impossibility of exact translation, and the difference between genuine and pretended knowledge. This is developed in his satire *Los eruditos a la violeta* (*The Scholars of the violet tinge*; 1772) on cyclopedic learning, on teaching extensively instead of intensively (*multa pro multum*) as with radio quiz-kids of today. More pessimistic moods (at the

death of the actress María Ignacia Ibáñez) produced his *Noches lúgubres*.

The French physiocratic ideas, social doctrines of Condillac, educational thoughts of Locke, combine with a Spanish loyalty to the Church in Don Gáspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1744-1810), whose *Discursos*, *Memorias*, and *Cartas* have many sound practical suggestions: establishment of insurance companies, plans for public education, freedom of women to work, the theatre as a moral force; but he was opposed to freedom of the press and to the French Revolution. Rather hostile to the Church, though equally strong for justice and general education, were the *Disertaciones* and *Discursos* of Don Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes (1723-1802).

In the more purely literary field, from native sources, Don Felix María Samaniego (1745-1801) wrote his *Fábulas morales*; and Tomás de Iriarte (1750-91) turned old fables to point literary morals, in the great variety of metrical forms of his 76 *Fábulas literarias*. Thus the donkey that by chance brings a tune from a flute is like the poet that ignores the rules; the sheep that boasts its guts will make violin strings resembles the poet that seeks only the approval of posterity; the viper and the leech, stinging, the one to death and the other to health, are as the malicious and the creative critic. Intent on native forms and themes, in his *Diario de los literatos* Iriarte violently attacked the advocate of neoclassicism, Ignacio de Luzán (1702-54). Luzán's *Poética* (1737) expounded the literary principles of Aristotle and his Italian commentators, with emphasis on the moral utility of art, and a support of Christian imagery as opposed to figures drawn from pagan mythology. Prose, which Luzán excludes, is covered in the *Retórica* of Gregorio Mayans (1699-1781): less consistently classical, with French leanings, but on the whole a Spanish traditionalist, was Don Juan Pablo Forner (1756-97).

The influence of the minister Aranda led to translations of many French plays (Molière, Beaumarchais, Crébillon) by Don Ramón de la Cruz y Olmedilla (1731-94), whose own plays are an earnest effort toward a didactic theatre. He modernized the *entremés*; among his 300 of the sort are *La maja majada* (*The Bored Suburban Girl*); *El teatro por dentro* (*The Theatre from within*); *La visita de duelo* (*The Condolence Call*). In these and in his national *sainetes* (saucy modern farces), excessive importations from France—"the effeminate dandies that may be pierced with a bodkin"—are pilloried; though Ramón's vocabulary, style, and technique are enriched by his absorption of the saner French ways.

The popularity of Ramón de la Cruz long obscured the contribution of the Moratíns. Don Nicolás Fernández de Moratín (1737-80) wrote the classical *Hormesinda*; but his son, Leandro Fernández de Moratín (1760-1828) fused the best of the native spirit with the Frenchified classicism. He attacked the grotesque theatrical style in *La Derrota de los pedantes* (*The rout of the pedants*; 1789); in *La comedia nueva* (1792), he ridiculed persons trying to write a play—"The Great Siege of Vienna"—in such a style. After translating Molière, Moratín hispanized his *Tartuffe* in *La Mojigata* (*The Hypocritical Woman*); he gave a genuine Spanish feeling to *L'Ecole des femmes* in *El viejo y la niña* (*The old man and the girl*; 1790) and especially in *El sí de las niñas* (*The Yes of the Girls*; 1806), which combines effective stagecraft, French technique and Spanish salt and idiomatic savour, in one of the greatest Spanish comedies.

Neoclassicism in lyric poetry and artistic prose is best represented in Juan Meléndez Valdés (1754-1817), a purist in diction, "restorer" of Spanish poetic forms, but infused with French humanitarian ideas. His 142 anacreontics (*Poesías*, 1785), his eclogues, idylls, silvas, and romances, vary their style

with the theme; diminutives overflow his love poems, abstractions his didactic works; archaism and a mellifluous lightness are everywhere. As District Attorney, he elaborated the rhetorical prose of his (partly actual) *Discursos forenses*. From Salamanca he influenced the *Odes* on politics and progress of Don Manuel José Quintana (1772-1857) and the melancholy poetry of Don Nicasio Álvarez de Cienfuegos (1764-1809). His neoclassicism was inherited by Nicasio Gallego (1777-1853); his humanism, by Fr. Sánchez Barbero (1764-1819); his art as a whole, by Alberto Lista (1775-1848). Thus the new Salmantine school flowered into the new Sevillian school in the current toward Romanticism.

*Romanticism and Realism.* The romantic origins in Spain are not creative, but theoretical and political. J. Nicolas Böhl de Faber taught the Spaniards all the Romantic theory he himself had learned from Herder and Wilhelm Schlegel, and convinced them (against Mora's neoclassical ideas) of Calderón's romantic character (*Vindicaciones de Calderón*, 1820). The early style of Ossianism was propagated by the review *El Europeo* (1823-24). Strongest in theory was Galiano's preface to the Duque de Rivas' *El Moro expósito*. For the rest, the emigrants of 1814-23 brought back what they had heard in or from France, England, Germany. López Soler adapted Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris* as *La Catedral de Sevilla* (1834). Espronceda, admirer of Byron, imitated his outlaws and pirates, as well as his variety of stanzas and metrical forms. Durán stressed the German views of romances and drama. José Gómez de la Cortina translated the critical and esthetical works of Bouterweck and in a Sunday morning coterie (from 1827) tried to persuade the young Spaniards to adopt these ideas. Spanish Romanticism, thus self-conscious, derived, programmatic, nonetheless developed no common style. While its second-hand historical

novels and historical drama gave no fine fruits, it achieved originality in its legends and lyrical poetry and in its pervasive *costumbrista* (local color) picturesque.

Romantic drama flourished in Spain from 1834 to 1844, with a fantastic theatre of love and blasphemy and horrors, ghosts, graveyards, and ghastly madness—of which the rest of Europe had just been purged. The supernatural and ghostly elements of baroque were part of the sincere belief of the period; in the romantic theatre they were conscious devices to arouse uncanny feelings and eerie moods.

Francisco Martínez de la Rosa (1787-1862) had in 1827 written a rigidly neoclassical *Poética*; in 1830, his *Abén Humaja* in the full flow of the Romantic spirit was written in French and played in Paris; he brought the mood to Spain with *La Conjuración de Venecia* in 1834. Passion-torn likewise is the *Macías*, in the same year, of the critic Mariano José de Larra,\* which he later converted into a novel. Equally intense, equally grim in the inevitability of his fate, as death strikes again and again through love and honor and fatal misunderstanding, is the famous *Don Alvaro o la fuerza del sino* (. . . or the power of fate), by Don Angel de Saavedra,\* Duque de Rivas. In this play grandiose nature blends with the human horror, in a vivid hendecasyllabic verse that speeds the dire action.

Mystery, and love beyond thought of rank, add to the romantic power of *El Trovador* (1836) by Antonio García Gutiérrez (1813-84), preserved in Verdi's opera. The next year appeared *Los amantes de Teruel*, by the half-German Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch (1806-80), based on a dramatization by Pérez de Montalbán (d. 1638) of a 13th c. Spanish legend. Another drama of romantic intensity is *Guzmán el Bueno* (1842), by Antonio Gil y Zárate (1796-1861) wherein, rather than prove unfaithful to his king, Guzmán allows his son to die. Perhaps the

most typical, as the most famous, of these plays is the *Don Juan Tenorio* (1844) of José Zorrilla.\* With the go-between, the typical Spanish servant, with supernatural features—and the final saving of the *burlador* (seducer) through the intercession of his victim—this version of the Don Juan legend was for decades played every November, on All-Souls' Day.

The Spanish romantic lyric ranges freely in versification and personal theme; but its very emphasis on form weakened its substance. Thus José de Espronceda\* is best when he abandons his imitation of Byron for native impulses, as in *Canción del Pirata*:

Que es mi barco mi tesoro,  
que es mi Dios la libertad;  
mi ley, la fuerza del viento;  
mi única patria, la mar.

For my boat is my treasure,  
Liberty, my God;  
My law, the force of the wind;  
My only country, the sea.

The ascetic spirit triumphs over lust and despair in his *A Jarifa en una orgía*. A Teresa, the second canto of *El diablo mundo*, is a sincere tribute to love; but the poem as a whole is a witty paraphrase of the *taedium vitae* motif.

There is more true poetry in the *Rimas*—yearning for an ideal love—and in the highly refined *Leyendas* of Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer.\* There is a fairy-tale delicacy in these old folk stories, as when (*Maese Pérez el organista*) in the Christmas Mass, with the beloved organist dead, the organ plays of itself; or a more sombre mood as when (*La Ajorca de oro*) a lover grows mad after having stolen for his beloved a bracelet from a statue of the Blessed Virgin.

Outward conformity to Catholic orthodoxy, on an inner acceptance of French positivism,

pressed a dilemma upon many of the time; it breaks through in the poems of Don Ramón de Campoamor (1817-1901): his serious *Doloras* (1846), his more sprightly *Humoradas* (1886-8), and the sentimental yearnings of his *Pequeños poemas* (1872-4). His inner conflict is expressed in constant paradox, and directly, in the words of *El Licenciado Torralba*:

García, though a Roman Catholic,  
Somewhat Lutheran, prefers  
The Scriptures to the criterion of Rome;  
And, making a law of his conscience,  
Confesses himself to God, who is a good  
pastor,  
Who listens, keeps silent and does not im-  
pose penance.

Romantic fiction, influenced by Scott, began with historical novels. Telesforo de Trueba y Cossío (1799-1835) told a story of Moorish rebellion in *Gómez Arias* (1828); Patricio de la Escosura (1807-78) imitated Scott's *The Abbot* in *Ni rey ni roque* (1835); Enrique Gil y Carrasco (1815-46) won attention with the polished language of *El Señor de Bembibre* (1844), a love story set amid the final days of the Knights Templars. Eugenio de Ochoa (1815-72), noted critic and editor of *Colección de los mejores autores españoles*, retold the story of Don Carlos in *El auto de fe* (1837). The many novels of Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda (1814-73) who was also noted as a lyric and dramatic poet, include the story of the "last of the Aztecs," *Guatimozín, último emperador de Méjico* (1846), in which the Indians are over-refined; and a contrast of a modest and a coquettish woman, in *Dos mujeres* (1843). More sadly sentimental was the novel *De Villahermosa a la China* (1858) of Nicomedes Pastor Díaz (1811-63). A coarser, realistic strain runs through the works of Pérez Esrich (1829-97), especially *El cura de aldea*

(1861). A still closer approach to realism appeared when Juan de Ariza (1816-76) turned from his *Don Juan de Austria* to a nearer, Napoleonic theme in *El dos de Mayo* (1845).

Realism came more fully in *La Gaviota* (*The Sea Gull*; 1849) of the half-German Fernán Caballero.\* Her story of a simple fisher girl whose beauty of form and voice carries her into society is told with rich local color, landscape under the burning sun, noise of the streets, chatter of children and cackling of hens—folk simplicity, combined with psychological insight into human motives and actions. This continues in her tragic *La familia de Alvarada* (1856), wherein the simple farmer Perico, forced to live with a band of highwaymen, "was like the silverfish of a calm fresh water lake, borne by a fatal current to the sea, in whose agitated and bitter waters he is in unescapable agony."

Wit and romantic irony add a new note to the novels of Don Pedro Antonio de Alarcón,\* best known for *El sombrero de tres picos* (*The Three cornered hat*; 1874), in which the usual adultery and revenge theme is turned to comic ends. More serious is his story of a modern Don Juan, *El escándalo* (1875); also the melodramatic but rich in local color *El niño dela bola* (1880).

The path from romanticism to realism led through pictures of local manners (*costumbres*) in the works of essayists therefore called *costumbristas*. Mariano José de Larra—author of the drama *Macías*, and a suicide in unrequited love—edited a literary journal, *El pobrecito hablador* (*the humble talker*; 1832-33); under the pseudonym *Fígaro* he contributed to this and other reviews his *Artículos de costumbres; . . . de crítica literaria y artística; . . . políticos y sociales*. Keen and often sarcastic observation make some of his essays outstanding: *El casarse pronto y mal* (*Swift and ill marriage*), satirizing girls' education; *El castellano viejo* (*The old Castilian*) and the more humorous *Vuelva usted*

*mañana* (*Please come again tomorrow*), satires of Spanish moods and manners. Less pungent but colorful is Mesonero Romanos (1803-82), who as *El curioso parlante* painted scenes and figures of old Madrid, in *Escenas matritenses* (1836-42), *Tipos y caracteres* (1843-62); mingled them with keen literary criticism (*El romanticismo y los románticos*) and amusing tales in *Panorama matritense* (1832-35); gathered recollections in *Las memorias de un setentón* (1880). Scenes of the south are evoked by *El Solitario*, Don Serafín Estébanez Calderón (1799-1867), in *Escenas andaluzas* (1847), rich with the folkways; while the beauties of all Spain were celebrated in the *Recuerdos y bellezas de España* (1844-65) of José Mariá Quadrado. The Catholic point of view in the romantic essay is sustained in *El Protestantismo comparado con el Catolicismo en sus relaciones con la civilización europea* (1844) of Jaime Balmes (1810-48), who developed a logical philosophy of history in *El criterio* (1845); and with more political fire by Juan Donoso Cortés (1809-53), whose *Ensayo sobre el catolicismo, el liberalismo y el socialismo* declares that liberalism destroys values, betrays the people to demagogues, while socialism promotes a moral indifference through its false vision of an earthly paradise.

The costumbrista movement led naturally to the full realistic novel. Thus José Mariá de Pereda,\* after his early *Escenas montañesas* (1864) and *Tipos y paisajes* (*Types and countrysides*; 1871), infused these scenes with his richly religious spirit, and set the persons into plots. He is generous even in his attacks on the liberal bourgeoisie, its encouragement of upstarts (*Don González de la Gonzalera*; 1878) and freethinkers (*De tal palo tal astillo*, *As the wood, so the splinter*; 1880); never does he forget the relish of the countryside (*El sabor de la tierruca*; 1882). He reaches full stature in *Sotileza* (1885) and *Peñas arriba* (1895); the former a story set

among the fisherfolk of Santander, the latter showing a city dweller captured by the spell of the Asturian mountains. While his characters are not finely drawn, Pereda's descriptions attain a majestic beauty. This is increased by his pithy style, with its short sentences, feelingful repetitions, effective groups of three adjectives, mingling of popular and artistic language, rapid dialogue of *miembros engarzados* (enchained phrases).

The monumental work of Pereda's more liberal friend Benito Pérez Galdós\* seeks to fill the broad canvas of Spanish society. His 47 *Episodios nacionales* (1873-1912) and 33 *Novelas contemporáneas* (1870-1915) combine patriotism with revolt against conventional tradition. With vivid description and dramatic dialogue, he draws excellent portraits of characters, which often recur in various novels. Outstanding among his works are *Doña Perfecta* (1876), *Gloria* (2 v., 1877) and *La familia de León Roch* (3 v., 1879). The first of these portrays religious intolerance; the second, the disastrous results of racial intolerance (Gloria falls in love with a Jew); the third, the tragedy of half-hearted emancipation. Piety in *Angel Guerra* (1890); mysticism in *Nazarín* (1895); most of this liberal's work center upon religious problems.

More objective and psychological in his treatment of spiritual problems, more smooth and elegant in his style, is Don Juan Valera.\* His critical study *Amor y mística española* and his first novel, the ironic *Pepita Jiménez* (1874) show his understanding of the two forces, asceticism and love. Their varying tugs are further shown in *El Comendador Mendoza* (1876); the tragic *Doña Luz* (1879); and *Morsamor* (1899), a neatly balanced story of a monk in love. The potency of life's call is manifest in *Las ilusiones del doctor Faustino* (1875); *Pasarse de listo* (*The Overdoing*; 1877), wherein the introspective Don Braulio deems himself unworthy of his

virtuous wife, who is meanwhile betraying him; and *Genio y figura* (1897), wherein, when her daughter in shame of her ancestry enters a convent, the prostitute Rafaela kills herself. In serene mood and deft psychological understanding these novels excel; but they show no shadings of dialogue with social level, and naturalistic effects are absent from their almost academic detachment.

Naturalism is defended in the brilliant pamphlet *La cuestión palpitante* (1883) of Countess Emilia Pardo Bazán,\* who combines psychological penetration and costumbrista observation in the first Spanish naturalistic novels. Her masterpiece is the study of the degeneration of an old Galician family, *Los pazos de Ulloa* (1886) and its sequel *La madre naturaleza* (1887). Gripping also is the story of a revolutionary-minded woman, *La tribuna* (1882); more studied is the picture of the ruin wrought by the amorous and romantic law clerk in *El Cisne* (*The swan*) *de Vilamorta* (1885); melancholy, with flashes of humor, runs through the gallego novel *Morriña* (*It is raining*; 1889).

Doña Emilia excels also in the short story. In *Las medias rojas* we see the wrath of a peasant on noticing, as she kneels to make the fire, that his daughter is so extravagant as to wear stockings. In *Reconciliados* two peasants of seventy kill one another over a strip of land. Half seriously, half skeptically, she retells legends; among these *cuentos* is *La sed de Cristo*, wherein Christ on the Cross will slake his thirst only with the repentant tears of Mary Magdalen.

Corruption in society and hypocrisy in the church impel the novels of Armando Palacio Valdés,\* as *Marta y María* (1883), the long-popular *La Hermana San Sulpicio* (1889), and *La fe* (1892). More mundane concerns dominate *La Espuma* (2 v., 1891); scenes of high life, in *El maestrante* (1893), are succeeded by suburban pictures in *Los majos de Cádiz* (1896). His short stories, such as *Solo!*

in which a child watches its father drown, are built of beauty and power.

Emphasis on exact and beautiful language—almost as of art for art's sake—tempers the naturalism of Jacinto Octavio Picón (1853–1924), in his anticlerical *Lázaro* (1882) and the eroticism of his *La hijastra del amor* (*The stepdaughter of love*; 1884). And in the *Pequeñeces* (*Little Things*; 1891), Padre Luis Coloma (1851–1914) uses naturalistic devices and scenes ("as Spring uses dung to bring forth a rose") to emphasize Catholic principles and general human goodness.

Apart from the romantic drama there continued to flourish, in 19th c. Spain, a theatre centered upon stage opportunities, the art of the actor and the possibilities of performance. In the height of the romantic fervor Bretón de los Herreros (1796–1873) continued the good acting play, as with his *Mariela o cuál de las tres* (. . . *which of the three?*; 1831), the predicament of a young widow with three suitors. Manuel Tamayo y Baus (1829–98), son of an actress, was imbued with the spirit of the theatre. His *Un drama nuevo* (1867) shows Yorick, about to play the role of a deceived husband, learning of his wife's unfaithfulness. *Lances de honor* (1863) opposes the Christian spirit to the traditional *pundonor*, shown earlier in his *Virginia* (1853), wherein he supplies a new twist by having Virginia offer her father the dagger with which to kill her; and in *La locura de amor* (*Madness of love*; 1855).

A similar moral solidity gives power to the verse plays of Tamayo's friend Adelardo López de Ayala (1828–79), who chastizes materialism in *El tejado de vidrio* (*The glass roof*; 1857), *El tanto por ciento* (*The percentage*; 1861) and *Consuelo* (1860), of a woman who chooses wealth instead of love. He also employed the *género chico* (small genre) and wrote *zarzuelas* (short operas) and *sainetes*.

More earnest in his dramatic problems is

José Echegaray (1832–1916), whose 60 plays are heavy with his times. His *El hijo* (*The son*) *de Don Juan* (1892) imitates Ibsen's *Ghosts*, even to the final cry, "Give me the sun!" In *O locura o santidad* (*Madness or saintliness*; 1877), his most famous play, the family of the philanthropic hero has him declared incompetent. In the more original *El gran Galeoto* (1880) the world is a cynic and a pander. Echegaray veils all of his moods in irony; he achieves good theatrical effects by heavily stressing his main characters and withholding his climax to the very end.

Literary and ideological values combine with effective technique in the plays of Jacinto Benavente,\* which beneath their international aspect have colors of the Spanish past. Thus a modern conversational drama of jealousy, *El nido ajeno* (*The foreign nest*; 1894) is tinged with asceticism and bears a trace of *pundonor*. Benavente's basic theme, the inseparability of good and evil, is best embodied in *Los intereses creados* (*The Bonds of interest*; 1907), but is vivid in *Los Malhechores de bien* (*The Evildoers of good*; 1905), which scores the soullessness of organized humanitarianism.

With the composer Usandizaga and the actress Catalina Bárcena, Gregorio Martínez Sierra (b. 1881) forged a fresh dramatic art in his *Eslava Theatre* in Madrid. His popular *Canción de cuna* (*Cradle Song*; 1911) won greater recognition than his "theatre of dream." He preaches the doctrine of virtue and energy, in lofty poetic drama. This mood is shared by Eduardo Marquina (b. 1879) in *El pavo real* (*The Kingly peacock*) and in *En Flandes se ha puesto el sol* (*The Sun has set in Flanders*; 1910), and by Pedro Muñoz Seca (1881–1936) in his *Astracanadas* (guignols). The popular short play finds highly applauded writers in the Quintero brothers and in Carlos Arniches.

Since 1898. The political decline of Spain

with the War of 1898 brought forth a "generation of '98" that sought to reestablish her prestige, at least to maintain her bond with the colonies, already producing a thriving literature of their own (See Spanish-American Literature). The critics pointed the way.

Bartolomé José Gallardo (1776-1852) had led the way to *casticismo* in *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos*, which combined scholarship and taste. This was done more fully by Don Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo (1856-1912), who affirms that the "Catholic faith is the substratum, the essence, the greatness, and the beauty of our literature and our art" (*The Buen Retiro Toast*, 1881), and examines the *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* (1881). In his major work, however, the *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España* (1883-91), he recognizes the contributions of the Arabs and the Jews. He feels that the faculty of analyzing beauty is basic to appreciation of literature; but (especially in his struggle for the chair of Spanish literature at Madrid, and in presenting the plan for the 71 v. of the *Nueva biblioteca de autores españoles*) he emphasized that philological and historical knowledge is prerequisite for literary criticism.

Spanish lack of will (*Idearium español*; 1897) seemed to Angel Ganivet (1862-98) the reason why the vigorous Nordic nations (*Hombres del Norte*; 1905) leapt ahead of the Mediterranean Spanish contemplative spirit (*El escultor de su alma*; 1916). Without faith in religious vigor or in Spain's past, he sees attempts at revival only as fantastic democratic dreams (*El infatigable creador Pío Cid*; 1898). Ganivet drowned himself in the Riga. What he saw as tragic was paradoxical, even grotesque, to Miguel de Unamuno,\* an individual concerned first with his own immortality, then with the suffering around (*Del sentimiento trágico de la vida*; 1913). He mocks the seekers for a rebirth (*La vida es sueño, ensayo*) then mockingly proclaims

(*El torno al casticismo*; 1895) that Spaniards, like other Europeans, must believe in progress; then preaches that Spain's inner way, the way of Ignatius of Loyola and Don Quijote (more real than Cervantes himself) is the only way to regeneration (*Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho*; 1905). A pseudo-mystic, an eternal Spaniard, and a modern bluffer, he always turned from cultural politics to the struggles of his soul (*La agonía del Cristianismo*; 1931, earlier in French).

The modern attitude and graceful style of Azorín (José Martínez Ruiz, b. 1874) brings distinction to his identifying of Spanish values with the race (*Alma castellana*; 1900) and the soil (*Los pueblos*; 1905). He should wear as an honor Ortega's slur: "Poet of the commoners," for this bent enables him to check the esthetic concern with the social. He examines *Clásicos y modernos* (1913) as continuous individuations of the Spanish soil; thus literary values (*Los valores literarios*; 1913) should see classical authors consciously "in a reflection of our own modern sensibility." Azorín's own sensibility tries to see them from within (*Al margen de los clásicos*; 1915). His belief in progress is overshadowed by the sense of an irreparable decay of old Spain.

This decay José Ortega y Gasset\* sees (*España invertebrada*; 1922) as the result of a lack of national unity, provinces and classes having produced no outstanding leaders. Thus there has been a steady decay in the Spanish Empire from 1580 to *La rebelión de las masas* (1930), the mass-man who instead of ideas uses brute force and direct action. Our problem—*El tema de nuestro tiempo*—is the tension between action and culture, lustful energy and the inactivity of the civilized. Ortega's very liberalism leads him (*La deshumanización del arte*; 1925) to an aristocratic point of view.

Among the other critics of our time, a cultural concern marks Rubio y Ors and



Madariaga; more specialized problems and scholarship attract Rodríguez Marín; Ramón Menéndez Pidal; Miguel Artigas; Sainz Rodríguez; Valbuena Pratt; Entrambasaguas; Dámaso and Amado Alonso; Días-Plaja.

Some contemporary novelists continue to present political and social ideals. Most typical of these is Pío Baroja (b. 1872), who presents the misery of the modern *gente de la hampa* (vagabonds); gangsters (*golfos*) in *La Busca* (*The Chase*; 1904); butchers' men (*chulos*) in *Mala hierba* (*Weed*; 1904); types that seemed almost forced to rebel against bourgeois society (*Aurora roja*, *Red Dawn*; 1904). But he sees *Los visionarios* as well; also in the trilogy *La lucha por la vida* (*The Struggle for life*): of *Silvestre Paradox* (1901) who in *Camino de perfección* (1902) from a gangster becomes *Paradox rey* (1906), head of an African tribe. But within the rebel and the visionary lurks eternal Spain; in his cycle *Las novelas de la raza* (... of the nation) Baroja reveals his love of the soil: *La dama errante* (*The wandering lady*; 1908) defends her province against cosmopolitanism; *El árbol de la ciencia* (*The tree of science*; 1911) attacks the "modern" woman, a woman (as also in *La ciudad de niebla*, *The city of mist*; 1909) "worth less than an orang utan's mate." Closely bound to his Basque country, Baroja wrote *César o nada* (*Caesar or nothing*; 1910); *Idilios vascos*; and *novelas vascongadas* such as *La casa de Aizgorri* (1900).

The anticlerical democrat Vicente Blasco Ibáñez (1867-1928) could weave a story of almost epic proportions, in landscapes of light, color, and sweeping movement. His native Valencian *La Barraca* (*The Cabin*; 1898) pictures the hatreds and the superstitions of the people. *La Catedral* (1903) is a novel of protest; *La maja desnuda* (1916)—its title from Goya's painting—is partly autobiographical. There are two outstanding features—the portrait of the Gaucho Madariaga; and the description of the battle of the Marne—in his

otherwise weak but best-selling *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (1916).

An ironic humor tinges the modernist novels of Ramón Pérez de Ayala (b. 1880). His first, autobiographical fiction attacks the Jesuit schools (*A M D G*; 1910) and sets modern sexual freedom against the traditional ascetic ideals of the Church. Thus also he attacks the ideas of Cervantes in *Belarmino y Apolonio* (1921) and *Los trabajos de Urbino y Simona* (1923) and those of Calderon in *El curandero de su honra* (1926). A melancholy quest of life's savor mitigates his irony; with keen psychology and minute observation, he presents the sensuous aspects of life, in vivid color and striking metaphors.

Sensuous beauty that removes from life to a dreamlike delectation marks the novels of Ramón María del Valle-Inclán (1869-1936). This centers in the Marqués de Bradomín of the four *Sonatas* of the four seasons: *de Otoño* (1902), *de Estío* (1903), *de Primavera* (1904), *de Invierno* (1905). His love of his Gallego country, never absent, is clearest in *Flor de santidad* (1904). Images, sonorities, suggestions for all the senses, well through his works, with bewildering epithets, accordant metaphors, short rhythmic sentences, in a sorcerer's brew.

Quite otherwise stir the awkward style and almost trite imagery of the picture of old Santillana life in *Casta de hidalgos* (1908) and old mysticism in *El amor de los amores* (1910) of Ricardo León (b. 1877); nor is there much more than entertainment in the short stories and regional fiction (*La esfinge maragata*; *The Maragate sphinx*; 1913) of Concha Espina (b. 1877).

The revival of lyric poetry came by way of Latin America, in the work of Rubén Darío,\* who pointed the way for the modernists. Antonio Machado (b. 1875) turns within to find beauty and truth and God, "out of darkness into darkness"; along Andalusian and Castilian landscapes (*Campos de Castilla*;

1912) he moves with sober delicacy ever within:

Ayer soñé que veía  
A Dios y que a Dios hablaba,  
Y soñé que Dios me oía . . .  
Después soñé que soñaba.

Yesterday I dreamt that I saw  
God and that I talked to God  
And I dreamt that God heard me . . .  
Then I dreamt that I had dreamt.

His brother, Manuel Machado (b. 1874) looks outward, on the same countrysides, and to the history of Spain, for his poetic themes.

A sorcerer of hidden beauties, seeking simplicity (as he explains in "Poesía," in *Eternidades*; 1916-17) and elegant despair (*Sonetos espirituales*; 1914-15) is Juan Ramón Jiménez (b. 1881). With the basic themes of *nada* (nothing) and *ilusión*, his power is less in his ideas than in his music; he etherealizes love; he hears strange sounds in fairy landscapes; he wonders over the endless riddles of nature:

¿Sostiene la hoja seca  
a la luz que la encanta,  
o la luz  
a la hoja encantada?

Does the dry leaf cling  
to the light that transfigures it  
or does the light  
cling to the transfigured leaf?

There is more substance in the more traditional verse of José María Gabriel y Galán (1870-1905) as well as as in the ultraistic poetry of Pedro Salinas (b. 1892), who sees himself with spiritual aspirations in a godless world. Seeking ever vainly the world of his ideals, he refuses to accept the materialistic universe as reality; hence, with the humor of despair, he dreams of a substanceless beauty:

Para vivir no quiero  
islas, palacios, torres,  
¡que alegría más alta:  
vivir en los pronombres!

To live I don't desire  
Islands, palaces, towers:  
What much greater pleasure  
To live within the pronouns!

Earthbound, but with an indestructible hope, is the surrealist poetry of Federico García Lorca (1899-1936). He summons the spirit of his native Andalucía in *Romancero Gitano*; yet he admires the most modernist art (*Oda a Salvador Dalí*), and fuses Spanish spirit with his heart's blood in the splendid ode to his friend (*Llanto por Ignacio Sánchez Mejías*). In his advance-guard art, he employs fancies drawn from the people.

Other varieties of the new poetry, of metaphor, music, and disintegration appear: pure poetry (Jorge Guillén); new baroque (Rafael Alberti); obscurity and mist (Vicente Aleixandre); dream and forgetfulness (Luis Cernuda). But with the present pressure of political events, the literature of Spain, as of many other countries, awaits the reinvigoration of a true European peace to reawaken the eternal Spanish qualities, not in mere discussions but in literary manifestations beyond the ephemeral styles.

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HELMUT A. HATZFELD.

## SPANISH AMERICAN

*The Colonial Period: The Period of Diffusion: The Chroniclers.*—Spanish-American literature, an offshoot of Spanish literature, begins with the tales of the chroniclers whose imagination was fired by the discovery and conquest of the New World. Many of these writers, participants in the events they recount and eye-witnesses of the scenes they describe, were able to transfer to their pages their own intense interest, and thus produced racy narrative colored by many realistic details.

First among such documents are the *Cartas de relación* of Hernando Cortés, in which he describes his landing with a small band of followers in 1519 on the coast of Mexico; his subjugation two years later of the Aztec capital—today Mexico City; and the subsequent conquest of the country as far as present-day Guatemala and Honduras. Written much later by one of his most loyal captains, Bernal Díaz del Castillo, the *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* not only tells the story of the conquest of the vast region that Cortés added to the Spanish crown under the name of New Spain, but describes enterprisingly the manners and customs of the conquered Indians.

The no less amazing exploits of Francisco Pizarro, who landed in Peru in 1530 and quickly conquered that country, were first chronicled in the *Verdadera relación de la*

*conquista de Perú* of Francisco de Jérez; while the establishment of the present city of Lima (1535), later events in Peru, and the conquest of Chile, where the Spaniards established various cities including Santiago, are recorded in the *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de las provincias del Perú* (1555) of Agustín de Zárate. The accomplishments of Sebastián Benalcázar, who subdued the kingdom of Quito (Ecuador) and made his way as far as Bogotá (Colombia) are told in the *Primera parte de la crónica del Perú* (1553) by Pedro Cieza de León; while the *Segunda parte* and the *Tercer libro*, or *Guerra de Quito*, which were not printed until much later, afford excellent descriptions of the Cauca Valley and its inhabitants, for the writer accompanied an exploring expedition that passed through Indian settlements that are today the towns of Pasto, Popayán, Cali, and Cartago (Colombia). Also valuable for its pictures of early Colombian life is the *Gran cuaderno* by the cultured Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada (1499-1579), founder of the city of Bogotá. While his work was not printed and is today lost, the manuscript was used by other writers, especially Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo in his extensive *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (1535-57). Notable, as well as the first, among the chroniclers of events in the Plate region—the exploration in 1516, the at-

tempted settlement by Pedro de Mendoza in 1535 on the present site of Buenos Aires, the massacre of many of the colonists, and the establishment by the survivors of Asunción (Paraguay)—is Pero Hernández, probably the author of *Comentarios de Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca*, which was printed in Valladolid in 1555. Mention must be made, too, of Bartolomé de las Casas, bishop of Chiapas (Mexico), less renowned for his *La historia general de las Indias* than for his *Destrucción de las Indias* (1552)—a fiery denunciation of the Spaniards for their mistreatment of the indigenous population.

*Stimuli to Literary Production.*—Even before the conquest was completed, two viceroys were appointed to govern, with the aid of Captains-General, the vast realm in the New World: Antonio de Mendoza in 1535 to rule from Mexico City the Spanish territory in North America, and Blasco Núñez de Vela in 1543 to govern from Lima the whole South American continent, with the exception of Brazil. From these two capitals Spanish culture radiated. As early as 1523 a Franciscan friar, Pedro de Gante, began teaching religion and music to a small group of Indian boys, largely the sons of chieftains, and a few years later opened a school in the recently completed Franciscan monastery in Mexico City. Two other schools were also established there before the mid-century: the College of Santa Cruz de Tlaltelolco, which offered instruction to Indian boys in reading, writing, grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy; and the College of San Juan de Letrán, which was established to teach the rudiments to homeless *mestizo* sons of Spanish soldiers and Indian women. Although an educational program similar to that in Mexico was instituted in Peru as soon as the Franciscans reached there in 1531, civil war retarded progress to such a degree that no important secondary school was established for half a century; but after 1582 the College of San Martín, later known as San Carlos,

long played an important educational role in Lima. In 1551 a royal decree provided for the establishment of a university in each viceregal capital, and only a few years later both institutions, known respectively as the University of San Marcos at Lima and the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico, opened their doors.

Also in the two chief cultural centers, in Mexico in 1539 and in Lima in 1584, printing presses were set up, and before the close of the century some 150 books had been printed in Mexico and about a third as many in Lima. The stringent laws largely restricted printing to works of a religious nature, vocabularies and grammars of the Indian language, and a few scientific treatises.

*In Mexico.* While neither press issued many purely imaginative works for several centuries, there were many Spanish literati in both viceregal capitals. Particularly was this true in Mexico, where the cultural flowering was from the very beginning signally exuberant. Here, there were chroniclers and historians—notably the Franciscan friars Toribio de Benavente (Motolinia) and Bernardino de Sahagún, as well as Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, known as the chronicler of Mexico City—whose works form the cornerstone of the history of Mexico in the 16th c.

*The Drama.* Also in that colony the drama, still in its primitive stage in Spain, had its followers. The Franciscan friars resorted to it for doctrinal purposes in their teaching of the Indians; of particular interest is the play described by Motolinia that was given by them in 1538 in Tlaxcala in celebration of Corpus Christi Day. Plays were given, too, for the edification of the Spaniards. In 1561 a pastoral comedy by Juan Bautista Corvera was presented in Mexico City for the entertainment of the viceroy Luis de Velasco; and in December of 1574 a number of dramatic pieces were presented in honor of the consecration of Pedro Moya de Contreras as arch-

bishop. Two of the authors who contributed selections are known: Juan Pérez Ramírez, whose *Desposorio espiritual entre el Pastor Pedro y la iglesia mexicana* is extant; and Fernán González de Eslava, whose play on this occasion was pronounced a great success. Again, in 1578, to celebrate the arrival of certain holy relics that the Pope had sent the Jesuit order in Mexico City, a play that still exists, *El triunfo de los santos*, was acted by the students of the Jesuit schools in that city. The famous dramatist Ruiz de Alarcón, who belongs to Spanish rather than to Mexican literature, was born, probably in 1581, in Mexico City and spent more than twenty years of his life there. But of the various figures connected with the drama in Mexico in the 16th c., the one most closely associated with the country, although he was probably born in Spain, is the already mentioned González de Eslava, whose *Coloquios*, which consist of 16 dramatic pieces and 157 poems, were printed in México in 1610, some nine years after his death.

*Poetry*—Lyric poetry, too, which had attained a high plane in Spain through Italian influence, had its followers in Mexico. The gifted Sevillian poet, Gutierre de Cetina, was there about the mid 16th c., although nothing remains of what he may have written while in that country. Of greater interest, not only for the high praise accorded him by Cervantes but for the fact that he may have been born in Mexico, is Francisco de Terrazas. As early as 1563, it is now known, he took part in a poetic contest in Mexico City; and five of his sonnets (three were printed by B. J. Gallardo, in his *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos*, Madrid, 1863-1889) are to be found in an unpublished collection of poems, *Flores de varia poesía* . . . of 1577. Also in that work, as well as in collections of his own verse, are various poems of the lyric and dramatic poet Juan de la Cueva that contain many realistic touches concerning

Mexico, in which he passed the years from 1574 to 1577. Singular among these is his *Epístola* (also printed in Gallardo), in terza rima, to the Licentiate Sánchez de Obregón, Corregidor of Mexico City. Of a like nature are certain poems—particularly the *Laguna de Tenxtiltán*, in octaves, and the *Epístola* to Fernando Herrera, in terza rima—of the Spanish poet Eugenio de Salazar, who in 1581 came from Guatemala to Mexico City to occupy a post as *oidor*. (The bulk of Eugenio de Salazar's verse is in *Silva de poesías*, still in mss. The two poems cited here were printed in Gallardo.) Superior, however, in general poetic worth as well as realistic description is a long poem in terza rima, *La grandeza mexicana*—printed in Mexico in 1604—by Bernardo de Balbuena, who although born in Spain spent from his early childhood many years in Mexico.

*In South America: Epic Poetry.*—Evidence exists of literary activity on the part of Spaniards in South America during the 16th c.—particularly in Lima and Cuzco, but the work done was not in general of as high a level as in Mexico. A notable exception, however, is the work of Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (1533-94), who after extensive travels in Europe arrived in Lima in 1556 and joined the force of García Hurtado de Mendoza, who had recently been commissioned to subdue the revolting Araucanian Indians in Chile. His impressions of America during the six years he spent there, the events of the bloody Araucanian war in which he took part, and his portraits of that indomitable Indian race, are embodied in the majestic octaves of *La Araucana* (1569, 1578, 1589), one of the greatest epics in the Spanish language.

Imitators of Ercilla's work soon appeared. Pedro de Oña, born in 1570 in Chile but educated in Lima, employed in his epic *Arauco domado* (1596) the same theme as Ercilla; and in *El peregrino indiano* (Madrid, 1599), Antonio de Saavedra Guzmán, a na-

tive of Mexico, told the story of the conquest of that country by Cortés. Their work, from a literary standpoint, however, is inferior to that of Garcilaso de la Vega, *El Inca* (1539-1616), the son of a Spanish conquistador and a royal Inca princess. Born and educated in Cuzco (Peru), Garcilaso went to Spain in 1560 and spent the remainder of his life there. Although his works (*La Florida del Inca*, *Comentarios reales que tratan del origen de las Incas*, etc.) are in prose and purport to be history, their chief charm lies in their lively narrative style and in their imaginative element.

The Gongoristic Era (17th-18th c.). Before the death of Philip II, in 1598, Spain had completed the subjugation of the natives of South America except certain of those in Chile and the River Plate region. In her conquests and in European wars her energy had largely been exhausted, and, although the Golden Age in letters persisted until the middle of the 17th c., with its opening her political power had begun to wane. From this time, too, in the colonies, a period of reaction set in, which lasted about to the accession of Charles III in 1759. From Lima and Mexico City, culture was slowly extended, and printing presses were set up in other governmental centers—in Guatemala in 1660, in Havana in 1707, in Bogotá in 1738, and in Quito in 1760. During this period, however, the novel and the drama, both of which enjoyed a most magnificent development in Spain, were almost entirely without creators in the colonies. Although picaresque literature was doubtless read there, no such novel was written, and there was only one attempt at a pastoral, *Los Sirgueros de la Virgen sin pecado original* (Mexico, 1620) by Francisco Bramón. While evidence exists that the theater was a favorite form of diversion in both Mexico City and Lima, neither place produced any playwright—exception being made, of course, in the dubious case of Ruiz de Alarcón—of outstand-

ing merit. In Mexico City, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1651-95) wrote, aside from many *loas*, three *autos sacramentales* and two *comedias* (*Los empeños de una casa* and, in conjunction with Juan de Guevara, *Amor es más laberinto*); and Eusebio Vela, lessee of the Coliseo in Mexico City from 1718 to 1741, wrote at least 14 plays, three of which (*Si el amor excede al arte*, *La pérdida de España*, and *El Apostolado de las Indias*) still exist in mss. Vela was an imitator of Calderón, as was, too, Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo (1663-1743) of Lima, who wrote, in addition to *entremeses*, three plays: *Triunfos de amor*, *Afectos vencen fuerzas*, and *Rodoguna*.

*Lyric Poetry*.—Contrary to the novel and the drama, lyric poetry—written principally to celebrate religious festivals, saints' days, and the arrival of viceroys and bishops—was produced abundantly in all the cultural centers of Spanish America. As in Spain itself, Góngora (1561-1627) set the literary fashion of the day; and his verses that were taken as models were not those of his early period, of a simple and direct style, but the recondite and artificial poems—the *Panegírico al duque de Lerma*, the *Fábula de Polifemo y Galatea*, the *Soledades*—of his later period. Although the last two poems were known in Spain as early as 1613, they were not printed until 1627, but shortly thereafter numerous imitations of their style appeared in various American centers. Outstanding among these are *Poema a los 23 mártires del Japón* (1630) by Fray Juan de Ayllón, and *El Angélico* (1645) by Fray Adriano de Alecio, both of Lima; various poems of Hernando Domínguez Camargo (d. 1656), of Bogotá, in a collection of verses—*Ramillito de flores poéticas* (1676)—that was published by another follower of Góngora, Jacinto Evia, of Guayaquil (Ecuador); the *Peregrino en Babelonia y otras poemas*—recently edited by the Argentine critic Ricardo Rojas—by Luis de Tejada y Guzmán (1604-80), of Córdoba (Argentina); the *Tomasíada*

(1667), a biography in verse of Saint Thomas, by Fray Diego Sáenz Ovecurri, of Guatemala; and *Panegírico de la Paciencia* (1645) by Luis Sandoval y Zapata, of Mexico, who also, in 1682, took part in a poetical contest instituted by the University in celebration of the Immaculate Conception. This event, in which more than 500 poems were submitted, is fully described by the celebrated Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora (1645-1700), one of the contestants, in his *Triunpho parthénico* . . . (Mexico, 1683).

These poets are, on the whole, merely skillful artificers of abstruse verse. What they lacked in both imagination and genuine feeling is to be found in a poetess peerless in her day, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (Juana Inés de Asbaje y Ramírez de Santillana), who was born in San Miguel de Nepantla (Mexico) in 1651. As a mere child she evinced a remarkable aptitude for learning, and at the age of seven so clearly demonstrated her genius by the composition of a *loa* for a Corpus Christi celebration that her parents resolved to take her to Mexico City, where there were better opportunities for improving her talents. Here, she won such wide acclaim, not only for her poetic gift and learning in varied branches but for her beauty and personal charm, that she was chosen as one of the ladies-in-waiting at the court of the viceroy. At the age of sixteen, however, either on account of a disappointment in love, as some of her poems seem to suggest, or on account of her intense piety, she renounced the world and sought refuge in the convent of Santa Teresa. The discipline of the Carmelites proved too severe, however, and she left the order. Two years later, in 1669, she took the vows of the Hieronymite order, in the convent of San Jerónimo, where she devoted herself until her death, in 1695, almost entirely to literary production. Her principal works are *Neptuno alegórico*, published in Mexico in 1680 or '81 and three volumes printed

in Spain: *Inundación castálida* . . . (Madrid, 1689), *Segundo volumen* . . . (Sevilla, 1692), *Fama y obras pósthumas* . . . (Madrid, 1700). Although Sor Juana paid tribute to the prevailing gongoristic tendencies of her day, particularly in the *Neptuno alegórico* and other "*pièces d'occasion*," there are in her worldly poems (*Romance* . . . *de una ausencia*; *Liras que dan encarecida satisfacción a unos celos*; and the sonnets *Detente, sombra*, and *Rosa divina*) as well as in her religious poems (particularly the "canciones" in the *loa El Divino Narciso*) a tone of sincerity and a depth of feeling that distinguish her from other poets of the period. There is, too, in some of the verse of Sor Juana, notably in the famous "redondillas" beginning "*Hombres necios . . .*," in which she censures men for their contradictory attitude toward women, a trenchant vein that recalls the mordant wit of a contemporary Peruvian, Juan del Valle Caviédes (1640-95), the author of *Diente del Parnaso y poesías diversas*.

Although Sor Juana was without doubt the greatest literary figure of the colonial period, she was surpassed in erudition by two contemporaries—Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, professor of mathematics in the University of Mexico, and Pedro Peralta Barnuevo, rector of the University of San Marcos in Lima, both of whom have already been mentioned for their purely literary works. Extremely well versed in languages, both men had wide and varied interests; each left a long list of works dealing with history, astronomy, sciences, and mathematics. Heavy and diffuse, the style of both is strongly marked by *culteranismo*. An exception to this is Sigüenza's *Infortunios que Alonso Ramírez . . . padeció . . .* (1690), which pleases both for its narrative interest and for its lucid prose.

The Neo-Classical Era: *The Enlightenment*.—After the death of Sor Juana, "gongorismo," in a most exaggerated form, continued to hold sway until beyond the mid 18th c. Not only

was there then a reaction in favor of a saner and more sober form of literature, such as Luzán had urged in Spain in his *Poética* (1737), but, in a measure, a general awakening as well. The rather liberal policy and the general reforms of the Bourbon kings of Spain, particularly Charles III (1759-88), made possible greater freedom of thought and action; and no small credit for the intellectual quickening in Spanish America is traceable to Alexander Humboldt and other European travelers who, during the latter part of the century, were permitted to travel through the Spanish colonial domains. Also after 1764, when *Los Amigos del País* was organized in Spain to encourage scientific progress and better conditions generally, many societies, both economic and cultural, came into existence throughout the colonies. One of these, *Los Amantes del País*, undertook in 1791 the publication of the *Mercurio Peruano*, one of the most outstanding periodicals of Spanish America. The establishment of periodicals, too, was general: *La Gaceta de México* (1784) and *El Diario de México* (1805); in Colombia, the *Gaceta de Santafé de Bogotá* (1785) and *Papel Periódico de la Cuidad de Santafé* (1791); in Havana, the *Papel Periódico* (1790); in Buenos Aires, the *Telégrafo* (1801), in which were published many literary productions of the *Sociedad patrióto-literaria*; and in Venezuela, the *Gaceta de Caracas* (1808).

*Neo-Classicism.*—Important among the first followers of neo-classicism in the Spanish colonies were the Jesuits, who, generally devoted to educational work, were strong advocates of order and disciplinary training. In 1767 this order was expelled from Spain and her possessions by a decree of Charles III. Far from home and deprived of their regular work, many of these men turned to writing. As a consequence, from Italy, where most of the exiled Jesuits had taken refuge, a steady stream of works on America—in Latin, French,

Italian, and Spanish—poured back into the colonies. They were not only numerous but most varied in subject matter. To mention only a few, Francisco Javier Clavijero wrote, in Italian, the *Historia antigua de México* (1780-81); Juan de Velasco, the *Historia del reino de Quito*; Ignacio Molina, an *Ensayo sobre la historia natural de Chile*; and Domingo Muriel, the *Historia Paraguayensis*, which is a history not only of Paraguay but also of Argentina. Hostile on account of their expulsion, some of these Jesuits began to plot against the Spanish government, and significant in this connection is a work by the Peruvian Pablo Vizcardo, *Carta a los españoles americanos* (1799), which was highly instrumental in fomenting discord throughout the colonies.

Also in prose, but in quite a different vein from that of the Jesuits, is another work full of realistic details in regard to the district between Buenos Aires and Lima: *El Lazarillo de ciegos caminantes* (Gijón? 1773), by Calixto Bustamante Carlos Inga, or "Concolorcorvo" as he called himself, about whom little is known except that he was probably a *mestizo* and a native of Cuzco, Peru. Although his work is not a novel, as the title might imply, but an account of an overland journey from Argentina to Peru, its style is piquant and picaresque in flavor.

The concern in the country itself and its problems reflected in the *Lazarillo de ciegos caminantes* as well as numerous other works of the period—which marks, too, the awakening of a national consciousness independent of Spain—appears also in purely literary works. Although in Latin, the *Rusticatio mexicana* (Bolonia, 1782) is rich not only in descriptions of physical characteristics of Mexico but of the manners and customs of the people themselves. In Argentina, too, the beauty of the Parana River inspired Manuel José Labarden (1754-1810), one of the best poets of the times, to write his celebrated ode



*Al Paraná*, which was published in 1801 in the *Telégrafo*. Thoroughly American, likewise, in its setting is his drama *Siriyo* (1789), whose theme foreshadows the Romanticism of a few decades later. Also, the Mexican poet Manuel Navarrete—disciple of the Spanish neo-classic poet Meléndez Valdés—is at his best not in his treatment of erotic and Anacreontic themes but in his appreciation of nature. Navarrete was a contributor to the *Diario de México* and an active member of *La Arcadia Mexicana*, a literary society; his collected verse, *Entretenimientos poéticos*, was published in 1823.

The predilection for the theatre, which existed from the 16th c. in Mexico City and Lima, extended to other centers. *Coliseos*—buildings devoted exclusively to dramatic representations—were erected in Buenos Aires in 1781 and in Bogotá in 1792. The taste at this time, judging by the plays given in Mexico City, was neo-classic. Here, at the turn of the century, were given not only the plays of the outstanding dramatists of the Golden Age of Spain, rewritten in many cases to conform to modern taste, but of strictly contemporary Spanish playwrights, such as García de la Huerta, Iriarte, and Moratín. In 1806, the editors of the *Diario de México*, in fostering various contests in the writing of *sainetes*, specified that the compositions submitted be modeled on those of Ramón de la Cruz. In regard to the *comedia* their taste, too, was thoroughly neo-classic, for in various articles that same year they demanded that a play be didactic and, in celebrating the first anniversary of the founding of their periodical, they staged Iriarte's *La señorita mal criada*.

Along with neo-classic literature in Spain in the 18th c., erudition flourished. It was the age of historians, of scholars, of dictionary makers, who sought documentation and accuracy rather than artistic expression. The writings of the exiled Jesuits, from both Spain and America, were largely of an erudite na-

ture. In Mexico, two works of this character—the incomplete *Biblioteca mexicana* (1755) in Latin, of Juan de Eguíara y Eguren and the *Biblioteca hispano-americana septentrional* (1816, 1819, and 1821) of José Mariano Beristáin y Souza, both bibliographies of writers and their works—have been of inestimable value to subsequent historians of Spanish-American literature.

*Period of Revolution.* Not only did French neo-classicism set the standards in literature in Spain and her dominions in the 18th c., but French political thought also exercised a great influence. Confronted with the writings of Rousseau, Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Raynal, absolutism in government began everywhere to totter. In the South American colonies three men of considerable culture and of wide reading in the French political theorists were particularly active in promoting the idea of independence from Spain. They were Antonio Nariño, who printed a translation of the *Rights of Man* in Bogotá in 1794; Manuel Belgrano, of Buenos Aires, educated in Salamanca (Spain), where he became acquainted with French political science, who printed on his return to Buenos Aires in 1796 a translation from the French entitled *Principios de la ciencia política*; and Francisco Miranda, the most resolute and dauntless of the three, who plotted unceasingly from 1784 in the United States, in England, and elsewhere to foment rebellion in the colonies.

While the influence of these three men cannot be overestimated, certain events in Europe contributed even more directly to the separation of the colonies from Spain. In 1808, when Napoleon invaded that country, forced Ferdinand VII to abdicate, and placed Joseph Bonaparte on the throne, a group of Spanish patriots formed a *Junta Central* to administer the government. Their example was followed in Buenos Aires and Caracas in 1810, and in Mexico a popular but unsuccessful rebellion under the leadership of

Hidalgo occurred. Composed largely of progressive and liberal-minded men, the Cadiz Junta, with the cooperation of representatives sent from each of the colonial capitals, drew up a Constitution in 1812 which recognized Ferdinand VII as king but abolished the Inquisition and granted freedom of the press. Periodicals of a political nature then came into existence in the colonies. As early as 1808, *La Gaceta de Buenos Aires*, under the direction of Mariano Moreno, an admirer of Rousseau, was established; and in Mexico Fernández de Lizardi, a decided partisan of the Constitution of Cadiz, began to issue in the latter part of 1812 his *Pensador Mexicano*, in which he discussed, until halted a few months later, political questions of a very delicate nature.

The political writings of this period, both in Spain and in the colonies, reveal a great diversity of opinion. There were men, such as Miranda, who desired outright independence from Spain; there were advocates of the absolutism of Ferdinand VII; and there were partisans of the Constitution of 1812, who, with a liberal government, would have remained contentedly under the jurisdiction of Spain. In 1814, however, Ferdinand VII, on his return to the throne, abolished the Constitution and thus unified those of any liberal tendencies. During the next ten years, independence was generally achieved—in South America through the military genius of two genuine patriots, San Martín and Simón Bolívar; and in Mexico and Central America, through the *coup d'état* of the royalist general Agustín Iturbide.

In spite of the unrest that accompanied the wars of independence, literature flourished. In the field of fiction, the only figure of the period is José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi (1776–1827), whose political sheet of 1812, *El Pensador Mexicano*, has been mentioned. During the reactionary period of 1814–1820, when it would have been suicidal in Mexico

to write on political matters, Fernández de Lizardi wrote three novels, the first written in Spanish America that deserve inclusion in that genre: *El Periquillo Sarniento* (1816), in form a lineal descendant of the Spanish picaresque novel; *La Quijotita y su prima* (1818–19), a fictionalized educational treatise on the rearing of girls; and *Don Catrín de la Fachenda* (completed early in 1820 but not printed until 1832), which is picaresque in flavor rather than in form. Discontent with the existent order of almost every phase of social life—the inadequacy of the entire educational system, the knavery of public officials, the immorality of private life, the avarice and vanity of certain members of the clergy, the dishonesty of apothecaries, and the ignorance of doctors—marks almost every page of these novels and renders them of inestimable value as portraits of social life in Mexico in the last days of the colonial regime. Upon the reestablishment of constitutional government in Mexico, in May, 1820, Lizardi turned from fiction writing to establish a periodical, *El Conductor Eléctrico*, in which he undertook to combat the very prevalent opposition to the Constitution.

During this entire period, verse was a far more widespread vehicle of expression than fiction. Permeated with the spirit of progress and inspired by their own desire for freedom as well as by the deeds of the military chieftains of the revolution, the poets of Spanish America took generally as their chief models two Spanish neo-classic poets, Manuel José Quintana and Juan Nicasio Gallego, whose ideas in regard to freedom and progress struck in them a sympathetic chord, and whose lofty and impassioned tone was in harmony with their spirit.

*In Argentina.*—In Buenos Aires, where the revolution faced much less opposition than elsewhere, a considerable number of poets of no mean ability sang of its success. Outstanding among them are Vicente López Planes

(1787-1856), author of the *Himno nacional argentina*; Esteban de Luca (1786-1824), who, aside from his famous *Marcha patriótica* (1810), wrote many odes of a patriotic nature, of which *A la victoria de Chacabuco* (1817), *El triunfo de Cochrane sobre Callao* (1820), and *Canto lírico a la libertad de Lima* (1821) are the most outstanding; and Juan Cruz Varela (1794-1839), who won wide acclaim both for his odes on liberty and progress—*A Maipú*, *A la libertad de la imprenta*, *Al triunfo de Ituzaingó*—and for a tragedy, *Didó*, which is based on the fourth book of the *Aeneid*. In contrast with the lofty tone of these three poets is the colloquial, popular style of Bartolomé José Hidalgo (1788-1822), who nevertheless advocated liberty for all the Americas. In Montevideo, the city of his birth, he wrote, in Freedom's cause, *unipersonales*, or monologues to be recited in the theatre; and in Buenos Aires, where he spent the last years of his life, his famous *Diálogos*, which are generally regarded by critics as the forerunner of the gaucho poetry that later flourished in Argentina. The bulk of the early work of these four poets is contained in two collections: *La Lira Argentina* . . . (Buenos Aires, 1824) and *Colección de poesías patrióticas* . . . (Buenos Aires, 1827).

These poets were, in general, overshadowed by José Joaquín de Olmedo (1780-1847). Born in Guayaquil (Ecuador), Olmedo received a thorough classical education in San Carlos in Lima. Here it was that he published one of his best known poems, *En la muerte de María Antonia de Borbón, princesa de Asturias*. In 1810 he was chosen as a delegate to the Constitutional Congress in Cadiz, where he undoubtedly met Quintana and other neo-classic poets. Inspired by the victory of Junín in 1824, by which Spanish domination in South America was definitely broken, Olmedo wrote his famous poem, *La victoria de Junín (Canto a Bolívar)*. Its superb imagery, its high lyric qualities, and its sublimity in both

thought and expression caused the eminent critic Menéndez y Pelayo to class Olmedo as "one of the three or four great poets of America." In 1823 he published a translation in verse of Pope's *Essay on Man*. Two years later he was appointed minister of Peru to England, and in subsequent years he held various posts of honor in his native Ecuador. His *Obras poéticas* were published in Valparaíso (Chile) in 1848.

In the same category with Olmedo as a poet, and in addition a distinguished scholar, is the Venezuelan Andrés Bello (1781-1865). Thoroughly schooled in the Latin writers in his native city, Caracas, he was sent to England in 1810 to promote the cause of the revolution. Here, despite his difficulties in supporting himself by the teaching of Spanish, he not only perfected himself in English and French but he studied intensively French and Spanish literature of the Middle Ages. During his stay in England he showed his sound critical ability in his study of the relation of the *Poema del Cid* with the French *chansons*, one of the first of its kind; a translation of Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*, which has been highly praised by Menéndez y Pelayo; studies on Spanish syntax and versification; articles that were published in periodicals that had been founded in London by Spaniards, such as Blanco White, who had taken refuge there from the tyranny of Ferdinand VII; and the poem that has contributed most to his reputation as a poet, *Silva a la agricultura de la zona torrida*, which appeared, in 1826, in the first number of a periodical that he himself established, *El Repertorio Americano*. In 1829 Bello left England for Chile, where he occupied many important posts, including that of rector of the National University from its establishment in 1843 to the year of his death. His work in Chile, which was of inestimable value in developing the intellectual life of that country, includes his famous *Gramática de la lengua*

*castellana* (1847) and numerous studies dealing with law, literature, and philology. His *Obras completas* (Santiago de Chile, 1881-93) fill 15 large volumes.

*Poetry in Mexico.*—In North America the progress of the revolution was not as smooth as in the southern continent. In Mexico, the popular rebellion that was begun by Hidalgo and continued by Morelos and others persisted, but under great difficulties. In 1820, the conservatives began to fear the effects of the liberal Constitution of Cadiz and in the following year united with the insurgents under the leadership of a royalist general, Agustín de Iturbide, in order to declare independence from Spain. In defense of the early rebellion many sheets had appeared. One of these, *El Semanario Patriótico Americano* (1812), was edited by Andrés Quintana Roo, an educated man and a poet of distinction. Although he was forced to abandon the insurgent cause and was granted amnesty by the royalist government, he did not at heart renounce his liberal views, as is shown by his odes, *La libertad y la tiranía* (1820), in praise of the Constitution of Cadiz; and *Al 16 de Septiembre de 1821*, in which he glorified both the old insurgents and the Iturbide faction. Other writers, many of whom had denounced the early rebellion, did likewise, notably the talented poet Francisco Sánchez de Tagle (1782-1847), in an ode to celebrate Iturbide's victory. *A la entrada del ejército trigarante, en México*, and in his *Romance heroico de la salida de Morelos de Cuautla*, which tells how that insurgent had baffled the royalists. That Iturbide's popularity after he was proclaimed emperor quickly began to wane is indicated by the many invectives that at once appeared against him. One such is the very fine ode, *A Iturbide en su coronación*, by the gifted poet and genuine patriot Francisco Ortega (1793-1849).

But of all the poets of the revolutionary period in North America, José María Heredia

(1803-39) is pre-eminent. Traveled and well versed not only in Latin but in French and English literature, Heredia has something of the cosmopolitan spirit of Andrés Bello. Although born in Cuba, he is more closely associated with the literary and political life of Mexico, for in 1817, after he had resided in Santo Domingo and Venezuela, he accompanied his father, an official of the Spanish government, to the capital of that country. Here he continued his studies in the University of Mexico and devoted himself to poetry. A poem of this period, *Himno patriótico al restablecimiento de la Constitución* (Mexico, 1820), indicates his liberal tendencies. Also during this period, he wrote, but did not publish, *En el teocalli de Cholula*, a poem that has contributed greatly to his fame. Early in February of 1821, he returned to Havana, completed his studies for the degree of law, established a literary periodical (*Biblioteca de Damas*), and embarked upon the practice of law. In 1823 he became involved in a conspiracy against the Spanish government, but escaped arrest by boarding a ship bound for Boston. Later, in New York, like Bello in London, he undertook the teaching of Spanish. In letters to his family and relatives in Cuba are interesting accounts of his travels in the eastern part of the United States; and, in New York, in 1825, his first volume of verses was published. This collection contains his most famous poem, *Al Niágara*, which was inspired by the sight of Niagara Falls. In the same year, having received an invitation from President Guadalupe Victoria to visit Mexico, he embarked in New York for that country. During the voyage, he wrote some of his most inspired poems—*Himno del desterrado*, *Vuelta al sur*, and *Himno al sol*. Except for a short visit to Cuba, Heredia spent the remainder of his life in Mexico, where he held various posts of honor. Much of his literary work during that period is in three periodicals that he established there: *El Iris* (1826), *Mis-*

*celánea* (1829-32), and *La Minerva* (1834).

*The Independence Period: Romanticism. Verse and Drama.*—The successful termination of the wars of liberation did not bring peace. Although a republican form of government modeled on that of the United States was finally adopted by each of the Spanish-American countries, the wide diversity of political opinion and the inclination on the part of the various factions—which included partisans of various shades of conservative and liberal views—to resort to arms to depose whatever government was in power embroiled nearly all the countries in a series of civil wars for approximately fifty more years. The chaos that thus resulted bred throughout Spanish America the military dictator, or *caudillo*, who seized the government and ruled by force.

The political situation is reflected to a large degree in the literature of the period. In general, writers who were conservative in their political views—such as the Mexican poets José Joaquín Pesado (1801-61) and Manuel Carpio (1791-1860)—clung to Classicism, which stood for established rules, sobriety, and order; while those of liberal views found in Romanticism, with its disregard for rules, its emphasis on the exuberance of language and feeling, and its recognition of national life, background, and tradition, a more congenial vehicle of expression. In adopting Romanticism Spanish-American writers merely followed the European trend in literature. Heredia, in whom there are definite Romantic manifestations, translated into Spanish certain poems of Byron, wrote admiringly of J. J. Rousseau, and reviewed favorably Angel de Saavedra's *El Moro Expósito* (1832). In the periodicals, particularly of the third and fourth decades, translations from Byron, Lamartine, Musset, and Victor Hugo, as well as reprintings of the poems of Espronceda, Pastor Díaz, Martínez de la Rosa, and of ex-

cerpts from the dramas of Martínez de la Rosa, García Gutiérrez, and Saavedra (Duque de Rivas), indicate the popularity of European Romanticism.

*In Argentina.*—While all of Spanish America felt the influence of Romanticism, its impress was deepest in Argentina, where its chief exponent was Esteban Echeverría (1805-51), born and educated in Buenos Aires. Even as a youth Echeverría, who was sickly, pampered, and given to excessive and contradictory states of mind, suffered the effects of the "mal du siècle" as much as had he been European-born. Going abroad in 1826, he spent the following four years in study, principally in Paris, just on the eve of the most glorious period of Romanticism, and became an ardent follower of the new movement. Upon his return to Buenos Aires in 1830, Echeverría found that the progressive "unitarian" government had been deposed, and that Manuel Rosas, who was to become one of the most tyrannical dictators of all time, was in supreme control. Antagonistic to Rosas, Echeverría turned to the production of literature in the Romantic vein, publishing in 1832 a long narrative poem, *Elvira, o la novia del Plata*; in 1834 a collection of lyrics, *Los consuelos*; and in 1837 *Rimas*, which contains his masterpiece, "La cautiva," another long narrative poem. After Rosas had undertaken the stifling of all intellectual life, Echeverría organized a civic club, the *Asociación de Mayo* (1837), whose purpose, as set forth by Echeverría in "Palabras simbólicas," was to unite the two warring factions in a spirit of equality and fraternity in order to work toward progress and liberty. In 1839, however, when a revolt against Rosas failed, Echeverría, fearing for his life, sought refuge, with other intellectuals, in Montevideo, where he spent the remainder of his days.

In this city, which was to be the center of Argentine literary life until the fall of

Rosas in 1852, Echeverría, now accepted by the young intellectuals as their literary leader, wrote other works in verse—*Avellaneda*, *Insurrección del sud de la provincia de Buenos Aires*, and *La Guitarra* and its continuation, *El ángel caído*, all inferior to *La cautiva*. The Romanticism that he introduced was not Spanish—although that too had an influence on his followers—but English (Byron), to a certain extent German (Schiller, Goethe), and particularly French (Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Hugo). The new movement, which demanded primarily the liberalization of literature, was not embraced artificially by Echeverría and his followers, for the deep feeling that marks much of their verse—their hatred of the tyrant Rosas and the melancholia induced by their absence from home—was genuine. Another element in their writings, however, constitutes their most original contribution, and that is their depiction of the American scene. It is particularly evident, for the first time, in Echeverría's *La cautiva*, in its descriptions of the solitary Argentine plains, and in the accounts of the conflicts between the whites and the savage Indians of those vast regions. The same characteristic distinguishes the verse of Echeverría's followers: *El Peregrino* (1846, in part) and *Armonías* (1851, 2nd ed.) of José Mármol (1818–71), also a novelist and the author of two dramas, (*El Cruzado* and *El Poeta*), whose writings are particularly characterized, too, by their fierce invective against Rosas and their melancholy longing for home; in many of the poems dealing with the pampa and with gaucho and Indian life in the *Poesías*, 1836–50 (1869) of Juan María Gutiérrez (1809–78), also one of the most reliable critics and scholars of his day; and the "Armonías de la Pampa" in the collected poems, *Rimas* (1854), of the statesman Bartolomé Mitre (1821–1906).

*The Gaucho Poets.*—The most distinctive characteristics of Argentine life are depicted

most effectively in three long poems of singular merit which present the Indian and the gaucho, particularly the latter, and his native background, the pampa. They are often referred to as the gaucho poems—*Santos Vega*, *o los mellizos de "La Flor"* (in part in 1850, completely in 1872), by Hilario Ascasubi (1807–75); *Fausto* (1866), by Estanislao del Campo (1834–80); and *Martín Fierro* (1872, 1879) by José Hernández (1834–86). Although these poems resulted from the impact of Romanticism, they are different in style from the narrative verse so far considered. *La cautiva* of Echeverría and *El peregrino* of José Mármol, as well as the work of Echeverría's immediate followers, are elevated in tone; the gaucho poets, on the other hand, employ the language of the gaucho himself. In each poem the comments of a gaucho storyteller not only reveal his feelings, his philosophy, and general outlook on life, but are marked by a deep emotive quality; his observations of Nature, although poetized, are unerring; and his notions of justice, even though he himself may be an infractor of the law, provide the ethical basis generally characteristic of a great work of art. The narrative furnishes the mainspring of interest. *Santos Vega* contrasts the lives and characters of two brothers, one base, the other upright; and *Fausto* sets forth the impressions made on a gaucho by a performance in Buenos Aires of Gounod's opera of that name. The most convincing and dramatic narrative of the three is *Martín Fierro*; here the teller of the tale is himself the chief actor in a story of woe and misfortune.

During the 1830's Romanticism also took root, although less vigorously than in Argentina, in other countries of Spanish America. Its manifestations are varied; and often the work of an individual poet of the period contains many romantic elements: his interest in his own perplexed life, his eulogy of liberty and his concern for the oppressed, and his

appreciation of his native land—its wild natural beauty, its local color, and the stories and legends of its past.

*In Mexico.*—Many of these elements converge in the works of Fernando Calderón (1809-45) and Ignacio Rodríguez Galván (1816-42), both members of the Academy of San Juan de Letrán, which from its establishment in Mexico in 1836 did much to encourage the production of literature. Both essayed lyric, narrative, and dramatic verse, and Galván wrote stories in prose. Calderón's dramas, although largely the result of imitation, are more suited to the stage than Galván's; but, dealing as they do for the most part with European subject matter, they lack the freshness and originality, as well as the lyricism, of such dramas of Galván as *Muñoz*, *Visitador de México* (1838) and *El Privado del Rey* (1842). In narrative verse both excel. *Adela* (1838), of Calderón, deals with a contemporary situation—the tragic story of a young liberal and his betrothed—and, in its descriptions of the Viga in Mexico City, is rich in local color. On the other hand, *Mora*, probably Galván's best narrative poem, tells a tragic story of love between a young insurgent and the daughter of a loyalist during the wars of independence. In lyric verse, Calderón—who opposed the dictator Santa Anna—expresses his love of freedom and his hatred of tyrants in *El soldado de la libertad* and *El sueño del tirano*. The superior lyricist of the two, Galván, who had suffered both poverty and disappointments, sings of his faith in religion, his love of his native land, and his disappointments in humanity. His most impassioned poem, *La profecía de Guatimoc*, contains also splendid descriptions of majestic Mexican scenery.

*In Other Countries.*—Other Romantic writers appeared in Cuba, Colombia, Venezuela, and Guatemala. Outstanding among them—for the excellent lyric qualities of some of his verse (*La flor de la caña*), for his unusual

narrative skill (*Jicontenca*, Mexican in theme), for his excellent sonnet *A la muerte de Gessler*, in which he denounces tyranny—is the Cuban Gabriel de la Concepción Valdés (1809-44), better known as "Plácido," who on charges of inciting the Negro slaves to rebellion was shot by the Spanish authorities. In Colombia the chief exponents of the new movement were José Eusebio Caro (1817-53) and Julio Arboleda (1817-61), both influenced by Byron and Victor Hugo. Conservatives in politics, both were deeply involved, from 1840, in the civil strife of their country. In *Gonzalo de Oyón*, which he did not complete, Arboleda distinguished himself in both conception and execution as an epic poet of no mean ability. Of minor rank are José Antonio Maitín (1804-74) and Abigail Lozano (1821-66)—Venezuelan imitators of Zorrilla, then extremely popular throughout Spanish America—whose verses although rhythmical, sonorous, and highly imaginative are on the whole empty in content; and José Batres Montúfar (1809-44), who recounted in festive verse certain legends of his country (*Tradiciones de Guatemala*).

In Ecuador, Chile, and Peru, Romanticism was slow in making its appearance. Of its first followers in these countries, three poets of Ecuador, whose early work appeared in the collection *Lira ecuatoriana* (1866), are outstanding. They are Dolores Veintimillas (1827-57), in whose *Quejas* are revealed the passions of her own tortured life, which she ended by suicide; Julio Zaldumbide (1833-89), a poet of nature and meditative moods; and Juan León Mera (1832-99), who was inspired by the ancient Indian civilization of his country (*La Virgen del sol y las melodías indígenas*). In Chile the first Romanticist was Salvador Sanfuentes (1817-60), who wrote both dramas and legends based on the Chilean colonial period. In the work of two of his contemporaries in the same vein, Eusebio Lillo (1827-1910) and Guillermo Matta (1829-

99), both of whom had to flee from Chile on account of their liberal views, there is more personal feeling. In Peru, in the 1850's, Romanticism became the vogue of a youthful literary clique which included Clemente Althaus (1835-81), Adolfo García (1830-83), Carlos Augusto Salaverry (1831-90)—the most gifted poet of the group—and Ricardo Palma (1833-1919), who has well described it in "La Bohemia literaria de 1848-1860"—the foreword to a volume of his poetry published in 1887. The drama and verse produced by the members, while extensive in quantity, are largely imitations of works by Spanish Romantics, and lack inspiration and depth of feeling.

While in Chile and Peru Romanticism came late and failed to find fertile ground, in those countries where it first made its appearance and was closely allied with the liberal political movement, it continued to flourish long after the mid c., by which time it had become largely sterile in Spain. Two outstanding Mexican literary periodicals, as well as others that preceded and followed them, exemplify its political significance—*La Ilustración Mexicana* (1851-54), whose contributors for the most part were liberals in politics and followers of Romanticism; and *La Cruz*, edited by the classic poet Pesado, which represented also the political conservative faction. In the same country, Guillermo Prieto (1818-97), one of the early followers of Romanticism, published as late as 1885 his *Romancero*, a collection of romances idealizing the heroes of the wars of independence; and belonging entirely to the second half of the century are two definitely Romantic poets that enjoyed great popularity—Manuel M. Flores (1840-73), for his luxuriant and erotic verse; and Manuel Acuña (1849-73), author of a drama of considerable merit, *El Pasado*, and of the renowned *Ante un cadáver* and other poems that reflect extreme melancholia. In regard to Cuba, men-

tion must be made of Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, who won in Spain where she spent most of her life an enviable reputation for her verse and dramas. While her writings have no political significance, such is not the case with other Cuban Romanticists, notably Leopoldo Turla (1818-77), Miguel Teurbe (1820-58), and Pedro Santacilia (1826-1910)—all, through the tyranny of the Spanish government, exiles in the United States and elsewhere—whose early nostalgic verses were published in a collection, *El Laud del desterrado*, in New York in 1858. The most typically national poet of the period, however, and incidentally one of the greatest of Spanish America, is the Argentine Olegario Andrade (1841-82), partisan of Urquiza in the civil strife between Buenos Aires and the remaining provinces of the Republic. Lofty and magnificently treated, his themes are the glorious deeds of the leaders of the Independence era (*El nido de cóndores* and *San Martín*), the future greatness of the Latin-American republics (*Atlántida*), and the martyrdom that awaits the philosopher that undertakes to benefit humanity (*Prometeo*). Like Victor Hugo, his model, his greatest skill lies in synthesizing his material; his style, while displaying sublimity and a highly imaginative mind, is often merely bombastic. A contemporary of Andrade and a citizen of the neighboring city of Montevideo, José Zorrilla de San Martín (1855-1931), published in 1888 an exceedingly fine Romantic epic, *Tabaré*, which presents the conflicts in the River Plate region during the early days of colonization.

*The Costumbrista Element.*—With the advent of Romanticism, Spanish-American fiction received its greatest impulse. Its source, as in poetry, is European. In the early years of the century, in Paris, Padre Servando Teresa de Mier (Mexican) translated Chateaubriand's *Atala*; and Heredia, in a periodical (*Miscelánea*, 1831) he edited in Mexico,



published articles on his works along with those of other French writers. Fernández de Lizardi, whose genius lay in the realistic rather than the romantic field, was inspired to write *Noches Tristes* (1818), his least successful fictional attempt, by the romantically tinged *Noches lúgubres* of Cadalso.

In fiction, again as in verse, certain early Romantic writers of Spanish America were inspired to the creation of national literature through the use of local background and legend; much of this literature was published in the periodicals of the period. Typical of such productions are the tales and novelettes of Rodríguez Galván, J. J. Pesado, and others that were published in Mexico in the annual *El año nuevo* (1837-40), of which Galván was the editor.

Another influence in the production of Spanish-American prose literature was the *costumbrista* sketch, an essay on manners and customs somewhat in the manner of Washington Irving, which reached the height of popularity in Spain in the early thirties through the work of Mesonero Romanos and Larra, and soon was widely imitated abroad. Admitting that he wished to do for Mexico City what Mesonero had done for Madrid, Guillermo Prieto in 1840 began to publish sketches dealing with local manners and customs. In Colombia, "Emiro Kastos" (Juan de Dios Restrepo); in Chile, "Jotabeche" (J. J. Vallejo); in Cuba, "Jeremías Docaransa" (José María Cárdenas); and in Venezuela, Daniel Mendoza soon devoted themselves to portraying the characteristics peculiar to those about them.

Paralleling in point of time the short tales and *costumbrista* sketches, longer fictional works of a romantic nature made their appearance serially, but seldom completely, in short-lived literary periodicals of the late thirties; and this type continued to dominate the field for more than three decades. In Cuba, Villaverde's celebrated novel, *Cecilia Valdés*,

appeared in part in *La Siempreviva* (1839); the first novel in Colombia, *María Dolores*, by J. J. Ortiz in *El Condor* (1841); in Mexico Manuel Payno's *El fistol del diablo* and Justo Sierra's *Uno año en el Hospital de San Lázaro* were partially printed respectively in *El Museo Mexicano* (1843-45) and the *Registro Yucateco* (1845-46); and in Chile, Domingo Sarmiento published his masterpiece, *Facundo*, in *El Progreso* in 1845. Outstanding romantic novels appeared later: José Mármol's *Amalia*, in part in 1851 in Montevideo and completely four years later in Buenos Aires; Jorge Isaac's *María*, whose many imitators prolonged the romantic era in South-American fiction, in 1867; and, finally, in Ecuador, J. L. de Mera's *Cumandá* in 1871.

The *Tradición*.—Among the various manifestations of Romanticism in America there is still another type, the most original of them all, the *tradición*, a short prose work treating in an imaginative manner and with literary embellishment an incident generally of an historical nature. It was initiated and brought to its highest artistic perfection by Ricardo Palma, who from 1872, the date he published his first *tradiciones*, devoted himself almost exclusively to this literary type. In six large volumes of *tradiciones*, Palma covered some five centuries of his country's history in such a spiey and humorous anecdotal form that his influence on the *tradición* extended to all of Spanish America. The major portion by far of his work relates to his native city, Lima, the capital of Peru.

The novels, on the other hand, have another element of interest. This is neither their loose and rambling plots nor their overly sentimental characters, but their definitely authentic background—probably the result of the *costumbrista* vogue. Each novel is thereby definitely linked to the land which gave it birth. *Cecilia Valdés* presents a great variety of types and customs peculiar to Cuba in the 1830's and *El fistol del Diablo* many

distinctive of Mexico in the same era; *Facundo*, while not exactly a novel, is permeated with the spirit of the Argentine Pampas and the gauchos that live there; and *Amalia* survives not for the romantic love story, but for its detailed presentation of many aspects of social life in Buenos Aires during the dictatorship of Rosas. Even in *María*, which is charged with more genuine feeling than any other romantic novel written in Spanish America, one of the greatest charms lies in the marvelous descriptions of the fertile Cauca Valley, of the tortuous Magdalena River, and of the majestic Andes. By 1870 it was clear that Spanish America, despite its difficulties with literary technique and the administration of democratic government, could furnish an adequate background for fiction.

*Realism. Fiction.*—The presence of certain realistic elements in the best romantic novels could not long compensate for their main defects—fantastic plots and exaggerated characters. With the early sixties an attempt to remedy both showed itself in certain countries in an increased realism, a more truthful presentation of life, traceable to the influence of contemporary French novelists, particularly Balzac. One of the first writers to make his plots more plausible, his characters more human, and his portrayal of the society about him more vivid was the Chilean Alberto Blest Gana (1830–1920). Discarding completely the screen Romanticism had drawn over personal, scenic, and social ugliness, he produced some ten novels of a decidedly realistic character, of which *La Aritmética de Amor* (1860) was the first. In his second, *Martín Rivas* (1862), the struggle of a representative of the middle class against the old aristocracy enters Spanish-American literature. In this period, in which peace and security were becoming more general as the military upheavals subsided, the poor man in Chile dared for the first time to claim a place

among those that had inherited wealth and power. Realism, but of the type colored by the idealism of Fernán Caballero rather than of Balzac, also characterized the work of the Mexican Ignacio Altamirano (1834–93), whose novel *Clemencia* appeared first in the periodical *El Renacimiento* (1869).

The title of this periodical well described the period upon which Spanish America as a whole was entering. Peace in general was maintained by force; wealth was increasing rapidly; foreign capital and immigration were being encouraged; large cities were beginning to dot the map; means of communication improved; and efforts to establish education were being made. But the material progress achieved benefited only a relatively small class. In spite of the wealth of the few and the show of legislative procedure controlled by the small minority, there was great personal and political dishonesty, slight increase in general enlightenment, and little social justice. The doors of opportunity were still tightly closed to the masses.

This period also gave rise to a new aristocracy made up largely of the families and satellites of certain of those that had achieved power by the sword or by political chicanery. This group now had the means and the leisure to seek the culture they did not inherit. Their eyes were directed to Europe, especially France, as had been those of the old colonial families. Leaving their immense estates in the rural districts to the supervision of majordomos, they built fine homes in the capital, but resided much of the time abroad. They attempted to encourage and even to create music, art, and literature in the spirit of Europe; but they disdained completely the people, the country, and the atmosphere in which they were bred. America served them only to provide liberally for a comfortable life elsewhere. Others that had risen to power, uncultivated and disdainful of everything cultural, lived as great land barons on

their estates, where the labor was performed by natives under practically the feudal system of colonial days. Equally despotic were similar personalities that controlled the life of the small towns.

*Urban Life.*—The characters and conditions to which the period gave rise furnished novelists ample material that lent itself to the realistic treatment then in vogue, and certain aspects of life in the two largest and rapidly growing cities were sordid enough to deserve the naturalistic treatment of Zola. The depravity of Buenos Aires, during this period in which wealth increased manifold, is depicted in a series of novels of that type—*La gran Aldea* (1884) by Lucio López; *Sin Rumbo* and *En la Sangre* (1887) by Eugenio Cambaceres; and *La Bolsa* (1890), a portrayal of the manipulations of the stock exchange, by Julián Martel—while prostitution and degenerate life in Mexico City furnished Federico Gamboa material for *Suprema Ley* (1896) and *Santa* (1903).

*Regionalism.*—Another group of writers, influenced by the regional novelists of Spain, turned for their material to the rural districts and the small towns. In *Peonía*, Romero García tells of conditions which he saw, with by no means rose-colored glasses, on a country estate in Venezuela. Various localities in three states of Mexico were also realistically exploited: Oaxaca by Emilio Rabasa in *La Bola* and *La gran ciencia* (1888); Jalisco by López Portillo in *La Parcela* (1898); and Vera Cruz by Rafael Delgado in *La Calandria* (1891), *Angelina* (1894), and *Los Parientes ricos* (1903). Such value as these novels have lies much less in their depiction of manners and customs than in the interest of their writers in social reform. Like Galdós in Spain, they not only satirized the foibles of the society about them, but they pleaded for social justice, enlightenment, and honesty in politics. Novels motivated by such a thesis include *Aves sin Nido* (1889) by Clorinda

Matto de Turner, which reveals injustice to the Indians on the part of the landowning classes of Peru; *Frutos de mi Tierra* (1896) and many others by Tomás Carrasquilla, in which he lays bare the weaknesses of his fellow townsmen of Medellín (Colombia); Eduardo Pardo's *Todo un Pueblo* (1899), which satirizes the political corruption in Venezuela; Luco Orrego's *Casa grande* (1908), which portrays the decadence of the old aristocracy in Chile; and, finally, *El Casamiento de Laucha* (1906) and *Pago Chico* (1908) by the Argentine Roberto Payró, the most gifted storyteller of them all, who had much to say, particularly in the latter book, about both personal and political dishonesty in Argentina.

*Verse and Drama.*—Unlike the novel, the verse of this period, marked by conflicting tendencies, does not fall so readily into the realistic category, for the poets were eclectic, experimenting, groping for new forms of expression. The ornate verbosity of Zorrilla and Victor Hugo had its influence as did the post-romantic Spanish poets—Bécquer, Campoamor, and Nuñez de Arce, whose popularity is attested by the numerous reprintings in periodicals throughout Spanish America in the eighties and nineties—but there was nevertheless a definite trend toward perfection of form, simplicity, and a deeper feeling of sincerity. Good examples of the refinement achieved are the poems of the Argentine Rafael Obligado (1851–1920) and the Mexican Juan de Dios Peza, whose themes, too, are in many respects similar—love of nature, of home and family, and of the legends of their respective countries; and of Pérez Bonalde, of Venezuela, translator of Poe and imitator of Heine, whose fluid verses are also characterized by philosophic contemplation (*El poema del Niágara*), descriptive power, and intense feeling (*Vuelta a la patria*). A genuinely realistic vein, too, appeared—markedly in the *Memoria del cultivo*

*del maíz en Antioquia* of the Colombian Gregorio Gutiérrez González (1826-72), and in the *Rimas* of the Mexican Altamirano. The work of both is strongly regionalistic. In a rather prosaic subject, the cultivation of corn, Gutiérrez portrays the natural beauties of his native province, Antioquia; while Altamirano's verses—characterized, too, by clarity, sobriety, and technical excellence—contain passages admirably descriptive of the tropical region of his native state, Guerrero.

In the theatre, Realism attained its greatest, if not its only success, in the River Plate region. In the late seventies the Argentine Martín Coronado (1840-1919) began to employ in his plays local background and characters. His masterpiece, *La piedra del escándalo*, was staged by J. J. Podestá, who had already won popularity through dramatic skits in which an Argentine legendary hero, Juan Moreira, figured as the principal character. The movement was brought to its most artistic fruition through the personality and talent of Florencio Sánchez\* (1875-1910), who while born in Uruguay spent many years of his life in Argentina. Gifted in inventive ability, Sánchez was a disciple of Ibsen; his clean-cut plots present a thesis; his characters, drawn from both country and city life, are well defined; and his power to arouse emotion, one of the greatest assets of a dramatist, is of no mean quality.

*Modernism.* While Realism exerted a marked influence in Spanish America on the novel and, in the case of Florencio Sánchez, on the theatre, it made slight impress on verse. Instead, in the early eighties, a very definite reaction against it set in. In this reaction is to be found the chief source of the movement termed, for lack of a better name, *modernista*. The time was propitious for the birth of new forms of expression, for political peace and great economic prosperity were general. Life, for a certain class at least, had become easier, and there was more time for

the perfection of artistic creation. When the cruelty and tyranny of dictators no longer furnished themes for indignant and outraged poets, they turned to introspection, which in many cases was of a morbid type. In this regard they continued to be romantic; but theirs was a new Romanticism—an intermarriage, so to speak, of a certain type of Romantic ideology and of classical perfection of form. It lacked, nevertheless, the classical simplicity of thought and language; for form, as expressed in the embellishment of language, in the creation of a new poetic diction, became with many an end in itself. Influences in style and taste were wide and varied. Of the Spanish poets, the post-romantic Bécquer won favor, as did Poe and Walt Whitman, Heine, the French Parnassians (Leconte de Lisle, Heredia, Sully Prudhomme) and the Symbolists (Verlaine, Mallarmé).

Outstanding among the many precursors of Modernism are Manuel González Prada\* (1848-1918), of Peru; Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera (1859-95) and Salvador Díaz Mirón (1853-1928), of Mexico; José Martí\* (1853-95) and Julián del Casal (1863-93), of Cuba; José Asunción Silva (1865-96), of Colombia; and Leopoldo Díaz (b. 1862), of Argentina. While a common bond—the cult of beauty—united these poets, each had his own personality. In González Prada—particularly in his short poems, *Minúsculas* (1901)—it is philosophic reflection on the emptiness of life; in Díaz Mirón, whose most chiseled verses are to be found in *Lascas* (1906), it is masculine vigor; and in Martí, whose simple themes are expressed nevertheless in a refined but subdued manner (*Versos sencillos*, 1891), it is the sincerity of a noble, elevated, and hopeful soul. These three poets—particularly Martí, who is best known for his writings in favor of Cuban independence—were thinkers, and while idealists they were also men of action. On the other hand, varying degrees of pessimism, morbidity, and melancholia per-

vade the work of Gutiérrez Nájera, Silva, and Casal; and the rhythm and other musical qualities of their verse show the influence of the French Symbolists. The artificiality of the Parnassians predominates in the polished sonnets of Leopoldo Díaz, who, like them, shows a preference for classical themes.

The greatest exponent of Modernism, in both America and Spain, is without qualification Rubén Darío\* (1867-1916). Born in out-of-the-way Nicaragua, he spent most of his life elsewhere, in peregrinations throughout the Americas and Europe. In Valparaíso (Chile), he published his first volume of verse, *Abrojos* (1887), and also *Azul* (1888)—a collection of both verse and prose which marks definitely the triumph of Modernism; in Buenos Aires, *Prosas profanas* (1896), distinguished by his new metrical schemes and his most exquisitely wrought poems; and in Madrid, *Cantos de vida y esperanza* (1905), in which he is most personal in sentiment. In these three collections is to be found the core of his entire work. All of the foreign influences on Modernism hitherto noted, as well as that of the Spanish poets of the Middle Ages, converge in Darío. His, however, was the genius to assimilate them and yet to give to his work the stamp of his own personality. Although his themes are limited, he was gifted with a rare sensibility which he was able to express in poetry of a genuinely high type. His faults are those of every poet in whom preciosity outweighs clearness of expression.

In the heyday of Modernism, poets—all more or less under its influence—flourished in Spanish America. Among those of first rank—who not only were highly skilled in the technicalities of the new verse, who did not slavishly follow a master, but also left on their work a definite stamp of individuality—are Guillermo Valencia (1873-1943), who although active in the politics of his country (Colombia) held his poetry aloof from the ordinary affairs of the world; the vigorous

José Santos Chocano (1875-1934), poet of the history of his country (Peru) and of her forests and lofty mountains; Julio Herrera y Réissig (1875-1910), of Uruguay, and Leopoldo Lugones\* (1874-1938), of Argentina, both of whom showed in their themes a preference for the exotic; the Bolivian Ricardo Jaimes Freyre (1870-1933), renowned for his metrical innovations; the meditative and mystic Amado Nervo (1870-1919), of Mexico; and the serene Enrique González Martínez (b. 1871), also of Mexico, who was the first of the Modernists to protest against certain excesses of preciosity that characterized the movement.

*Prose Writers.*—Modernism had as great an influence on prose—the essay, the short story, and the novel—as on poetry. In the same manner as the poet, the writer of prose, in too many cases with little regard for content, sought by various rhetorical devices—the use of archaic and unusual words, bold figures of speech, balance and contrast, cadence and rhythm—to bring prose nearer to the realm of poetry. The style of the greatest essayist that Spanish America has produced, the Uruguayan José Enrique Rodó\* (1872-1917), is highly elaborate and rhetorical; yet as a thinker, Rodó was the intellectual leader of his generation. His chief productions fall into two categories: those of an ethical or philosophical nature, *Ariel* (1900) and *Motivos de Proteo* (1910), in which he endeavored to direct thought in Spanish America into certain definite channels; and works of a critical nature, literary and otherwise (*Rubén Darío* [1899] and *Mirador de Próspero* [1913]). Of greater reformatory zeal and fiery temperament, the poet González Prada also won distinction for his polished essays of a political nature.

One characteristic of Modernism that appeared in fiction near the close of the century—a marked ornamentation of language—still survives. The rigidly defined short story of

Poe or Maupassant has been little imitated in Spanish America; the pattern of this genre was set rather by Gutiérrez Nájera and Darío, who, in their loose *cuentos* (short stories) emphasized style to the detriment of plot and other fictional elements. So, too, do the *Cuentos de color* (1899) of the Venezuelan Manuel Díaz Rodríguez (1868-1927), whose lyrical and varied nuances enchant the poetically-minded. The same style characterizes his novels *Sangre patricia* (1901) and *Idolos rotos* (1902), in both of which the protagonist is one of the typically neo-romantic products of the age—an aristocratic, gifted, half-mad individual, who, completely out of tune with his native environment, seeks the more congenial atmosphere of Paris. Much in the same manner, but more concerned with the actual political problems that confronted Venezuela, are the *Cuentos americanos* (1904) of Rufino Blanco Fombona\* (1874-1945); in later novels, *El hombre de hierro* and *El hombre de oro*, he became infinitely more realistic. Outstanding, too, for their poetical charm are the novels of the Uruguayan Carlos Reyles (1868-1938)—*Beba* (1894) and *La raza de Caín* (1900). Although gifted as an artificer in language and equaled by few in his ability to inject both feeling and coloring into his scenes, Reyles shows greatest skill as a novelist in his analysis of character, whether of an humble gaucho on an *estancia* or a member of the Paris-loving aristocracy of Uruguay. With their wider interests, Blanco Fombona and Reyles have come to be regarded not merely as stylists but rather as novelists of sizable proportions.

*Post-Modernism.* Even the fiction writers (notably Blanco Fombona) of the early years of the 20th c. whose style was most influenced by the Modernists realized that Spanish America faced many serious problems: Idealists of the upper class and intelligent members of the middle class saw that the oppor-

tunities of the masses to enjoy the good things of the world were limited. Around them they saw wretched workers huddled together, in villages on the great estates, in mining camps in the mountains, and, as industrialization increased, in slums near the factories in the cities. They saw the low status of the Indian and the Negro; the economic and social problems confronting those of mixed racial strains. Already those enjoying the advantages of education were learning of organizations of workers and the power they might thereby wield; they were reading of countries where every child had some educational opportunities, and where men had a chance to own their own homes and the lands they cultivated. But the majority of those intrenched in power in Spanish America were opposed to the dissemination of such ideas, and would not listen to Liberal counsel. Nor did they heed as the sullen undercurrent of dissatisfaction grew ever stronger, nor realize when revolution flared in Mexico in 1910, that the age wherein dictators could flourish with security, land barons hold immense estates with impunity, and masters legally work their laborers long hours at below-existence wages was in process of passing.

*Leading Fiction Writers.*—From the outbreak of that revolution the contemporary period of Spanish-American literature may be said to date, although the publication of the most distinctive work of a novelist of the contemporary group coincided with the outbreak of the first World War. In the decades which have since passed, Spanish-American novelists have been numerous and have published many commendable works. Of this large group of writers of fiction, ten are outstanding, both in individual personality and in their interpretation of the Spanish-American mind and world. They are Manuel Gálvez\* (b. 1882) and Ricardo Güiraldes\* (1886-1927), of Argentina; Horacio Quiroga\* (1878-1937) of Uruguay; Eduardo Barrios

(b. 1884), of Chile; Mariano Azuela\* (b. 1873), of Mexico; Carlos Loveira\* (1882-1928), of Cuba; José Eustacio Rivera\* (1889-1928), of Colombia; Rómulo Gallegos\* (b. 1884), of Venezuela; Jorge Icaza (b. 1902), of Ecuador; and Ciro Alegría (b. 1909), of Peru. Quite by accident, their distribution is such as to make them fairly representative geographically of Spanish America as a whole.

These ten writers are more or less classifiable in distinct groups by the general character of their work. The first group includes novelists of great sweep in point of time—those whose canvases cover long periods of history—Gálvez, Azuela, and Loveira. Barrios stands as the lone representative of the analysis of individual psychology. Painters of distinctive background form another group; here there are four—Quiroga, with sketches of northern Argentina; Rivera with the *selvas* of Colombia; Güiraldes, as an interpreter of the gaucho of the Argentine pampas; and Gallegos with both the llanos and selvas of Venezuela. In the last group are two novelists, Icaza and Alegría, who concern themselves primarily with the sociological problems of their respective countries, Ecuador and Peru, which are in many features similar.

Each of these writers, on the other hand, has succeeded in giving to his work an individual stamp, a peculiar personal quality that distinguishes it. And in that quality the writer as a man stands revealed. For Gálvez has subjected Argentine life in the large to the clear, searching analysis of a restrained, minutiae-minded, nationalistic historian; and points out, in direct and measured style and in the tone of a traditionalist, the flaws in the social fabric, without implication that time will rectify them (*La Maestra normal*, *Escenas de la guerra del Paraguay*, *Nacha Regules*, etc.). Azuela caught at close range successive impressions of Mexican society reacting to existent conditions, but he colored

his films with his own deep pessimism and even bitterness (*Los de abajo*, *Las tribulaciones de una familia decente*, *El Camarada Pantoja*, *Nueva burguesía*). Loveira's is the argumentative tone of the 19th c. socialist that resorts to realistic fiction only as a means toward attainment of the reforms he sees as drastically necessary (*Los Inmorales*, *Generales y Doctores*, *Juan Criollo*). Delicately tinged by recollections of the pampas is the lyricism of Güiraldes, which gives to his every line a peculiarly poetic touch (*Don Segundo Sombra*). The righteous wrath of Icaza over injustice to the "underdogs" of Ecuador finds adequate expression only in a stark realism, forcefully colored by biting satire and obscenity (*Huasipungo*, *En las calles*, *Media vida deslumbrados*). Barrios is the greater artist in resorting instead to pathos and tragedy; the deep personal feeling of his autobiographic works (*El niño que enloqueció de amor*, *Un Perdido*) is succeeded in his masterpiece (*El Hermano Asno*) by the calm reflection of the philosopher that can smile at the frailties of humanity and inject a touch of gentle, whimsical humor into his jottings. Quiroga is romantic always; brightly imaginative at times; at others, Poe-like in fantastic visions (*Cuentos de amor, de locura y de muerte*, *El Salvaje*, *Anaconda*). Rivera's genius is free and impetuous, charged now and then with a high degree of nervous intensity (*La Vorágine*). Alegría is folkloristic; his is a lyric realism ranging from the idyllic to the terrifying (*La serpiente de oro*, *Perros hambrientos*, *El mundo es ancho y ajeno*).

*Verse Characteristics.*—Poetry of the contemporary period is even more complex than the novel in its tendencies, and therefore more difficult to classify. As yet there has been no poet of sufficient genius to exert a wide influence or to be characterized definitely by any one of the diverse tendencies in contemporary verse. Darío's aesthetic prin-

ciples, with modifications, are still basic. For while the early poets of the time felt dissatisfaction with certain characteristics of Modernism, they certainly did not rebel against it. If any one bond united them, it was a desire to vitalize their verse; and to achieve that, they eschewed the artificial themes so characteristic of Modernism; with imagination, they blended reality; and they developed a far less ornate technique than that of their predecessors. The 20th c. poets have brought poetry closer to reality again, while the wide diversity of their themes reveals their varying ideas and interests.

*Argentine Poets.*—The new tendencies are particularly discernible in a very large group of Argentine poets, among whom Evaristo Carriego (1883–1912), Fernández Moreno (b. 1886), Enrique Banchs (b. 1888), Rafael Alberto Arrieta (b. 1899), and Alfonsina Storni (1892–1938) are outstanding. With sensibility comparable to that of the French poet Coppée, Carriego depicts the commonplace life of the humble folk of the city of Buenos Aires (*Misas herejes*, 1908; *Poemas póstumas*, 1913). Master of a highly musical technique, Banchs is at his best, too, in themes of a lowly, humble nature in which there is a haunting note of sadness (*El libro de los elogios*, 1908; *El cascabel del halcón*). A gentle irony recurs constantly in the terse verse of Fernández Moreno, poet of Argentine provincial life (*Intermedio provinciano*, 1916; *Campo argentino*, 1919). Arrieta's verse is simple but delicately spun; he is the poet of pensive moods and of sad themes of a ballad-like nature (*El espejo de la fuente*, 1912; *Las noches de oro*, 1912; *Fugacidad*, 1921). In the subject matter of her verse, the most radical of the group is Alfonsina Storni, who reveals with remarkable feeling and sincerity her own erotic mental states (*El dulce daño*, 1918; *Irremediablemente . . .*, 1919; *Languidez*, 1920).

*Other Outstanding Poets.*—Of the same

generation and aesthetic tendencies as the Argentine poets are Manuel Magallenes Moure (1878–1924) and Lucila Godoy Alcayaga (b. 1889), better known by her pseudonym, Gabriela Mistral,\* of Chile; Luis Carlos López (b. 1880), of Colombia; and Ramón López Velarde (1888–1921), of Mexico. Magallenes Moure is clear but at the same time graceful; he imparts to his nature verse, in which he excels, beautiful effects of color and sound (*La jornada*, 1910; *La casa junto al mar*, 1918). Gabriela Mistral's poetry springs sincerely and vigorously from the inner impulses of her heart; her disappointments in love, her desire for motherhood, and her sympathies for the humble folk of the rural districts engage her attention (*Desolación*, 1922). Both Carlos López and López Velarde are poets of provincial life. The temperament of the former leads him to see the ludicrous, incongruous aspects; his thought, while apparently trivial, is pithy; and his expression is concise (*De mi villorio*, 1908; *Posturas difíciles*, 1909). On the other hand, López Velarde is a complex personality, and, in keeping with it, his style is involved, figurative, and vague (*La sangre devota*, 1916; *El son del corazón*, 1932).

*"Ultraism."*—López Velarde's work, particularly that of his later years, gives signs, too, of the most recent development in Modernistic verse. The new cult, which has many individual tendencies but has been denominated "ultraista," has prevailed in Spain (Jorge Guillén, Federico García Lorca, Rafael Alberti) and Spanish America since the close of the first World War. Its followers, advocates of "pure poetry," have been greatly influenced by contemporary French lyricists. Seekers of originality in technique, they have to a great extent discarded rhyme in favor of free verse and other metrical innovations; their poetry, as well as their prose, is vivid, and while it is apparently simple it is nevertheless highly symbolic and involved; and



their metaphors (their favorite figure of speech) are often shockingly strange. Important among its many followers in Spanish America are Jaime Torres Bodet\* (b. 1902) and Carlos Pellicer (b. 1899), of Mexico; Vicente Huidobro (b. 1893), who writes in both French and Spanish, and Pablo Neruda\* (Nefatalí Reyes; b. 1904), both of Chile; and Jorge Luis Borges (b. 1900), of Argentina.

At the head of the scholars and critics active today stands the dean of Latin-American letters, the gracious humanist Alfonso Reyes, one of America's finest prose stylists, now as the director of the Colegio de México fostering by his example higher standards of scholarship and creative work. In Buenos Aires is his spiritual confrère, Pedro Henríquez Ureña, an Antillan at once erudite and *modernista*, who has lately resuscitated with the fresh and vigorous breath of America the *Revista de Filología Española*. Critic of high rank, exercising a wide and beneficent influence through the pages of *Nosotros*, the pioneer of current Spanish-American literary publications, is Roberto Giusti, as was also the founder, Alfredo Bianchi (1884-1942);

while in Central America Joaquín García Monge has culled the best from the Spanish-American field for presentation in *El Repertorio Americano* (1919 to date), an organ which has given free expression to the general spirit of unrest and to resonant anti-imperialism. Once a strong *Indianista*, champion of general education, native art, and broad culture, José Vasconcelos, after presenting Latin America with several philosophical works and her best autobiography, has become the embittered conservative and historian. Continental in outlook is Luis Alberto Sánchez, distinguished historian and critic of American culture.

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J. R. SPELL.

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SUDAN—See African.

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## SUMERIAN

SUMERIAN literature consisting of epic tales and myths, hymns and lamentations, proverbs and wisdom compositions, has been found inscribed largely on some 3,000 tablets and fragments dating from the first half of the second millennium B.C. The documents, many of which duplicate each other, range in size from large ten-column tablets filled with hundreds of compactly written lines of text, to tiny fragments containing no more than a few broken lines. As for the compositions in-

scribed on these tablets and fragments, they run into the hundreds, and vary in length from myths of more than 800 lines to brief hymns of no more than 20. The scientific restoration and translation of these Sumerian belles-lettres has only recently begun, and there is as yet no handbook available for the student and general reader; a preliminary survey of much of the material will be found in S. N. Kramer's *Sumerian Mythology* (Memoir XXI of the American Philosophical

Society, Philadelphia, 1944). Taking only the better preserved compositions, the contents of the available Sumerian belles-lettres may be described as follows:

*Epic tales:* At present large parts of ten epic tales can be restored. Of these, seven commemorate the feats and exploits of the great Sumerian heroes who lived and wrought during the Sumerian Heroic Age, the early "barbaric" period in Sumerian history which is to be dated probably in the first quarter of the third millennium B.C. Two of these seven deal with the exploits of the hero Enmerkar, king of Erech, in the course of subjugating the city of Aratta. The third is devoted to the hero Lugalbanda who saves Enmerkar and his city Erech from the hands of the Martu. The fourth is devoted to Lugalbanda and his adventures in Mt. Hurum. The remaining three are concerned with the deeds and feats of the most renowned hero of all, Gilgamesh: they sing of his struggle with Agga, king of Kish; of his journey to the Land of the Living; of the fashioning of his drum and drumstick and their disappearance in the Nether World. The remaining three of the ten epic tales are devoted to the heroic deeds of the gods. Two concern the Sumerian warrior-god Ninurta, whose major achievement was the destruction of the inimical Kur. The third "divine" epic tale is actually part of a hymnal composition; it relates the struggle between the goddess Inanna and the rebellious Mt. Ebih.

*Myths:* Of the extant Sumerian myths, most are concerned with the organization of the universe and the establishment of the civilizing processes; others center about the creation of man, the deluge, the Nether World, and divine marriages. To date, large parts of fourteen Sumerian myths can be restored. Two of these concern primarily the air-god Enlil, the real head of the Sumerian pantheon; one relates of his begetting the moon-god Nanna and three underworld dei-

ties; the other concerns the creation of the divine pickaxe and the decreeing of its fate. In four of the myths it is Enki, the Sumerian water-god and god of wisdom, that is the protagonist: one concerns his deeds and misdeeds in Dilmun, the Sumerian paradise; the second shows him organizing the earth and its cultural processes; the third describes the building of Enki's city and temple and his journey to Nippur to obtain Enlil's blessing for their prosperity; the fourth deals with the creation of man from the clay of the abyss. The goddess Inanna, the Sumerian counterpart of the Semitic Ishtar, is the major protagonist in two of the myths: according to the one she obtains by means of a ruse the more than one hundred arts of civilization which were in Enki's possession and transfers them from Enki's city Eridu to her own city Erech; the other relates of her descent to the Nether World, of her death and resurrection, and of her reascent to the earth. One myth concerns the moon-god Nanna and his journey to Nippur to obtain Enlil's blessing for his city Ur. Three myths are constructed on a Cain and Abel motif and may in a sense be classified as wisdom compositions: one records the bitter quarrels between the culture-gods Emesh and Enten, both of whom were eager to be the farmer of the gods; the second contains the less bitter but similarly jealous arguments between Lahar, the cattle-god, and Ashnan, the grain-goddess; the third shows a more complex and imaginative arrangement, but primarily, it, too, is concerned with the petty jealousies of two culture-gods, the shepherd-god Dumuzi, and the peasant-god Enkimdu. Finally we have the Sumerian "Deluge" myth, which is the prototype of the more important flood-stories current in the Near East, and also a myth devoted to the god Martu and his marriage to the daughter of the god Numushda.

*Hymns:* With the exception of several compositions that may be designated as "tem-

ple" hymns, the Sumerian hymnal composition may be divided into two classes, royal and divine. The latter consist of songs of praise and exaltation directed to all the more important deities in the Sumerian pantheon; they are quite diversified in size, structure, and content. To judge from the available material, the majority of the divine hymns are those addressed to Enlil (the air-god and leading deity of the Sumerian pantheon in historical times), Enki (the water-god and god of wisdom), Nanna (the moon-god), Utu (the sun-god), Ninurta (the South Wind), Inanna (the goddess of love and war), and Bau (the daughter of the heaven-god). But occasional hymns are directed to An (the heaven-god who in prehistoric days may have been the leading deity of the Sumerian pantheon); to the weather gods Ishkur and Martu; to the messenger-god Nusku; to the underworld gods Nergal, Ninazu, and Ningishzida; to the mother-goddess Ninmah; to Nanshe, the daughter of Enki; to Nidaba, the patroness of the scribes; to Ninmar, the daughter of Nanshe; and to Ninkasi, the goddess of strong drink. As for the royal hymns, a large part of the extant material is devoted to Shulgi, the second ruler of the Third Dynasty of Ur, who ruled toward the very end of the third millennium B.C.; large portions of at least four Shulgi hymns can now be restored. The kings Ur-Nammu, Shu-Sin, and Ibbi-Sin, all belonging to the same dynasty as Shulgi, are also well represented in the hymnal literature. The remaining royal hymns are primarily those of the Isin Dynasty which reigned in the first quarter of the second millennium B.C.; the kings represented are Ishbi-Irra, Shu-ilishu, Iddin-Dagan, Ishme-Dagan, Lipit Ishtar, and Ur-Ninurta.

To illustrate one of the large variety of hymnal types, let me quote the first of the ten songs of a hymn to the goddess Inanna conceived as personifying the planet we call Venus:

To her who comes forth from above, to her  
who comes forth from above,

I would say "Peace";

To the holy maid who comes forth from  
above,

I would say "Peace";

To Inanna, the great queen of heaven,

I would say "Peace";

To the bright torch who crosses the sky,

To the jewel of heaven, Inanna, who is as  
bright as day,

I would say "Peace";

To the holy maid, the queen glorified by the  
Anunnaki (the great gods),

To her who is mighty on heaven and earth,  
who . . . ,

To Inanna, the great daughter of Sin (the  
moon-god),

I would say "Peace";

Of her loftiness, of her greatness, of her  
exalted might,

Of her brilliant epiphany among all the gods,

Of her crossing the sky as a bright torch,

Of her standing in heaven like Nanna (the  
moon-god) and Utu (the sun-god),

Knowing all the lands above and below,

Of the holy maid of heaven, of her greatness,  
Let me sing to her who is lord and lady.

The first song. Its antiphon is: Her epiphany is hero-like.

*Lamentations:* The Sumerian lamentation is a type of tragic composition commemorating the frequent destruction of the Sumerian cities by the surrounding more barbaric peoples; it is the forerunner of such Biblical compositions as the *Book of Lamentations*. One large poem, consisting of more than 400 lines, which laments the destruction of the city of Ur, has now been practically completely restored. In addition it is now possible to reconstruct large parts of a composition dealing with the destruction of Nippur and its eventual restoration, of another that laments the destruction of Sumer and

Accad as a whole, and of a third that may for the moment be best described as the "weeping mother" type. We also have now large parts of a composition that laments a calamity that befell the city of Agade during the reign of Naram-Sin in the third quarter of the third millennium B.C. Finally we find a unique group of laments revolving about the death and resurrection of the god Dumuzi (Tammuz).

*Wisdom:* The wisdom compositions of the Sumerians which, together with their Egyptian counterparts, are the prototypes of the wisdom literature current all over the Near East, consist of a large number of brief, pithy proverbs and precepts. It will be difficult, for example, to come upon a more pungent statement of the poor man's doom than in the proverb:

The poor man, his troubles(?) have no end,  
If he has bread, he has no salt,  
If he has salt, he has no bread,  
If he has a lamb, he has no fold,  
If he has a fold, he has no lamb.

Again, man's mortal nature and fundamental inadequacy are conveyed in the epigram:

Man, the tallest, cannot reach to heaven,  
Man, the wisest, cannot cover the earth.

In addition, Sumerian wisdom includes a group of fables such as "The Bird and the Fish," "The Tree and the Reed," "The Pickax and the Plow," "Silver and Bronze." In addition we find a group of didactic compositions, long and short, several of which are devoted to a description of the process of learning the scribal art and of the advantages that flow from it, while at least one consists of the instructions proffered by a farmer to his son on matters agricultural.

So much for the contents of Sumerian belles-lettres. Obviously, in spite of their age, they are the products of a fully conscious and highly sophisticated art, developed over a long period of practice in creative writing; they represent, therefore, a very material addition to the world's literature. But they are of major importance for yet another reason. In the course of the second millennium B.C., it was the Sumerian literary motifs and patterns that permeated all the more literate peoples of Western Asia, from Anatolia to the Persian Gulf, and from the Mediterranean Sea to the Zagros Mountains, a fact that is of no small significance for the history and evolution of the literatures of the western world.

See Canaanite.

SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER.

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SURSELVAN—See Swiss.

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## SWEDISH

THE ART OF WRITING is very old in Sweden. The oldest runic inscriptions seem to have been made for the purpose of magic, but from 800 to 1050 A.D. there are many rune stones with inscriptions of historic and literary interest. They bear witness that Sweden had a rich lyric and epic literature even at

that time. Some of them seem to comprise fragments of heroic poems, exact equivalents of which are to be found in Icelandic edda literature. A large number of rock engravings also prove that the saga literature was common to all the Scandinavian peoples, and that the Germanic myths, e.g., those of Siegfried

and the Nibelungen, were known also in Sweden. Byzantine myths and legends also reached Scandinavia through the Swedish Vikings, who founded the kingdom of Russia, and for long periods had close contact with the near East. When Christianity was introduced in Sweden, at the beginning of the 11th c., the old pagan literature was destroyed; it is known only through historical construction. The oldest extant documents are ancient provincial codes of law, wherein are set forth legal practices that had previously been handed down for centuries by word of mouth. Thus, the Gutas saga was written down as an introduction to the code of the island of Gotland, in a manuscript dating from the 13th c.

By this time, however, Sweden had been incorporated in the general European hierarchy, and its cultural development was similar to that of Southern and Western Europe. Swedish students and theologians studied at the famous University of Paris, and from the late 14th c. they also sought knowledge at the German universities, bringing fresh currents of thought to the home country. The literature that developed was mostly in Latin, but some of these religious writings were translated into Swedish and read also by laymen. The dominating personality in Swedish medieval literature is St. Birgitta. Her revelations were recorded in manuscripts and read everywhere in Europe. The monastery which she founded in Vadstena became the leading center of Swedish education in the later Middle Ages. The secular literature consisted mostly of historical works, rhymed chronicles in Swedish, the oldest dating from the early 14th c. Some medieval poems have been preserved in manuscripts: *Ivan Lejonriddaren* (*Chevalier au lion*); *Flores och Blanzeflor*; *Nannlös och Valentin*. Ballads and folk songs were popular at this time, and some of them, in corrupt versions, have survived.

The Lutheran Reformation, which began in Sweden in 1527, abruptly severed Catholic traditions. The Church support of education was withdrawn, and undoubtedly there was a setback in the cultural development. Olaus Petri, one of the disciples of Luther, was, however, not only a religious reformer but also a writer of real importance. His masterly sermons and religious tracts and his translation of the *New Testament* have earned for him the name of "the Father of Swedish Prose." With his *Swedish Chronicle* he became the first Swedish modern historian. Even though Olaus Petri was a cultural leader of wide interests, his followers were narrow-minded; but an intellectual renaissance came in the 17th c. Through the efforts of Gustavus Adolphus, Uppsala University, founded in 1477, was transformed from a seminary for priests into a real university. Many other educational institutions were erected, as well as printing offices and book stores.

A poet of this period was Lars Wivallius (1605-69), the first lyricist of Sweden. For years he traveled about Europe without funds, accepting his often dangerous adventures with good humor. When he finally landed in prison he wrote the best poetry which, so far, had been written in the Swedish language. He had no literary program but he imparted to his poetry something of his own personality—his love of nature and the vagabond's love of freedom. His poems were printed in pamphlets, and widely read.

The drama which, in Sweden, as well as elsewhere in medieval times, served the purpose of illustrating scenes from the Bible and the holy legends, was now used as a subject in the schools and became separated from the church.

In this period, theories of poetry, which had a genuine aesthetic value, were established. The foremost representative of these new ideas was Georg Stiernhielm (b. 1598).

He made a career in the civil service; but he also devoted much of his time to studies in philosophy, history and languages. His great contribution is the poem *Hercules* (1648; pub. 1658), written in hexameter, and designed to give the Swedes a poem on antique models, in their own language. If Stiernhielm wanted to give Sweden an epos, two of his students tried to contribute lyrics and drama. Samuel Columbus (1642-1679) published a collection of poems called *Odae sueticæ*, for which Horace's odes served as a model, and Urban Hiärne (1641-1724) wrote the tragedy *Rosinunda*, performed in Uppsala in 1665.

A successor to Stiernhielm was Haqvin Spegel (1645-1714) who in 1685 published *Gudz verk och hvila* (*God's Work and Rest*), which was influenced by du Bartas' *La première semaine* (*The First Week*). By this time a new influence had made itself felt; models were taken not from ancient but from Italian poetry. The writer whose pseudonym was *Skogekår Bårgbo*, and whose identity has not been established, printed in 1680 *Wenereid*, a collection of erotic poems influenced by Petrarch and Ronsard, the first attempt at a psychological analysis in Swedish literature. The Marinism of Italy and the French *Poésie fugitive* also had their representatives in Sweden. Among the poets who stood aside from the literary schools is Johan Runius (1679-1713), poet of the middle class. He was able to give his poems—often written in connection with weddings and funerals—a masterly touch. Religious poetry is represented by the Swedish State Church's *Hymnbook*, edited by Bishop Jesper Svedberg (1653-1735), approved by the King in 1695, and used until 1819.

In the 17th c. Sweden had, for the first time, professional actors and permanent theatres. Several of the plays performed at this time were written by Swedish authors.

The 18th c. brought a rich cultural develop-

ment to Sweden, especially in science and literature. In the Age of Liberty (1718-1772) appear a number of prominent scholars: Samuel Klingensjerna (1698-1765), mathematician and physicist; Anders Celsius (1701-44), astronomer; Torbern Bergman (1735-84), chemist; Carl Wilhelm Scheele (1742-86), chemist and discoverer of oxygen and other elements; Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772), a scientist of real importance before he devoted himself to religion and mysticism. His ideas have influenced authors down to the 20th c., as Almquist and Strindberg. The world-renowned botanist, Carl von Linné (1707-78) won a place in the Swedish history of literature through his travelogues on various Swedish provinces; Johan Ihre (1707-80) was a pioneer in Germanic linguistics; and Sven Lagerbring (1707-87), an outstanding historian. These scholars are the most typical representatives of the Age of Liberty, but the period was also one of literary distinction. The influence of French culture was strongly felt. English literature, which, with the exception of Milton, had so far been almost unknown in Sweden, now became more widely read. The man who personified the literary development of this period is Olof von Dalin.\* He was especially gifted in imitating various styles of writing. His moral weekly, *Argus*, is one of the many journals modeled upon Addison's *Spectator*, and his epic, *Svenska friheten* (*Swedish Freedom*) was strongly influenced by Voltaire's *Henriade*. The first number of the *Argus* (*Then swänska Argus, The Swedish Argus*) was published in December 1732, and was a real success, partly because the name of the editor was not known. It contained, however, mostly translations from foreign publications, but the material had been adapted to Swedish conditions in a very convincing way. The trend toward tolerance, as well as attacks on the clergy, which appear in the publication, later became typical of the period of enlighten-

ment. In spite of its lack of originality, *The Swedish Argus* played an important role in the contemporary cultural life of Sweden by opening the windows toward Europe. Its weakness was its lack of psychological insight, a characteristic of Steele and Addison, whom Dalin imitated. Dalin was no psychologist, but he was a storyteller of no mean ability, and it has been pointed out that his *Saga om hästen* (*Saga of a Horse*), a political allegory, has literary value especially in its scenes from Swedish folk life. His literary successes brought Dalin a position in the Royal Court, where he became poet laureate. As an entertainer at the Court he wrote many poems which, however, are interesting chiefly from a formal point of view.

Dalin was more a forerunner than a representative of the period of enlightenment. He imitated Voltaire, but had none of his pathos, and it was Boileau and Racine, rather than Voltaire, whose influence predominated. By the mid c., these new ideas were strongly felt. They were introduced by Hedvig Charlotte Nordenflycht (1718-63) who had come deeply under the influence of Rousseau and the literature of feeling and emotion. She is the first feminine poet of importance in Swedish literature, and she became an ardent champion of the French taste in literature and the ideas of enlightenment. She was for several years the main figure of the most important literary society of this period and published a poetical yearbook, the first of its kind in Sweden. Important questions of culture were now discussed. Of the poets in the literary circle around Mme Nordenflycht, Count Gustaf Fredrik Gyllenberg (1731-1808) represents an attitude toward life which is reminiscent of classic Stoicism; Count Gustaf Philip Creutz (1731-85) was a charming rococo poet who favored a sensual philosophy of enjoyment. Both Dalin and Mme Nordenflycht passed away in 1763. In the same year Creutz left Sweden—he was in the diplomatic

service—and Gyllenberg seemed to have lost his interest in literary activities. There was no leader in Swedish literature until Kellgren\* began to publish *Stockholmsposten*, but the period as a whole is of great interest from a literary as well as from a general cultural point of view. At the end of the Age of Liberty there were two genuine poets, Wallenberg and Bellman,\* whose works are still read and appreciated in Sweden.

Jakob Wallenberg, (1746-78) served as chaplain on the *Finland* on her first trip to China (1769-71), and during the trip wrote a travel book, *Min son på galejan* (*My Son on the Galleon*) which is interesting mainly because it presents an excellent picture of the author himself, a man of vivid temperament, great tolerance, and good humor. He and Bellman are the first humorists in Swedish literature. Karl Mikael Bellman (1740-95) was recognized late; his period of greatness corresponds to the last years of the Age of Liberty. Stockholm, at this time, was only a small town, but inns and bars of various kinds were everywhere, and the young civil servants were wont to arrange parties and balls in these simple night clubs as long as they had any money left. It was this happy-go-lucky life that inspired Bellman's poems. His pronounced naturalism, combined with the grace of the rococo, made him one of Sweden's greatest lyricists. The political revolution of 1772 in Sweden was hardly combined with a moral renaissance, but a changed view made Bellman's scenes with drunkards as heroes seem vulgar and shabby. Bellman was a popular poet among the middle classes, but he had no contacts with the literary development and it was not until the 1790's that most of his songs and poems were published and his real importance definitely recognized.

During the first decade of the Gustavian period two authors stand out. Johan Gabriel Oxenstierna (1750-1818) wrote his poem *Skördarna* (*The Harvests*) when he served

at the Swedish Legation in Vienna. He was too poor to participate in the social life and spent his spare time at home alone, reading and writing poetry. Influences from Saint-Lambert and Rousseau are distinguishable in his pastorals. Gudmund Jöran Adlerbeth (1751-1818) wrote plays for King Gustaf's theatre and made several valuable translations. The counter-currents of this period became more pronounced with Kellgren, the foremost representative of "enlightenment" in Sweden. He made his literary career in Stockholm in the 1780's; first, as one of King Gustaf's playwrights, later, as a more independent champion of the ideas of the age. His attitude at first was critical and negative, but more and more he gave the idea of enlightenment a positive content. Freedom and humanity became the main themes in his poetry. At first indifferent to patriotic ideas, he greeted the New Year of 1789 with a poem that became a sort of starting point for patriotic poetry. Kellgren was influenced by Voltaire; the contrasting movement, the representative of which in France was Rousseau, and in Germany the Sturm and Drang, found its spokesman in Sweden in Tomas Thorild (1759-1808). He never absorbed Rousseau's ideas completely; for instance, he did not share the negative attitude toward science, but was a firm believer in the possibility that enlightenment might create a better world. Thorild did not stop at the Rousseauan poetic romanticism of nature as such; influenced by Spinoza and the classic stoicism, his development proceeded toward a kind of pantheism which he defended against the materialism of the time. With his lack of understanding of the realities of life, he declares: "I had only one thought in my life: to explain all nature and to reform the whole world." He also published a magazine, *Granskaren*, (*The Critic*) wherein he expressed his opinions on cultural and social problems. He found, however, that Sweden was too small a country for the

world republic he planned to establish, and left for England. Meeting no better understanding of his ideas abroad, he returned to Stockholm, where he began a discussion with Kellgren about the rules for literary criticism. (*Kritik över kritiker med ett utkast till en lagstiftning i snillets värld*, 1791-92; *Criticisms of the Critics and a Draft for Legislation in the World of Genius*). Later he had to leave Sweden again for political reasons; he became a professor in Greifswald, Germany. Thorild was the great prose writer of the "Sturm and Drang" movement; the great poet was Bengt Lidner (1757-93). Both were very subjective, but while Thorild's dominant themes were strength and harmony, Lidner regarded the miseries of life as a mystery he never could understand. Thorild tried to reform the world; Lidner, with his sentimental feelings, had a completely passive attitude toward life. He was for some time a protégé of King Gustaf, and studied in Germany and France. In his opera, *Medea*, (1784) there are some poems that are the best of the period. His famous poem, *Yttersta domen* (*The Final Judgment*, 1788) in a degree points the course for poetry in Sweden, which corresponds to the religious movement in the literature of other European countries.

Of the other poets of the period, Carl Gustaf af Leopold (1756-1829) may be compared with Kellgren, though without Kellgren's gift of leadership. He too collaborated with King Gustaf in writing plays for the theatre; his best contributions, however, are his philosophical poems, such as *Predikaren* (*The Preacher*), and his satire, *Vem har rätt* (*Who Is Right?*) After Kellgren's death he took up the discussion with Thorild, and was attacked by the neo-romantic school. Anna Maria Lenngren (1755-1817) has been compared with La Fontaine. In the 1790's she published several poems (*Min salig man*, *My Lamented Husband*; *Porträtterna*, *The Portraits*; *Pojkarna*, *The Boys*; *Fröken Juliana*,



*Miss Juliana; Grevinnans besök; The Countess's visit*), the middle class realism of which, combined with idyllic and satiric strains, made her one of Sweden's most popular poets. Frans Michael Franzén (1772-1847) was educated in Finland, but moved to Sweden, and died as bishop in Härmösand. His development links Kellgren's later poetry and the neo-romantic school. He has also written some religious hymns of high poetical value. In Swedish poetry, he is the first to use the child as a literary subject.

The history of the Swedish novel starts with the 17th c. By this time, several foreign short stories had been translated into Swedish and widely spread. More artistic pastoral novels were also translated. They were not printed but were sometimes used as models by Swedish writers. The most popular tales, however, were the Icelandic sagas, of which printed as well as hand-written copies were spread all over the country. The first Swedish novel, published 1742-1744, was influenced by the old sagas, even though, like the heroic novel in France, it referred to contemporary happenings. The first novelist was Jakob Henrik Mörk (1714-63), minister; his contemporaries, however, preferred to read novels from abroad. The sentimental family novels by Kotzebue and La Fontaine were very popular during the Gustavian period (1772-1809), and prepared the way for romanticism.

During the Gustavian period there was also, as we have seen, a great interest in the drama. Early in the 18th c. groups of German actors visited Sweden. Later, a permanent French theatre was established in Stockholm, which also brought a deeper interest in French literature. Swedish amateur actors sometimes competed with the French, and a Swedish theatre developed. King Gustaf III established a Swedish opera. By the 19th c. there were in Stockholm, besides the opera, a French and two Swedish theatres. King Gustaf himself—the foremost sponsor of the theatre in

Sweden—furnished original and translated plays for this institution and, as we have noted, encouraged poets to write native drama.

During the 18th c. the impetus came primarily from France and England, but for a time thereafter influences from Germany were strongly felt. Johan Olof Wallin\* represents the transition to the romantic school. Its leader was Atterbom,\* who specialized in German literature during his years at Uppsala University, and who was also inspired by Schelling. One of the most ardent followers of the new movement was Lorenzo Hammariskiöld (1785-1827), who also wrote the first complete Swedish history of literature. Atterbom's legendary plays, *Lycksalighetens ö* (*Isle of Bliss*) and *Fågel Blå* (*Blue Bird*) are the most typical products of the new movement, which marked a veritable "golden age" in Swedish literature. Many contemporary authors and poets, who had a more or less independent attitude toward the new ideas, Tegnér, Stagnelius,\* Geijer,\* produced works which are now looked upon as classics in Swedish literature.

To the neo-romantic school two poets belonged not because they took part in the contemporary literary discussion—which they did not—but because they were born romantics. Stagnelius was very little known during his lifetime; not until 1824-6, when Hammariskiöld published his collected works, was his real importance recognized. Vitalis' real name was Eric Sjöberg (1794-1828). His life was a tragedy. He was very poor and when he contracted tuberculosis of the lungs he was too proud to accept help. To demonstrate his independence he even refused to contribute to the contemporary poetic calendars. His satires and comic poetry seem to have been more appreciated during his lifetime, but his importance as a poet is best seen in some of his serious poems, which express a platonic mysticism and a romantic idealism. Geijer, who for some time was regarded as a leader

in the neo-romantic school, was also rather independent. In 1803 he received a prize from the Swedish Academy for an heroic poem. Having received his degree at Uppsala University, he had an opportunity to spend some time in England, which became very important for his later development. Influenced by Oehlenschläger, he wrote poems with themes from Swedish antiquity, which show a masterly virility and restraint. Appointed head of the historical department, he found very little time for poetry, but even as an historian he was a romanticist—this was, in Sweden, a new approach to the historical problems, and as a teacher Geijer gained a tremendous influence. It was, however, Tegnér\* who became the great poet of this period. He was still more independent than Geijer in regard to the literary movements of the time; in the quarrel between the new and the old school he even planned to organize a school of his own. As a student, he was already familiar with modern as well as classic literature. Ossian, Milton, Young, and especially Schiller, seem to have been of importance for his development, but it was the political happenings of the time that gave the best inspiration for his poetry. Russia's attack on Sweden and the conquest of Finland form the background of his poem *Krigssång för lantvärnet* (*War Song of the Militia*, 1808). His political pathos is still more strongly expressed in *Det eviga* (*The Eternal*, 1810) and in *Svea* (1811) which made him acclaimed Sweden's national poet. His most famous work, however, is *Fritiofs Saga*, a poetic cycle written (1820-5) as a literary experiment, to discover what a poet could do with an antiquarian theme.

Almquist\* was a contemporary of Atterbom, but his first works were not published until the 1830's. In many respects, Almquist represents a transition from the neo-romantic school. Impressions from the United Brethren and from Swedenborg seem to have been im-

portant for his development, as well as Schelling, Chateaubriand and Rousseau. During the later 1830's French liberalism gave him a new outlook on political and social problems; he published popular essays and short stories about the working man, and with these "folk publications" became a forerunner of modern realism. Later he became still more radical, almost an anarchist. Not only was he the most important novelist of the 1830's, but he also published dramas. But the theatres in Stockholm—there were several of them in the 1840's—preferred translations; Schiller, Victor Hugo, and Scribe dominated until Strindberg appeared on the scene; of the Swedish dramatists before him, only August Blanche (1811-68) and Frans Hedberg (1828-1908) did worthy work.

After Almquist, Fredrika Bremer\* was the most important of the novelists. In the mid-century—the age of post-romanticism—there is a group of poets identified with political liberalism in Europe. In Sweden, this liberalism was as a rule linked with Scandinavianism, a movement toward greater unity among the Scandinavian countries; typical representatives are Oscar Patrick Sturzen-Becker (pen name Orvar Odd, 1811-69), Carl Vilhelm August Strandberg (pen name Talis Qualis, 1818-77), and Gunnar Wennerberg (1817-1901). The great poet of the time, in the Swedish language, was Johan Ludvig Runeberg, who, however, belongs to Finland's literature. Not until the 1870's were there any new really great authors in Sweden: Viktor Rydberg; and Carl Snoilsky (1841-1903).

Viktor Rydberg\* was influenced even in youth by the liberal ideas of the time, in the political as well as the religious field. But his poetry also reflects a strong romanticism, with deep idealism and a trend toward mysticism. His most important contribution is his two collections of poems. Beautiful form and a deep, idealistic philosophy are here combined in a way unsurpassed in Swedish literature.

Goethe's influence played an important role in his development: for several years he was busy translating *Faust*. He never became the leader of a literary school, but his idealism has survived the naturalistic movement that, in some way, was opposed to it. Rydberg came from the lower classes; Snoilsky was an aristocrat by birth and also in his outlook on life, even though he did his best to understand and promote the democratic ideas of his generation. Impressions from southern Europe inspired him to write poems filled with the sense of beauty and the joy of life; when they were collected and published in 1869, the author was greeted as a new great poet. Snoilsky, however, had a diplomatic career and for many years it looked as though he had no interest in following up his first success as a poet. But in 1879 he left his position in the Foreign Office and went abroad. He was married but had fallen in love with another woman, whom he married as soon as he received his divorce. For a man in his position, this event was regarded as a scandal; but it was a gain for Swedish poetry. From then on, he was exclusively a poet; he published a new collection of poems, with pictures of south European and oriental life, and was also inspired to a great project: in his *Svenska bilder* (*Swedish Pictures*) he gives poetical illustrations to Sweden's history during three centuries. Later—influenced by Brandes—he wrote poems in which social problems are discussed. In 1890 he was appointed head librarian of the Royal Library in Stockholm, but the following years added nothing to his reputation as a poet.

Snoilsky is counted among the great Swedish poets, but with his aristocratic attitude toward life he could never—as he seems to have hoped—become a popular author. His influence on the literary development in Sweden during his generation was not great. The public of the 1880's looked upon Rydberg and Snoilsky as the leading authors; but

in the history of literature it is Strindberg\* and other representatives of the new naturalism that dominate the 1880's, just as Heidenstam, Fröding, Selma Lagerlöf and others are identified with the new romanticism of the 1890's.

Historians now seem to agree that Strindberg's works must be regarded as Sweden's best contribution to 19th c. literature. He had already in his youth emancipated himself from the spirit of philosophical idealism, which then prevailed in Swedish university circles—influence from Buckle seems here to have been of importance. In his drama, *Mäster Olof*, first printed in 1878, he gave voice to his revolutionary enthusiasm, and his studies of Shakespeare seem here to have been the first impetus toward the realistic style which he later developed with so artistic a gift. *Mäster Olof* was the first modern drama in Swedish literature, as in *Röda rummet* (*The Red Room*, 1879) Strindberg wrote the first great social novel ever written in Swedish. This novel elevated him to a position as leader of the "realistic" authors, but with his antagonism toward society he preferred to leave Sweden, and spent several years abroad. The discussion of social problems became, more and more, one of his main interests. In *Giftas* (*Married*, 1884) he opposes the emancipation of women. As the author of the book, he was sued for blasphemy. He was acquitted by the jury, but the experience seems to have resulted in a nervous crisis, and during the following years he had periods in which he was almost insane. During one of his lighter periods he wrote *Hemsöborna* (*The People of Hemsö*, 1887), the best novel ever written illustrating life in the Swedish countryside. The following year he began his Nietzschean period, and at the same time he wrote *Fröken Julie* (*Miss Julie*), construed after Zola's theories of a naturalistic drama, and played throughout Europe. Having spent some time in Sweden, he moved to Germany and began

to devote himself to dilettante studies of the natural sciences, including alchemy. This medieval mysticism later had a religious trend; at the end of the century he published two modern mystery dramas, with a new technique (*Till Damascus, On the Way to Damascus*, 1898; *Vid högre rätt, The Higher Court*, 1899). He then had a rich creative period, and published a whole series of plays, several with historical themes. In *Svarta fanor (Black Banners*, 1904; pub. 1907) he attacks his old friends, and later began a quarrel with the writers of the 1890's. His last major work was *Stora landsvägen (The Great Highway*, 1909) in which he sought, in lyrical dramatic form, to find a solution to his stormy and contradictory life.

Strindberg's great naturalistic period covers the years from 1879 to 1888. Among the other authors of the decade two women occupy the foremost place. Anne-Charlotte Edgren (1849-92) wrote plays and also attracted attention with her story *Ur livet (From Life)*, influenced by Ibsen and Strindberg. More independent is Victoria Benedictson (1850-88), who used the pseudonym Ernst Ahlgren. She published short stories illustrating life in southern Sweden, and novels such as *Pengar (Money*, 1885), and *Fru Marianne (Madame Marianne*, 1887) in which she discusses the ideas of the time. Her promising career ended in tragedy: her childhood and youth had been unhappy, and she had married in order to leave her parents' home; when she met George Brandes in Copenhagen she fell in love with him and later committed suicide. The most gifted poet of the group was Ola Hanson (1860-1925). His temperament and development were similar to Strindberg's. Having published collections of poems (*Dikter, Poems*, 1884; *Notturmo*, 1885), which established him as a great lyricist, he moved to Germany and from then on was of no importance for the literary development in Sweden. Ola Hanson was born in Scania, and the

nature of his home province was his first inspiration as a poet. Another poet from the same part of the country was Albert Ulrik Bååth (1853-1912) who became a forerunner of the provincial authors, of whom practically every province later had one or several representatives. Gustaf af Geijerstam (1858-1909) was a popular author of realistic novels and plays, and kept his popularity even after the programmatic realism of the 1880's had been succeeded by the romanticism of the 1890's.

For two gifted poets of this generation realism proved, more or less, a period of transition. Tor Hedberg published some realistic novels in the 80's; he also leaned toward the realism of Ibsen in his dramas (*Johan Ulfstjerna*, 1907), but he has also written stylized and symbolical poems. Oscar Levertin (1862-1906) was first influenced by Strindberg but later became a close friend of Heidenstam, with whom he cooperated in introducing the new romanticism of the 1890's. In his *Legender och visor (Legends and Ballads*, 1891) he revealed himself as a true romanticist, and in *Nya Dikter (New Poems*, 1894) the typical aestheticism of the 1890's has a tendency toward aristocratic individualism. The sorrow and the loneliness of life are the main themes of both collections. Levertin was a learned scholar, with a glowing love for Swedish cultural traditions; he also meant much for the literary development in Sweden as a critic; the literary leadership, however, belonged to Heidenstam.

Verner von Heidenstam\* (1859-1940) was born into the nobility, in Olshammar, a manor estate in the province of Nerike. The impressions of his childhood were of dominant importance for his development, as well as for his literary work; he himself has pointed out how ideas from an early age return in his novels. He had hardly grown up, however, before his health led him to leave Sweden. He spent several years in Southern Europe and in the Orient, studying art and the his-

tory of culture, and preparing for a career as an artist or a poet. His sojourn abroad was extended because his marriage resulted in a break with his father. At twenty-nine he published his first collection of poems, *Vallfart och Vandringsår* (*Pilgrimages and Years of Wandering*); from then on, he was exclusively a writer. By this time he had become reconciled with his father. He returned to Sweden shortly before his father passed away, and remained there.

Heidenstam had postponed his poetic debut until he was sure of himself; when his first volumes of poems did appear, in 1888, it aroused immediate admiration. The vigorous freshness of tone that animated most of his poems had a strong appeal to practically all of Sweden's leading poets and critics. The glorifying of youth and beauty, of the pleasure of the moment, of the unlimited power of love, fascinated a generation which had been taught to admire utilitarian ideals and an art subordinated to observable fact. The section, *Thoughts in Loneliness*, included in *Pilgrimage and Years of Wandering*, hints at the poetic ideal that becomes realized in *Dikter* (*Poems*) seven years later. Before *Poems* he had, however, published several other works, of which the critical essay *Renascence* (1889) and the autobiographical *Hans Alienus* (1892) are the most important. *Renascence* is to be looked upon as a preliminary statement of general literary aims and ideals, rather than a carefully worked-out aesthetics. It proposes to give impetus to a new literary and cultural development in Sweden. Heidenstam regarded naturalism as an outworn literary method, and felt that a new aesthetics must be ushered in if Swedish literature was to retain vitality and significance. Sweden, he felt, needed a new national literature. A movement toward this goal is characteristic of the literary development in Sweden during the last fifty years and here Heidenstam's own influence has been strongly felt.

Heidenstam's poems (1895) suggest a new attitude toward life, an attitude filled with a warm, understanding humanity, rooted in a deep feeling for Sweden's national past. Heidenstam's first important prose work was *Karolinerna* (*The Charles Men*, 1897-8), a monument to King Charles XII and the Swedish soldiers who loyally followed him on his far-flung campaigns, a picture of heroic sacrifice and magnificent resignation. *The Charles Men* was followed by *Heliga Birgittas pilgrimsfärd* (*Saint Birgitta's Pilgrimage*, 1901) in which he portrays another heroic character. There are many similarities in the author's paintings of these historical portraits, but a striking difference has also been noted: Saint Birgitta represents Heidenstam's new and more mature ethics of heroic resignation. This new attitude is still more apparent in *Folkungsträdet* (*The Tree of the Folkungs*, 1905-7), in which he reaches back into the only half-historical region of the early Scandinavian sagas. One of the ideas most frequently recurring in his works is that the only solution to the many problems of his generation is to return to an essentially classical spirit and point of view. In his opinion, some form of modern humanism was a philosophical and aesthetic necessity for the modern world. And a modified form of classical paganism was more consistent with a true modern spirit than the Neo-Gothic decadence; toward such paganism, he prophesied, the modern spirit will finally tend.

Heidenstam had a profound reverence for the classical and a personal conception of the proper method of the historian. He was never guilty, however, of narrow antiquarian propensities. He went back into Sweden's national past in order to interpret and, if possible, direct Sweden's national present and future. In his opinion, the Swedish proletariat movement was fundamentally foreign to the true Swedish national spirit, and in a controversy with Strindberg, he aired these ideas in a

series of essays, *Proletärfilosofiens upplösning och fall* (*The Decline and Fall of the Proletariat*, 1911). After that, however, he seldom entered into direct public expression of opinion on contemporary affairs; he chose to speak to his people by the more indirect means of his poetry. In 1915 his volume, *Nya dikter* (*New Poems*), was published. "What we find in these poems, fundamentally, is the quiet meditative note of *Thoughts in Loneliness* and of *Poems* (1895); except that now this note has taken on a new strength and richness, a new arresting maturity. Its thought is infinitely more profound; its emotional form is invariably exquisite, crystal-clear, with no ornamental excrescences—in a word, severely, nobly classical. In Heidenstam's poems Sweden has come to find, not without a deeply ennobling sense of humility, a profound national discipline" (Alrik Gustafson). *New Poems* was Heidenstam's final word. During the last two decades of his life he worked on an autobiography, which was not published until after his death.

In a letter to Heidenstam, Levertin said that Selma Lagerlöf's novel, *Gösta Berlings saga*, was "the first work in accordance with Heidenstam-Levertin aesthetics." But he was not quite sure about its qualities: ". . . this work is really most remarkable—it is the most curious brew of good and bad that I have ever seen—reminiscences and phrases from the worst of all literature . . . and pages admirable in their fantastic power and life. . . . It is the style of the heroic legend that is attained here—I, poor fellow, am too blasé, as we all are, too much occupied with modern life."

Selma Lagerlöf\* was born in an old manor house in the province of Värmland, and from childhood she had been the recipient of a rich store of local legends. Her early reading of Sir Walter Scott, the Icelandic Sagas, the *Arabian Nights*, Hans Christian Andersen, Runeberg and Tegnér seems also to have been of importance for her development. It was not

until she left her home province that she became conscious of the possibilities of the Värmland tales and legends as literary material. She served as schoolteacher in southern Sweden for several years before *Gösta Berlings saga* was published. It was difficult for her to find an acceptable form for this "saga which wished to be told and led out into the world." The period was one of severe realism and she herself has testified that "she admired the great masters of the day and never thought that she might use another language than that which they employed." Finally, however, she approached the material in her own way. Chapter followed rapidly upon chapter. The first part of her manuscript received a prize in a literary contest, but when the completed work was published it took some time until its merits were recognized. Selma Lagerlöf was a born storyteller, able to fascinate her public, and gifted enough to rehabilitate the Swedish novel. But it remained for the great Danish critic, Georg Brandes, to speak the deciding word about *Gösta Berlings saga*. His review appeared in 1893, when the novel had been translated into Danish; from then on, Lagerlöf's "collection of provincial tales" has belonged to world literature; translated into 30 languages, it is still the most popular novel in Sweden. The reading of Carlyle's *Heroes and Hero Worship* in 1884 seems to have been of importance for Lagerlöf's literary development, and Heidenstam's new program in *Renascence* of 1889 may also have been an impetus. But as a whole, she was influenced very little by other authors.

The success of *Gösta Berlings saga* made it possible for Selma Lagerlöf to travel around the great world. *The Miracles of Anti-Christ* (1897) is a story from a little town in Sicily. It is an expression of the authoress's interest in social problems, but its chief virtue is the description of Italian village life. *The Christ Legends* (1904) is a retelling of Eastern legends concerning the Christ Child. *The Treas-*

ure (1904) is a tale from the rock-bound western coast of Sweden. In *Jerusalem* (1901-2), she told a story in which she could use provincial Sweden as well as the Orient as a background. It is the story of a group of peasants in Dalarna, who sold their farms and emigrated to Jerusalem to await "the imminent coming of the Lord." It is a study of the conflict between fanatical, though sincere, religious motives and the more naturally conservative, earth-bound virtues of ancient Swedish peasant-stock. The story, based on actual happenings, is told with magnificent artistic power, in form more severe than the tentative romanticism of *Gösta Berling*. She undertook a quite different project with *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* (1906-7), a fascinating children's story, whose primary aim was to introduce Swedish geography to school children. In 1908 Selma Lagerlöf repurchased her old home in Värmland and settled down in her home province. Her subsequent production is very rich, and since everything she wrote was characterized by her personal, delicate art and her warm humanity, it confirms if it does not add to the reputation she received for *Gösta Berling* and *Jerusalem*.

During the winter 1889-90 a Swedish newspaperman, who had gone to a rest-home in Görlitz, Germany, after a nervous breakdown, happened to read Heidenstam's *Pilgrimage and Years of Wandering*. His name was Gustaf Fröding\*; his first collection of poems, brought to focus by this reading, was *Guitarr och dragharmonika* (*Guitar and Accordion*, 1891). Levertin, the leading critic, did not appreciate this humoristic picture of folk life in Värmland, but the public did, and Fröding soon became one of the most popular poets in Sweden. In his second collection, *Nya dikter* (*New Poems*, 1894) humor was also the dominating or, at least, the most appreciated trend, but on *Stänk och flickar* (*Sprinklings and Snippets*, 1896) illness and

discord had placed their stamp, a brooding over moral and religious problems that led him astray; at the end of the decade, insanity supervened. Unexcelled as a master of form, Fröding inaugurated a renaissance in Swedish poetry. With all his weaknesses he was a strong and, in many respects, an admirable personality.

Once, in Uppsala, Fröding pointed at a student four years younger than himself and said that some day that man would surpass him as a poet. The student's name was Erik Axel Karlfeldt.\* His first collection of poems (1895) was somewhat overshadowed by Heidenstam's *New Poems*. With *Fridolins visor* (*Ballads of Fridolin*, 1906) and *Fridolins lustgård* (*Fridolin's Garden*, 1901), he became one of Sweden's great poets. Just as Fröding tried to picture his home province in his poems, Karlfeldt's home province, Dalecarlia, was his best source of inspiration. The old peasant-civilization, with its echoes of Biblical and folk-wisdom, with its earnest zeal, its humor and its sure strength, was converted by Karlfeldt into great poetry.

The last of the great generation of the 1890's is Per Hallström, born 1866. In some respects, he is in close contact with the ideas of the 1880's. He is filled with a moral pathos, and often paints life in dark colors. But some of his best works are rich in a genuine romanticism. With deep sympathy he describes unfortunates and outcasts, as in *Vilsna fåglar* (*Stray Birds*, 1894) and *En gammal historia* (*An Old Story*, 1895). His dramas do not have the same importance as his novels, but from a poetical point of view they rank very high (*Två legenddramer*, *Two Legendary Dramas*; 1908). The mystery of death is the theme of *Thanatos* (1909), and in *Gustaf Sparfverts roman* (*Gustaf Sparfvert's Story*) he gives a convincing expression of the humanism which is characteristic of everything he writes. His most popular work is a collection of short stories, *De fyra elementerna* (*The Four Ele-*

ments, 1906) in which he pictures peasant life in a way reminiscent of Selma Lagerlöf.

When we speak of the 1880's and 1890's as great periods in Swedish literature, it should be remembered that some of their foremost representatives created many of their best works in the 20th c. They also became more widely read and recognized; with the exception of Strindberg they were elected to the Swedish Academy, and Selma Lagerlöf and Heidenstam received the Nobel prize in literature. The social development resulted in a wider literary interest among the common people; and the classics as well as the modern authors' works were published in popular editions. The national movement, represented in the 1890's by Heidenstam, included not only a new interest in folk culture and regional history, but also efforts to make the national treasures in literature and arts available to the common man. Cultural representatives in various fields, such as Ellen Key, Richard Berg, Oscar Levertin, Carl G. Laurin, discussed social, literary, and aesthetic problems in a way that attracted the interest of the common man. Interest in folk culture and old provincial traditions, manifested in the Nordic Museum and its open-air branch, Skansen, developed into a broad, popular movement, and hundreds of provincial museums and local societies for folk culture were established. Temperance and religious activities complete the picture of a nation-wide, idealistic movement. A typical representative of the combination of interest in folk culture and a general social sympathy is Karl Erik Forsslund (1872-1941). He also founded the people's high school at Brunnsvik, where, later, a whole generation of intellectuals from the working class completed their education; many of them became poets and novelists. Forsslund's novel, *Storgården*, a modern variation of the Rousseau gospel, was widely read, but the author himself never became a leader of importance. He turned to research work

and devoted his time to writing the history of the culture of his home province. This combination of idealism and interest in folk culture is typical of a whole generation of provincial authors, most of whom, however, have had no influence on the national literary development; it comprises such diverse writers as Carl Larsson i By, the farmer, who in his spare time tells stories of his home parish and even the history of the parish itself; and Olof Thunman, the artist with a vagabond's attitude toward life, who is interested in the archaeology of his home province, and who has given the contemporary idealistic movements their most popular tune ("We walk over dew-sprinkled mountains"). The labor movement, in its early stage, created no poets of importance. Karl Gustav Ossianilsson (b. 1875) expresses social sympathy in his poems, influenced, from a formal point of view, by Fröding and the English poets. But he soon attacked his former friends in a novel (*Barbarskogen*, 1908) and thereafter has had no influence on the political or literary development. A poet with a strong political interest is Ture Nerman (b. 1886), but eroticism seems to be his best source of inspiration.

Several of the younger poets and novelists of the new century stand apart from the political and social development. With their pessimistic outlook and *fin de siècle* philosophy, they seem to have been more influenced from abroad (Anatole France, Oscar Wilde, Hermann Bang) than by the national literary ideas. The typical representative of this group is Hjalmar Söderberg,\* whose impressionistic technique with immoral heroes was shocking to Swedish readers in the Oscar II era. Bo Bergman (b. 1869) has, in his short stories, the same attitude toward life, but he is, first and foremost, a lyricist. He entered the civil service as a young man, and served until pensioned after 40 years. Love and home-life gave the poet a beachhead in his pessimistic struggle, and as the years pass his develop-



ment tends toward a deeply felt humanism.

Both Söderberg and Bergman are typical Stockholm writers, who loved to paint scenes from their home town as background for their novels and poems. In southern Sweden there is a contemporary group that follows the traditions of Ola Hanson. Vilhelm Ekelund (b. 1880) in his first poems gives the same intimate picture of the nature of his home province. His later poetry glides into a strictly Apollonian adoration of beauty. Anders Österling (b. 1884) added to the Scanian native poetry the dreamy melancholy of adolescence and a touch of decadent estheticism. With the mature poet, artificiality has faded away. In the midst of idyllic realism his deliberateness and vital warmth, not without points of contact with Wordsworth's, is suffused with romantic effulgence and has an impassioned swing. "It germinates in the fertile Scanian soil, is wafted by the winds of Öresund and is radiated by southern Sweden's warm sunlight." (*Årets visor, The Songs of the Year*, 1907; *Idyllernas bok, The Book of Idyls*, 1917; and others.)

On the whole, it may be said that esthetic individualism, from the beginning of the new century, was not able to hold its own. Sven Lidman (b. 1882), its foremost representative, passed through a religious crisis and, during the last two decades, has contributed exclusively to religious literature; several of his contemporaries are entirely forgotten. A movement toward realism and a greater interest in social problems sets in around 1910. A forerunner is Albert Engström\* who, in the preface of his first collection of short stories (*En bok, A Book*, 1905), criticized the artificial psychological interest of his colleagues. Albert Engström was an artist, and he pictured life in Småland, his home province, and the milieu of the Stockholm skerries, not only with his pencil but also with his pen. He regarded himself as a representative of the healthy and the natural, and with humor and

realism he made colorful pictures of farmers and fishermen. Olof Högberg (1855-1932) had the same interest in primitive folk types. If Engström pictured a Sweden that belonged to the past, this is still more true of Högberg who, after many years of collecting material, published his *Den stora vreden (The Great Wrath*, 1906), describing folk life in northern Sweden two centuries ago.

After Pelle Molin\* and Olof Högberg, Ludvig Nordström\* appears as the third literary representative of North Sweden. As a novelist he carries on the tradition of Strindberg and Engström, often with a sociological point of view. After the first World War he became an enthusiastic chronicler of the Sweden that is now an integral part of the modern world's commercial system; later, he turned almost exclusively to social reportage. His best novels and short stories are those apart from his program of social philosophy.

Hjalmar Bergman\* capitalized his knowledge of life in Central Sweden, but used his material in a more novelistic form. Nordström was rather the reporter; Bergman had a gift of creativeness and fantasy unusual in Swedish literature. The world in which his figures dwell is often fanciful and romantic. His heroes are often unhappy individuals whose psychology he portrays somewhat as does Dostoevsky. Some of his novels are humorous; in others, the agony of life is predominant. As a playwright, Bergman is surpassed only by Strindberg. He was also interested in the motion picture, for the authors of his generation an entirely new field; he worked for some time as a scenario writer in Hollywood. After his return, he used his experiences to write a novel, *Clownen Jack (Jack, the Clown)*, which betrays his own efforts to escape the agony, the feeling of tragedy, that filled his soul. His play, *Dollar*, pictures Hollywood types; his story, *Den andre (The Other One)*, expresses his appreciation of Charlie Chaplin.

Sigfrid Siwertz (b. 1882) also belongs to this group which had as its origin an esthetic individualism but which later assumes a more active attitude toward life. His authorship is intellectually imbued, and reflects Swedish contemporary life. Typical is *Eldens återsken* (*The Reflection of the Fire*, 1916), written during World War I. His masterpiece is the great family novel, *Selambs* (1920). Sterile egoism is unmasked with cold disdain in this fascinating social narrative of these cynical, pleasure-loving, money-worshipping years. In his rich production one can also find a great number of short stories, written with excellent sense of style, and several of his plays are marked by powerful dramatic effects. It has been said, however, that Siwertz is sometimes over-zealous in creating his figures and in analyzing his problems, as though cultivating the art for its own sake rather than as a picture of reality. Contemporary problems in even greater measure concern Gustaf Hellström (b. 1882). He also began his career as a *flaneur*, but during his many years as a newspaper correspondent in foreign countries he acquired a genuine interest in psychological and sociological points of view. His greatest novel is *Snörmakare Lekholm får en idé* (*Lacemaker Lekholm Has an Idea*, 1927; trans. F. H. Lyon, London, 1930), a classical description of the circulation of the Swedish population. During the years he spent in London and New York he became an expert on Anglo-Saxon culture and literature; and he has contributed a great deal to the knowledge of modern English and American writers in Sweden.

Both Siwertz and Hellström have been elected members of the Swedish Academy. When Selma Lagerlöf passed away, her place in the Academy was taken by Elin Wägnér (b. 1882), an authoress who began as a journalist. Her heroines are often self-supporting, modern women. She has always been active in women's movements, and in *Pennskaftet*

(*The Pen*) she paints a colorful picture of the early years of women's emancipation in Sweden. Inner freedom from the burden of guilt and selfishness, with an active interest in the social community, under the banner of human kindness and self-forgetfulness, is the theme of her later novels, in which the religion of the Quakers has left its trail. Her most successful work is *Asa-Hanna* (1918), in which she returns to her home province, Småland. In those of her novels in which the Swedish rectory forms the central point, the authoress distinguishes herself as a sensitive interpreter of the inner life, which stands in perpetual and profitable connection with the life of the community. As a moralist she is Selma Lagerlöf's successor in Swedish literature. The aristocratic element in this group of authors is represented by Marika Stiernstedt (b. 1875) who, with sober chilliness, analyzes the life of the upper classes in well-constructed novels. Her most popular novel, however, is *Ullabella* (1922), a story for young girls. Gertrud Lilja (b. 1887) belongs to a younger generation. She is a prominent storyteller and has also written novels with Småland, her home province, as background.

Gertrud Lilja has a personal feeling for lonesome and unsuccessful individuals. Her colleague, Anna Lenah Elgström (b. 1884), also portrays figures from the back streets of the community; to her, social pathos is a dominant quality (*Fattigfolk, Poor People*, 1912; *Mödrar, Mothers*, 1917). Like Ossiannilsson, she is a writer from the middle class who has tried to paint the life of people of the lower classes. A deeper knowledge and also a greater ability are found in Martin Koch.\* His works evince a decided character, and a bold naturalism akin to the Russians'. In *Arbetare* (*Workers*, 1912) he gave Swedish literature its first all-round portrayal of the working class and its special conditions of life. His foremost work is *Guds vackra värld* (*God's Beautiful World*, 1916), a criminal novel

which sounds the depths of the Swedish community's lowermost underworld, but which has a clear sociological and ethical aim. His weakness as a novelist was that he often collected more material than he could master. Trying to picture the life of individuals, he also wanted to write the history of the community.

The same ambition is typical of the self-educated radical politician and writer, Fabian Månsson (1872-1938). In his *Rättfärdiggörelse genom tron* (1916) he tells the story of a religious movement in his home province in Southern Sweden. His historical novels about the fate of individuals are more like chronicles. A more gifted artist is Gustav Hedenvind-Eriksson (b. 1880), who has pictured in archaic language the life of workers and vagabonds. Hedenvind-Eriksson is from the northern part of the country, as is Albert Viksten (b. 1889) who has tried many different trades, and whose novels of the Arctic Ocean and of his home province (e.g., *Timmer*) have made him one of the most widely-read novelists in Sweden.

The influence of World War I in Swedish literature is especially recognizable in efforts toward a deeper penetration of the problems of the time. Hans Larsson (1862-1944), professor of philosophy at the University of Lund, discusses contemporary ideas in dialogue-novels; and a young radical, Ivan Oljelund (b. 1892), tells the story of his religious experience (*Med stort G, With a Capital G*, 1920). This trend toward a more serious attitude is the more significant in that many of the group began as *flâneurs*, influenced by *fin-de-siècle* representatives in Scandinavian literature. This development has also contributed to a better appreciation of the entire "group of the 1910's," which, to a great extent, has been overshadowed by the great authors of a previous generation.

After World War I some of the poets have tried to express the "agony of life" which

everyone feels in a world filled with war and disaster. Several of them have turned to religion, hoping there to find a solution of the problems; others express appreciation of the values of everyday life, values that seem more dear against the background of a dark and disastrous time. The creative forces of life, true love, duty, home, and tradition became sources of inspiration. During the 1920's these poets came into opposition with a group of authors from the working class, who cared less for tradition and cultural heritage than for the right of spontaneous life and the satisfaction of primitive instincts. From a formal point of view, the poets of the 1920's represent a reaction against the trend toward solemnity of the previous generation; they prefer simple words and expressions from everyday life to the traditional poetic phrases.

Of this group of poets from the 1920's Birger Sjöberg\* is the oldest. He too was a newspaperman. His light, roguish self-irony endowed the simple ditties of *Fridas bok* (*Frieda's Book*, 1922) with a special charm, as of occasional poetry raised to the point of art. How fragile the idyl was may be gathered from his *Kriser och kransar* (1927) in which anguish and jarring dissonances are brought into moving expression. Sjöberg has been of great importance to later Swedish poetry. His untimely death was a genuine loss for Swedish literature. The same may be said about Dan Andersson,\* first of a group often called "proletarian poets." Social sympathy, however, is not especially typical of Dan Andersson; his main problem was the old one of right and wrong, and in a world of agony and confusion he sought in vain for the peace and harmony that religious people like his parents had found. As a poet, he represents the provincial tradition of Fröding and Karlfeldt (*Kolvaktarens visor* and *Svarta Ballader*); also in his novels (*De tre hemlösa*, 1918; *David Ramms arv*, 1919) he deals with religious and moral problems.

Erik Lindorm\* as a Stockholm-poet followed the tradition of Bo Bergman, but his portrayals are invested with a sterner, more agonized coloring. His background is the proletarian suburb of the Swedish capital. He received his first intellectual education in the labor movement, but even in his first collection of poems he speaks of his youth as of the past. He does not write revolutionary songs any more; instead, he paints pictures of everyday life, whose heroes are simple but imbued with a sense of duty.

To the group of poets for whom sober reality and the greatness of everyday life are the sources of inspiration, we can also add Karl Asplund (b. 1890) and Gunnar Mascoll Silfverstolpe.\* Asplund won recognition with *Hjältarna* (*The Heroes*, 1919), inspired by episodes of World War I. In his subsequent collection of poems there are moving expressions of personal sorrow, but he has also painted lyrical portraits of his province, Sörmland, which may be compared to Österling's Scanian idyls. In cooperation with his friend Silfverstolpe, he also translated English lyrics. Silfverstolpe's best source of inspiration was in memories of his childhood and youth. The traditions of the Swedish manorial estate, all the glories of central Sweden's countryside, his province of Västmanland, have in Silfverstolpe a sincere interpreter. But it is not only the home itself; it is the human values which it has given him—love, a sense of duty and responsibility—that he celebrates in song.

Social sympathy marks the early poetry of Ragnar Jändel.\* He was of proletarian origin. In a pathetic and struggle-imbued lyric he renders homage both to the unknown heroes and to the revolutionary heroes. Later, a trend toward religion became dominant in his work. Jändel represents the province of Blekinge in this group. Berit Spong (b. 1895) similarly enshrined her home province, Östergötland. Scania, in the lyric generation of the 1920's, is represented, among others, by Gabriel

Jönsson (b. 1892) whose poem, *Flicka från Backafall* (*The Girl from Backafall*), became one of the decade's most popular tunes. The Stockholm archipelago, discovered for literature by Strindberg and Engström, has found in Einar Malm (b. 1900) a devoted interpreter.

Sten Selander (b. 1891) is a Stockholm poet, whose first major important work was *Staden* (*The City*, 1926). During the following years he took a very active part in the current discussion of cultural and social problems, and in his collection of poems, *En dag* (*One Day*), he expresses his opinions with artistic vigor. In his youth, Selander studied botany, and his love of the Swedish soil has been another source of inspiration. In *Sommarnatten* (*The Summer Night*, 1941) his varied interests, his liberal humanism, his love of nature, his feelings and reflections, have found harmonic expression. Thus Selander approaches a group of authors whose works are almost exclusively concentrated upon the discussion of philosophical ideas or immediate questions. Of Pär Lagerkvist (b. 1891), the metaphysical and the eternal mysteries have always been the main concern. Such titles as *Ångest* (*Agony*) and *Kaos* (*Chaos*) express the poet's feelings during World War I, and his attempts to find clarity in a world of darkness and confusion. From a formal point of view, Lagerkvist was an experimenter, and he tried especially to bring about a renaissance in the drama; here he was influenced by Strindberg and German expressionism. During the 1920's a trend toward harmony and clarity is apparent in his work; his form also becomes clearer. His *Den lyckliges väg* (*The Happy Man's Way*) and *Hjärtats sånger* (*Songs of the Heart*) include poems of love and express an harmonious attitude toward life. The poet cannot share the religious belief that gave his childhood home an atmosphere of peace, but he has respect for the human spirit's eternal effort to see things

through, and to reach the ideals of love and righteousness. Humanism, as the foundation of cultural development, has in Lagerkvist a devoted interpreter, and when its values seem to be threatened by violence and the philosophy of power, he defends them in dramas such as *Bödeln* (*The Hangman*) and *Dvärgen* (*The Dwarf*), from a clearly political standpoint.

From a world of agony and confusion, Bertil Malmberg (b. 1889) tries to escape to the ideal world of eternal beauty (*Atlantis*, 1916). The influence of Schiller, Tegnér, and Heidenstam is apparent in his early work; his poems from the 1920's have a more personal color. His melancholy and pessimism, influenced by Oswald Spengler's doomsday prophecies, are movingly expressed in *Dikter från gränsen* (*Poems from the Border*, 1935). Later, he joined the Oxford movement (*Sångerna om samvetet och ödet; Songs of Conscience and Fate*, 1938). More spiritually akin to Lagerkvist is Erik Blomberg (b. 1892), whose pantheistic affinity with the earth, man's only home, developed toward a social sense of community with oppressed humanity (*Jorden, The Earth*, 1920; *Den fångne guden, The Imprisoned God*, 1927). Blomberg also busied himself translating English, French, and German poetry. Karin Boye\* is another representative of idealism without a religious foundation.

After World War I, conditions for writers in Sweden have improved in many respects. Interest in literature is steadily growing; the adult education movement is better organized and receives more support. The number of public libraries is increasing—in 1940 there were 1,400 libraries and 4,000 study circles supported by the government. Literary interest is strong among the working class. Novels dealing with this group win great interest, and most of the new authors are young workers with no college or even high school education; several of them, however, have spent

some time abroad and have received deep impressions of foreign literature. Most of these "proletarian poets" possess, by experience or study, a good knowledge in various fields, but stand apart from the old Swedish cultural tradition. Psychoanalysis is their favorite science; it serves as an arsenal in their opposition against old forms and conventional ideas. Especially is this true of a group, "the five young ones," who about 1930 prophesied a new and better era, the age of a generation free from complexes. The discussion of social, religious, and cultural problems was very intense during the first years of the decade, but it was later overshadowed by the threatening war. During the pressure of the world conflict, the various groups have been united as guardians of patriotic ideals, of freedom and humanity. Perhaps the most interesting contributions are some more or less autobiographical novels of young proletarian authors. Intensity and originality are dominant traits in these documentary works, whose protagonists are often pictured as victims of their background. Some of the writers from the working class have also made valuable contributions in poetry.

One of the most colorful authors was Agnes von Krusenstjerna.\* With her intensity, as well as her interest in the psychology of the abnormal, she recalls Hjalmar Bergman; but she often used living models which she pictured in a very subjective way. Her too great interest in the erotic makes her descriptions of life one-sided and incomplete. A more intellectual and broadminded psychologist is Eyvind Johnson (b. 1900). His earlier novels are conspicuous for their labyrinthine, complicated psychology. A considerable simplification marks his later works, especially his autobiographical novels about Olof (4 v., 1934-7), in which a proletarian boy's adolescent dreams and fancies are set forth with eminent effect against the background of a working-man's hard life. As a study of the psychology of

youth, these are unsurpassed in Swedish literature. During the War, Johnson, in his novels (*Soldatens återkomst*, *The Return of the Soldier*, 1940; and then the series *Krilon*) pictured feelings and thoughts in neutral Sweden; he himself has taken a strong stand against egoism and power-worship. Rudolf Värnlund\* has painted convincing pictures of life among Sweden's working class, and Josef Kjellgren (b. 1907) is especially interested in the common laborer as a member of the group (*Människor kring en bro*, *People Around a Bridge*).

Among the authors who depict life in the Swedish countryside, Vilhelm Moberg (b. 1898) holds first rank. He is a self-educated man, who worked as a small-town newspaperman for several years before he published his great novel, *Raskens* (1927). Since then, he has made a name for himself by his honest, reliable, and naturalistic portrayal of the peasantry, in both dramatic and novel form. In a series of novels about *Knut Toring* (*Memory of Youth*, 1937) he has used autobiographical material. His greatest success, however, was *Rid i natt* (*Ride Tonight*, 1941), in which, in the form of an historical novel, he discusses the Swedish people's reaction against tyranny and dictatorship. Moberg often touches upon the ideas of the times, but his novels of life in the countryside have no social tendency.

Another of the young self-educated authors, Ivar Lo-Johansson (b. 1901) has pictured the Swedish countryside in a way that makes his novels social documents. He had published, not without success, a couple of travelogues when in *God natt jord* (*Good Night, Earth*, 1933) he added to Swedish literature the Swedish farm laborer's epic, written with passion and strength, a realistic description of a proletarian background and, at the same time, a masterly study of the psychology of adolescence. Lo-Johansson's writings have greatly contributed to the improvement of working conditions of the Swedish farm la-

borer. Moa Martinsson (b. Helge Svarts, 1890) has also taken themes from the proletarian countryside, of which she has had personal experience (e.g., *Mor gifter sig*, *Mother Gets Married*, 1936). Jan Fridegård (b. 1897) also belongs to this group.

The group of authors who called themselves "the five young ones" began as modernistic poets, but seem, in spite of their program, to be more at home with the idyl than with the attributes of the machine age. This is especially true of Harry Martinson (b. 1904), the one-time sailor who in *Resor utan mål* (*Voyages Without a Destination*, 1932) and *Kap Farväl* (1933, trans. *Cape Farewell*, 1934) has sketched life at sea and in the harbors in modernistic prose unsurpassed in Swedish literature. Those that expected him to assume literary leadership were, however, disappointed. For years, Martinson was silent, devoting his time to the studying of nature itself, flowers and butterflies; but in 1945 he published a collection of poems, *Passad* (*Trade Wind*) which once again shows him to be one of the most gifted authors of his generation. Gustav Sandgren (b. 1904) began as a modernistic poet, but has later gained a reputation with his sketches in prose. The typical representative of this group is, perhaps, Artur Lundkvist (b. 1906) whose enthusiastic praise of the joy of life—primitive life, without inferiority complexes—is in contrast to the pessimism and inharmonious feelings we have met in poets such as Birger Sjöberg, Bertil Malmberg, and Pär Lagerkvist. But the generation of the 1930's also has its pessimists, as Nils Ferlin (b. 1898), even if he usually hides his bitterness under the mask of a clown. Hjalmar Gullberg (b. 1898) finds absolute meaninglessness in existence, but at the same time he favors Biblical themes. With his deep feelings and intellectual skepticism, his enthusiasm and irony have a richer register than most of the writers of his generation. Johannes Edfelt (b. 1904) and Karl Ragnar Gierow

(b. 1904) have also felt the agony and pessimism of a generation of two World Wars.

Among the authors of the 1930's there are also some who, with their interest in moral problems, follow the group of 1910. Olle Hedberg (b. 1899) has pictured in a series of novels the envy, egoism, and dishonesty of his models among the middle class. Harald Beijer (b. 1896) in several novels has discussed the problem of right and wrong. Two productive writers, Harry Blomberg (b. 1893)

and Sven Stolpe (b. 1905), have found a solution to this problem in joining the Oxford movement.

Giovanni Bach, *Swedish Lit.*, in *The History of Scandinavian Lit.*, ed. F. Blankner (N. Y.), 1938; H. G. Topsoe-Jansen, *Scandinavian Lit. from Brandes to Our Day* (N. Y.), 1929; G. Svenson, *Lit.* (N. Y.), 1942; *Sveriges lit. intill 1900 av Henrik Schück, I-II* (Stockholm & Uppsala), 1935; *Svensk nittonhundratalslit. av Gudmar Hasselberg, 1941; Anthology of Swedish Lyrics, 1750-1925* (New York).

ALBIN WIDEN.

## SWISS

SWITZERLAND has a population of about 4,000,000 people, of whom 2,900,000 speak German, 850,000 French, 242,000 Italian, and 44,000 Romansh. In addition to these four linguistic media, Swiss writers, especially in the German section, also draw voluminously on local dialects. Whatever unifying power the term Swiss may imply, such unity obviously does not issue from a common language, any more than it does from a common race. Contemporary Swiss critics like to point out that a spiritual continuity is threaded through the web and woof of every literary manifestation appearing within the confines of the small republic. It is indeed undeniable that at times, particularly when political storms are brewing or breaking around Switzerland, the centripetal forces of common beliefs and ideals gain momentum, and give the various sections strong cause for thinking and acting together. But, to say nothing of the times when such cohesion weakens, the structural problem of Swiss literature does not bear over-simplification. The very fact that a Swiss author, writing in one of the three major idioms, is using a language that is spoken by other nationals, and, in fact, by far greater numbers outside of Switzerland than inside, seems to draw

German-, French-, and Italian-Swiss literature into the cultural orbits of Germany, France, or Italy, tempting historians to discuss Swiss literature as an adjunct of the greater field, much in the same way as French literary scholars tend to annex the literature of Belgium, and Germans that of Austria. On the other hand, Swiss dialect writing is usually confined to a narrowly-circumscribed region, and claims only cantonal significance.

This survey will follow the accepted practice of treating as Swiss everything that has been written within the present boundaries of Switzerland, even if the territory making the literary contribution did not, at that time, belong to the Confederation. This practice seems justified in consideration of the fact that the Swiss cantons grew together by mutual consent and by a kinship of common interests and social institutions that must by some time have predated the actual fusion.

I. *German-Swiss Literature. Earliest Period.* It was in the Alamannic regions, which were later to join the Swiss Confederation, that the emancipation from Latin began, and was carried further than elsewhere in Germany. A lead in this pioneer work, which preceded an indigenous literature, was given by the monastery of Saint Gall, where, soon after

883, Notker Balbulus collected a book of anecdotes, mainly of the life of Charlemagne. A century later, Notker Labeo translated various profane and sacred texts into the local vernacular. Swiss legal documents were issued in German as early as the 13th c.; the tradition of Latin church plays was here first broken with, resulting in such outstanding creations as the *Easter Play of Muri* (13th c.), and of the *Saint Gall Christmas Play* a hundred years later. The development of a native literary medium gave prose writers an opportunity to write for the common people; Heinrich Wittenweiler's *Ring* marks a decisive step in the transition of literary culture from the feudal knights and the monasteries into the hands of the middle and lower classes, whose interests this work promotes.

*Reformation.* The same strength of the Alamannic character that pushed Latin out of its way asserted itself, though with less desirable results, against the formation and promulgation of a common German language in Switzerland. Political motives—the independence of the state, which was legally sanctioned in 1499—may have made it advisable to strengthen rather than to weaken the linguistic barrier. Luther's Bible, so instrumental in creating and spreading New High German, had very little influence on the Swiss; instead, they preferred to receive the *Scriptures* in their own limited dialect. Zwingli, the Zurich reformer (1484–1531), published in 1529 his *Schweizerbibel*, which to the Germans in the Reich was all but incomprehensible. It was for similar linguistic reasons that such writers as Pamphilus Gengenbach (1480–1525) and Niklaus Manuel (1484–1530), did not gain the general recognition they richly deserved. The latter comes close to representing the renaissance type of *uomo universale*, writer and statesman as he was, imbued with the hope of a new era dawning upon mankind. As a playwright serving the ends of the reformers, and the rights of com-

mon people, he can easily hold his own with his parallel in Germany, Hans Sachs.

*17th and 18th C.* It was fortunate that the German Swiss did not persist in developing Alamannic to a national language of their own, as they would thus have been driven into cultural isolation. Instead, there was a growing linguistic rapprochement between German and German-Swiss literature, in which the Swiss gave as much as they received. Taking advantage of their free relations with the outside world, above all with England, they were in a position to render Germany the great service of ridding her of stifling cultural traditions. In the Swiss-Saxon quarrel, in the mid 18th c., Bodmer and Breitinger of Zurich, by attacking Gottsched's dry neoclassicism, defended and won a place for imagination in poetic creation, while Bodmer's translation of *Paradise Lost* (1732) and his discussion of Shakespeare heralded a new era in German literary life. Better still, a generation later, J. K. Lavater (1741–1801) and J. H. Pestalozzi\* (1746–1827), who had experienced the devastation of Switzerland after 1798 and had helped in the social and moral reconstruction of the country, evolved a politico-ethical philosophy and an educational practice that were to set the pace for humanitarian and democratic institutions, and helped, in Germany, to clarify the ideal of *Humanität*. Questions of esthetic form and creative imagination had thus been answered, inspiration and a practical lead been given to progressive citizens. All that was further needed to produce great literature was the confluence of the two trends, since neither Bodmer's pedestrian epics nor Lavater's evanescent lyricism nor Pestalozzi's didactic novels, popular and beneficial though the latter were, had achieved that harmony of expression and significant content which true art requires.

*19th C.* Between 1840 and 1880 this synthesis of form and content came about—a



crystallization of the dissociated elements which 18th c. Swiss writers had laid bare. That Jeremias Gotthelf's novels and stories enshrine a treasure of wisdom aged in experience, of social intelligence and pedagogical advice, has long been known: appreciation of his mastery of form and language comes not without an effort, but those willing to make it are likely to agree with Gotthelf's first biographer: Shakespeare in the garb of a country parson. No such initiation is needed into the work of Gottfried Keller,\* where the balance of form and content reveals itself with the same naturalness as must have gone into its creation. His educational novel *Der grüne Heinrich* (1879/80) is as representative of Switzerland as *Don Quixote* is of Spain, or *Faust* of Germany, bringing as it does the substance of the Swiss tradition to life, by sifting, heightening, and leavening with imagination the author's own experiences. A third great writer of this period was C. F. Meyer,\* who, though less confident in his philosophy, yet helped to give Switzerland a temporary lead in German literature, chiefly by means of a penetrating psychological insight—another aspect of the realism manifest in Gotthelf and Keller. Only it must be remembered that realism, rather than being a mere technique, issued directly from their philosophy, which insisted that man's ethical aspirations must be sought in this our temporal and material world, and that our nature, in spite of many shortcomings, is capable of serving the best interests of democratic society. An unwillingness to accept a division between mind and matter seems to make the Swiss particularly inept both for the pursuit of art for art's sake, and for the passive surrender to naturalistic determinism. Those Swiss writers that left their mark in modern German literature did so by way of protesting against the denunciation or invalidation of creative forces: Karl Spitteler\* by forcing his talent into an eruption of sheer imagination and

boldness of expression; Albert Steffen (b. 1884) by his never-ending search for practical mysticism; and Jakob Schaffner (1875–1944), wasting great gifts worthy of a better task, by trying to square active socialism with fervent nationalism.

II. *French-Swiss Literature. 18th and 19th Centuries.* Modern French is in no small degree the creation of Jean Calvin (1509–64). With the clarity of his mind, with his legalistic training and preference for sharp definitions, he imparted to French that definiteness which is quite wrongly regarded as its original and unchangeable essence. Through the writings of his Swiss disciples, this language radiated from Geneva into the adjacent cantons; there was here never any question of linguistic seclusion from France. This might well account for the fact that the outstanding literary contribution was made a century earlier than in German Switzerland, through Madame de Staël,\* J. J. Rousseau,\* and Benjamin Constant.\* That French Swiss writers were able to think and work in their own distinctively Swiss tradition testifies to the strong moulding influence of their social and political heritage. With good reason critics have emphasized a far-reaching independence of the *littérature romande*, in which they include all literature emanating from Geneva, even before her union with Switzerland in 1813, as well as the work of those authors who, like Madame de Staël and Benjamin Constant, were born in France, but took up residence in French-speaking Switzerland. Moral solitude, in contrast with the eagerness for social contact prevailing in France, and also a stern republicanism and an open-minded internationalism of the kind Madame de Staël showed in her book *De l'Allemagne*, are taken to be the outstanding ingredients of the *littérature romande*. Succeeding writers present an even better case for the treatment of French-Swiss literature as a separate entity. Rodolphe Toepffer

(1799-1847) has amused generations of youngsters and adults alike with his whimsical novel *La Bibliothèque (Library) de Mon Oncle*, and with his complementary talents as an author and artist, yet the basic stratum underlying his flânerie, humor and sarcasm, is that of a stern moralist. The *Journal Intime* of A. F. Amiel (1821-81) is still awaiting a more general interest in its stores of fruitful thinking. To classify Amiel as a late successor to the French 18th c. moralists is to miss the much wider range of perceptions and the serious quest for a modern ethical code that he pursued.

20th Century. A large number of novelists, such as Edouard Rod (1857-1910), Robert de Traz (b. 1884), Jacques Chenevière (b. 1886), and of lyricists—Edouard Tavan (1842-1919), Henry Spiess (b. 1876)—are evidence of vigorous literary activities in French Switzerland. The impression of a leveling process and a readier adaptation to the standards of France is only an optical illusion, created by the singularly bold localism of C. F. Ramuz,\* in comparison with whom other French-Swiss writers look tamely international. Ramuz has carried the features of regionalism to extremes that begin to touch on classicism, stripping, as he does, his peasant characters of all accidental superficialities in the same way as Racine and Corneille reduced the characters of their plays to essences.

III. *Italian-Swiss Literature*. So far only one Italian-Swiss has secured for himself a place in Italian literature: Francesco Chiesa. This is not to say that the Italian-Swiss are not pulling their cultural weight, but considering the smallness of this linguistic group, and remembering its great achievements in other fields, notably in architecture, one can hardly expect more. Even at that, the number of authors providing their countrymen with good homespun reading material has increased steadily in recent decades. A most promising phenomenon is the combination of poetic

talent with a keen critical faculty in two contemporary authors: Giuseppe Zoppi and Arminio Janner.

IV. *Romansh Literature*. Romansh, an offshoot of Latin with Celtic, Italian, German infiltrations, is spoken in some valleys of the Grisons, by a racial minority of Illyrian origin which had the good fortune of being able to maintain its cultural and in a measure also its political independence throughout the Middle Ages. Its incorporation, in 1803, in the Swiss republic was a final guarantee of the continued protection of its characteristics; the promotion of Romansh to the status of fourth national language of Switzerland, a few years ago, came both in recognition of past achievements and as an encouragement to further efforts. Whether Romansh will ever make a contribution to world civilization remains to be seen. The social basis may be found to be too narrow to sustain literary activities on a creative level of universal significance, for the group, small enough in itself, is split into two linguistic halves of which the one, living in the Engadine, speaks *Ladin* while the other, on the Upper Rhine, speaks *Surselvan*. The latter is often referred to as Romansh, the term now also used to cover both these dialects. But if no great masterpiece has come forth from these minorities, they have made both good and constant use of the written and spoken word to promote their intellectual and spiritual interests. Indeed, it is doubtful whether they would, without their literature, have succeeded in saving their freedom and in keeping abreast of developments abroad. Ever since, in 1527, Gian Travers wrote *La Chanzun da la guerra daig Chastè d'Müs*, a *chanson de geste* dealing with the war at the castle of Müs, historical ballads and epics have kept a faithful record of the people's political life, and have encouraged their zest for independence. The Protestant reform movement owed, here as elsewhere, much of its success to the translation of sacred litera-

ture into the vernacular; Giachen Bivrun produced a *New Testament* translation into *Ladin* in 1560, Duri Champell rendered the *Psalms of David* in the same idiom. During the 17th and 18th c. a number of didactic and satirical works kept the country informed of trends in the world at large. In addition to these scholarly types of literature—both the results of political and pedagogical exigencies—there was a vein of purely poetic creation, mostly songs that served the needs of herds-men, farmers, and hunters. It was only in more recent times that creative energies became free for works of considerable imaginative and emotional value. Flugi d'Aspermunt (1787–1874), Zaccaria Pallioppi (1829–79), and the romanticist Gian Fadri Caderas (1830–91) covered and expressed a wide range of lyrical experience. Giachen Caspar Muoth (1846–1906), if once his work should become available in translation, will rank high as an interpreter and narrator of life in the *Surselvan* districts. Peider Lansel (b. 1863) is today recognized as the most outstanding lyricist and novelist; moreover, as a translator, critic, and editor he continues a long tradition in Romansh philology whose activities, mainly under the auspices of the *Societad Retoromantscha*, have as their goal the scholarly investigation and further protection of Romansh languages and literatures. Yearbooks, grammars, dictionaries, and a monumental chrestomathy are evidence of what even a small group of people can achieve if they enjoy freedom of expression.

V. *Dialect Literature*. While few French- or Italian-Swiss writers now choose to write in the patois, dialect literature in German Switzerland flourishes more than ever. To be a dialect author is here by no means regarded as a tacit admission of limited talents. For many, *Schwyzertütsch* (Swiss-German) still constitutes the national language, beside which High German remains an unwillingly-made concession to international commerce.

What these language-patriots forget is the fact that Alamannic Swiss-German, due to the honeycombed character of the country, has long been broken up into more than a dozen dialects, which in some cases differ from one another to the point of making mutual understanding well nigh impossible. It is all the more surprising to see how vigorously these small linguistic groups are supporting those that write for them exclusively. Official encouragement of dialect literature as a means of shutting out undesirable influences from abroad may have something to do with it, but the main reason stems from the federalistic structure of Switzerland, and from the belief that the local traditions are worth preserving, as a cornerstone of individual freedom. At its best, dialect literature captures all the intimacy of life in small communities, the unsophisticated emotions of people, and their satirical sorties against every kind of false pretense. For abstract thought, the vocabulary is but scant. Songs, stories for young and old, idyls, and comedies make up the genres that come natural to this kind of literature. Its history is contained in a long list of names and dates committed to the memory of scholars, but hardly of interest to the reading public, which trusts that every year will bring a new crop of cordially entertaining dialect books. Favorite masters of the near past were the novelist Rudolf von Tavel (1866–1934), and the lyrical poet Meinrad Lienert (1865–1933), whose places have now been taken by a score of younger authors. To say nothing of cases where High German is interspersed with dialect expressions, even the purists among German-Swiss writers admit that they owe much to their native vernacular, if indeed a certain raciness and naturalness in which they have long distinguished themselves are not mainly due to the fact that every German-Swiss learns and uses as his mother-tongue an earth-grounded dialect.

Swiss narrative writings, especially dialect

stories, abound with reference to customs that belong to the rich and well-preserved folklore tradition of the country. If many of these have been reinforced to attract native and foreign tourists—the Montreux narcissus festival, the Basle mardi gras with its prolific display of fifes and drums, the bonfire cremation of Old Man Winter in Zurich—other customs continue to function quietly in their time-honored way, to enhance the significance of changing seasons, to unite smaller or larger groups in communal celebrations, or to relate man's isolated existence to society by making such stages in his life as baptism, confirmation, the coming of age, the building of a house, betrothals, and funerals, the occasion where a specific set of folkloristic rites is observed. Folklore also manifests creative literary activity in the form of fairy tales, legends, and songs, to say nothing of the smaller genres, anecdotes, riddles, proverbs. For the typical, highly imaginative fairy tale the Swiss soil has proved to be rather barren, whereas legends, i.e. stories that point to some remote historical occurrence, can be and have been gathered from every corner of the country, evidence of its long saturation with history. A representative collection of specifically Swiss folksongs as they can be heard in German Switzerland is now available in the 6 volumes *Im Röseligarte* edited by Otto von Greyerz, who was himself a dialect writer of considerable merit.

VI. *General Characteristics.* As in the case of other countries, the historical development of Switzerland, her physical nature and certain social conditions ensuing from it have created a number of leitmotifs that run like the proverbial red thread through Swiss literature. Ever since the *Urner Tellsenspiel* (1511), the legendary figure of William Tell has been re-interpreted by Swiss authors; not even Schiller's classic treatment of the subject (1804) was able to take the wind permanently out of their sails. Less dramatic, but

of equal significance, was Niklaus von der Flüh, who, with his wise counsel, in 1481 saved the young confederation from being plunged into civil strife. Performances of *Brother Klaus Plays* are recorded as early as 1586; for Catholic writers especially, he remains the most venerable symbol of Swiss life, though no towering masterpiece has as yet appeared to do him justice.

To the outside world the mountain ranges represent the most conspicuous feature of Swiss geography. As a phenomenon of majestic grandeur, and as the abode of simple people, toward whom city dwellers feel a nostalgic longing, they made their literary début through Albrecht von Haller's epic poem *Die Alpen* (1728). The *Alpenromane* of the 19th and 20th c. have, not always without an overdose of sentiment, reiterated the panegyric of the soul-lifting power of Alpine scenery, though J. C. Heer (1859-1925), Heinrich Federer (1866-1928), Johannes Jegerlehner (1871-1944), Ernst Zahn (b. 1867), and others have begun, with a more realistic outlook, to study the impact of modern life on the quietude of the mountains.

Contrary to common belief, the Swiss are not a nation of hotel-keepers. Industries and trades occupy the largest, farming the second largest, group of her inhabitants. These economic conditions reflect themselves in an obvious preference for the literary treatment of middle-class and rural life. G. Keller's *Leute von Seldwyla* (1856-74) have long become a synonym for small town mentality, although later writers: A. Frey (1855-1920), J. Bossart (1862-1924), Felix Moeschlin (b. 1882), Robert Faesi (b. 1883), Meinrad Inglin (b. 1893), have dealt more kindly and more justly with the same subject. *Dorfgeschichte* and *Dorfroman*—novels and stories about farm life—look back upon an unbroken tradition of more than two hundred years, strong testimony to the attachment of even the intel-

lectuals to the soil. While an epic talent like that of Gotthelf cannot be expected to reappear every half century, he has found competent successors in W. Siegfried, Maria Waser, Simon Gfeller, Alfred Huggenberger, C. F. Ramuz, Maurice Zermatten, Giuseppe Zoppi.

Swiss authors show a clear predilection for narrative forms that leave ample room for minute descriptions and didactic side-paths. "*Helvetia non cantat*—Switzerland does not sing—" The saying is repudiated by a very popular cultivation of choir singing, and by many fine lyrical creations; but lyrics of a kind that loosens contact with social realities, and tends to draw both the author and his reader into the vortex of mysticism, do not thrive among the practical Swiss. That Switzerland does not readily respond to drama, we have on the authority of G. Keller; but here, again, the fact that the nation has made no lasting contribution to European drama must be squared with the prevalence of an old and widespread delight in amateur performances and in regularly recurring dramatic festivals.

To understand the basic impulse of Swiss literature, or, for that matter, of Swiss cultural life in general, one must keep in mind that the nation, lacking the cohesion of a single language, exists by an act of will-power, and stays united by adhering to a form of community life that is democratic in character and social in essence. When, early in the 16th c., the Swiss decided to steer clear of further international entanglements, in order to prevent internal conflicts from endangering the precarious national unity they obeyed a political instinct that was to develop into a commonly accepted ideal of lasting peace and of as much individual freedom as is compatible with the welfare of all citizens. Religious and intellectual currents were made subservient to his goal: Christianity became, especially after the reform movements, a sort of Christian humanism that underlined the

social value of the message revealed in the gospels; the development of science was controlled by a strong insistence on its applicability to socially useful purposes; art and literature were similarly expected to serve the national tradition by propagating it and adapting it to changing conditions. Hence the didactic trend of Swiss literature, and the fact that so many authors—von Haller, Bodmer, Lavater, Pestalozzi, Gotthelf, Toepffer, Amiel, Spitteler, Federer, Chiesa, and more—have been professional teachers or preachers, a combination prompted less by economic reasons than by a deep-rooted feeling that literary imagination ought to draw from life, and must be justified by the practical enactment of its findings.

The seemingly irresistible intrusion into Swiss belles-lettres of didactic elements is often cited as further proof of the belief, among many Swiss critics, that the natural outlet for the intellectual energies of the country is to be found not in imaginative literature but in historiography, in accordance with what they consider to be the true mission of Switzerland: to mediate among the multitude of European civilizations. The Swiss have indeed made laudable efforts to earn the title *Helvetia Mediatrix* with such works as Beat von Mural's *Lettres sur les Anglais et les Français* (1725), Madame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* (1810), Jakob Burckhardt's *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860), books in which the character of neighboring countries and their specific contributions to culture are brought to the attention of all Europe, with the implicit plea for tolerance and general recognition of international achievements.

The tradition of Christian humanism gives to Swiss life and literature a spiritual unity that is as strong as any natural bond of language or race. Lavater's belief in the timeless presence of apostolic powers, Pestalozzi's conviction that every man is capable of human-

izing his nature, Rousseau's passionate pleading with us to see in Christ the most amiable personality, Keller's bold dictum that the realization of our finite nature must and will evoke our best ethical endeavors, Ramuz' identification of integral humanism with socialism: these serve to illustrate how Swiss literature helps to keep the national tradition alive and capable of coping with conditions of modern life. The often quoted cliché that Swiss literature exhales an indomitable delight in reality is open to misunderstanding, but it points to an essential truth if we re-

member how this delight has its root in the belief that the world in which we exist can and must be moulded to satisfy our highest aspirations for justice and social welfare.

Denis de Rougemont, Ch. Muret, *The Heart of Europe* (1941); Ch. Clerc, J. Moser, P. Bianconi, E. Piguet, *Panorama des littératures contemporaines de Suisse* (1933); E. Ermatinger, *Dichtung und Geistesleben der deutschen Schweiz* (1933); P. Kohler, *La littérature d'aujourd'hui dans la Suisse romande* (1923); Scrittori della Svizzera Italiana (1936); P. Maurus Carnot, *Im Lande der Rätoromanen* (1934); O. von Greyerz, *Die Mundartdichtung der deutschen Schweiz* (1924).

H. BOESCHENSTEIN.

SYRIAC—See Aramaic.

SYRIAN—See Arabic; Canaanite.

TAINO: See South American Indian.

TAMIL—See Indian.

TANGA—See African.

TANGANEKALD—See Australian Aborigine.

TARTAR—See Chinese.

TASMANIAN—See Australian Aborigine.

TAULIPANG—See South American Indian.

TELUGU—See Indian.

TEMBÉ—See South American Indian.

TEN'A—See North American Native.

TEPANECA—See Mexican.

TEPIC—See Mexican.

TEXCOCA—See Mexican.

THAI—See Siamese.

TIERRA DEL FUEGO—See South American Indian.

TLAXCALAN—See Mexican.

TOBA-PILAGA—See South American Indian.

THONGA—See African.

TOGOLAND—See African.

TOLTEC—See Mexican.

TONGA—See Polynesian.

TOPA—See Chinese.

TOSK—See Albanian.

TRANSYLVANIAN—See Hungarian; Romanian.

TRINIDAD—See African.

TSIMSHIAN—See North American Native.

TSISHAATH—See North American Native.

TÜBATULABAL—See North American Native.

TUNISIAN—See Arabic.

TUPI—See South American Indian.

TUPI-GUARANÍ—See South American Indian.

TUPINAMBA—See South American Indian.

TURKÍ—See Persian.

TURKIC—See Chinese.

## TURKISH

THE TURKISH language is generally considered to belong to the broad general classification of Ural-Altaic languages, the Uralic section of these languages including Samoyadic and Finno-Ugrian; the Altaic part comprising Turkish, Mongolian and Tungusic. The Turks themselves are generally identified by European scholars—including the modern Turkish historians—with the nomadic Hsiung-nu (Hiung-nu) peoples with whom the Chinese as early as 1400 B.C. had relations. The word Turk (or Türk as written in modern Turkish) goes back to the 5th c. A.D. when Chinese records refer to iron-working T'uk-Kueh or Türkö tribe of the Hsiung-nu. Ever since that period, Turks of various tribes and dialects have been found widely scattered throughout Asia from the Balkan peninsula through Central Asia almost to the Pacific Ocean, and several of the Turkish peoples have produced literary remains that are of interest.

*Eastern Turkish Literature.* The earliest known examples of Turkish literature are certain inscriptions found in Central Asia, one of them a memorial stone set up by the Chinese emperor in 732 A.D. to perpetuate the memory of the Turkish prince Köl (or Kul) Tegin, brother of the then reigning Turkish ruler, Khan Bilga. The stone, first discovered in 1890, had a Chinese inscription on one side, while the other three sides were taken up with a much longer inscription in the Uyghur (Uighur) language and alphabet. These writings, called the "Orkhon inscriptions," from the name of the river on the banks of which they were discovered, together with a similar inscription discovered over a century earlier in the valley of the Yenisei, were finally deciphered by Vilhelm Thomsen and V. V. Radloff in the 1890's. The Yenisei inscriptions proved to be, in the main, tomb-

stone inscriptions. The Orkhon inscriptions told in some detail and in the rather boastful language of antiquity about the exploits of the Turkish rulers who were being commemorated.

One of the great landmarks in the record of Turkish literature in Central Asia is Mahmud Kashgari's dictionary, *Divan Lugati-t-Türk* (*Omnibook of the Turkish language*), written in 1073 A.D. This book (printed in Turkey 1914-16 in 3 v. and in Turkish translation ca. 1942) gives not only Turkish words of that period with definitions in Arabic, but, more important, illustrates many of these words with samples of the current and past literature of that area.

The literary language of this period is that of the Uyghur Turks, and the outstanding classic example is the *Kudatku Bilik* (*The Science of the Governor*) by Yusuf Has Hajib (Khash Hajib). This book, written about 1070 A.D., is an allegoric poem of over 6,500 lines, being essentially an ethical and political treatise in which the ruling prince represents "justice," the vezir "good fortune," the vezir's son "intelligence or reason" and the vezir's brother "contentment." The work, which already shows strong Persian influence, is composed of conversations between the four characters, dealing with social and philosophical questions.

Other outstanding examples of Uyghur literature are the *Bahtiyar Name* (*Book of Prince Bahtiyar*), a collection called also *Stories of the Ten Vezirs*, showing ultimate Indian and immediate Persian influence and the *Miraj Name* (*Book of the Ascent*), an account of the miraculous ascension of Muhammad to the seventh heaven.

In the Chagatay dialect the chief works are the *Baber* (or *Babur*) *Name* (*Book of Baber*) and the *Shejerei Türk* (*Genealogy of*

the Turks) of Abul Gazi Behadur Han (Aboul-Ghazi Behadour Khan). The former of these, written by the Mogul conqueror of India and comprising his Memoirs, has been translated by A. S. Beveridge as *The Baburnama* (London, Luzac and Company, 1922, 2 v.). These memoirs constitute a valuable record of the Conquest of India by the first of the so-called Moguls. The *Shejerei Türk* is a detailed account of the history of the Turks in Central Asia, and has had an important influence in spreading among the Turks of today the idea of the glory of the Turkish past.

*Western Turkish Literature.* The term western Turkish is here used instead of the more familiar Osmanli, or Ottoman, literature partly because modern Turkish writers so describe this literature, and also because of the fact that while most of this literature is Ottoman, all the recent writings since the Republic began in 1923 belong definitely to a post-Ottoman period.

1300-1450. This is the period in which the Osmanli (Ottoman) state, under the influence of a strong leader and the proximity of the "infidel" Greek territory, was growing into power. The old Seljuk state, with the capital at Konya, had already broken up into more than fifteen Turkish principalities. The literary traditions of the time were so much Persian that the great book of the late Seljukian period, the *Mesnevi* (*Mathnawi*) of Jelaleddin Rumi, was written entirely in Persian. The less "cultivated" Turks under Osman were already using the Turkish of the common people, and Yunus Emre,\* a writer of hymns characterized by the mystical pantheism of the *Mesnevi*, wrote in the language of the people. Today Yunus Emre is loved as the first great national poet of the developing Turkish state.

Another work of this first period, which was written in a Turkish still intelligible today, is the *Mevlidi Sherif* of Syleyman

Chelebi. This is a hymn in praise of the Prophet Muhammad; it has been popular from that day to this. Even today it is intoned on innumerable occasions, especially at a mosque service 40 days after a death. It has recently been translated by Lyman MacCallum and published in the "Wisdom of the East" series.

In spite, however, of these two influential writers and others like them, the outstanding characteristic of the period was a growing tendency to look to Persian models as the standard in poetry, and to Arabic writers and the Arabic language for the constructive influence in philosophy and religion. The most creative reign of the period was that of Murad II (1421-51). In his summer palace at Manisa he gathered around him poets, philosophers and learned men of many types, and under his guidance many books were translated into Turkish from Arabic and Persian. As a result in large part of this cultural work in the reign of Murad II, Ottoman letters remained under Persian and Arabic influence for 400 years.

1450-1859. Especially following the conquest of Constantinople by Fatih Mehmed (Muhammad the Conqueror) in 1453 the new sense of empire gave added impetus to the foreign influences from Persia and the Arab world, for it was from these quarters that the intellectual leaders of the period considered that civilized thought and cultivated artistic feeling came. The chief literature of the Turks became poetry, and under Persian influence the literary language broke completely away from the spoken form and developed along entirely distinct and purely artificial lines. There were times when poems regarded as masterpieces of Ottoman literature were so largely Persian in thought, form, vocabulary, and grammatical construction that they might have been lifted, complete, out of Persian poems. The classic names in this period are the four poets Fuzuli\* (d. ca.



1562), Baki\* (1526-1600), Nefi\* (d. ca. 1635), and Nedim\* (d. 1730).

Three of the chief literary forms used by these poets are: the "gazel," a short mono-rhythmic poem usually of less than a dozen couplets, in the last of which the author frequently inserts his own name as if putting his signature; the "kaside" (qasida), in which the two hemistichs of the opening verse usually rhyme with one another and both with the final hemistichs of the other lines—generally a long poem having the praise of some great personage as a subject; and the "mesnevi" (mathnawi), a long epic poem in which the two halves of each verse rhyme with each other, the word "mesnevi" literally meaning "consisting of paired rhymes."

The literary tradition of this period came to a climax in one of the greatest of Ottoman poems, the *Beauty and Love* (*Hüsni Ashk*) of Sheyh Galib\* (1757-99), the head of the well-known Mevlevî, or Whirling Dervish *tekke* in Pera. This great poem, well worthy of being translated into English as a contribution of Turkish poetry to the literature of the world, is an allegory of divine love, which first seeks and finally finds human love and understanding. This poem, composed in the "mesnevi" form, was written when the poet was only 21 years old. The chief characters in it are Beauty, a lovely maiden, who represents the Divine Beauty, and Love, her suitor, standing for the human soul with its mystical longings. Beauty first loves Love, but by the intervention of the all-wise Logos or Word, Love comes to love Beauty and then sets out in search of an elixir worthy of being presented as a dower to Beauty. Through trials and tribulations that remind one of *Pilgrim's Progress*, Love is guided by the Word until finally he arrives at the place from which he had started; for Love is Beauty and Beauty is Love. Then Love, at the bidding of the Word, passes within the veil that contains the ineffable Beauty.

While poetry is the chief element in the literature of this period, historical writing also plays a great part. Beginning with the great work *Crown of Histories* (*Tacüttevarih*) by Sadeddin, written in the last part of the 17th c. and narrating Ottoman History down to his own day, there has been a long line of historiographers, for the most part officially appointed by the Sultan, who have recorded the history of the empire year by year. Perhaps the most famous of these historical writers are Naima whose history (*Tarih*), in several volumes, covers only the years 1591-1659, and Jevdet whose *Tarih*, printed first in a 12 volume edition and later in three large tomes, covers in detail only the first twenty six years of the 19th c.

A stylistic characteristic of some of the early prose is the "sej," or rhymed quality, the last words of the several clauses of a sentence rhyming together. Sadeddin's *Tacüttevarih* was written in this style, as the following sentence, descriptive of the capture of Constantinople in 1453 and translated by E. J. Gibb, illustrates: "With such sternness and such firmness did they that defended burgh, which of burghs is the mightiest, affray, that the footsteps of the courage of the burghers went astray, and the wit and understanding of the wardens passed away." The jingling effect of this mode of rhetoric, however tiresome to the western ear, commended itself to Muhammedans of the early period because it is in that style that the Kuran itself, especially the earlier chapters, was written.

1859-1923. Beginning about the middle of the 19th c. a new influence of a revolutionary character began to operate in the gradually decaying Empire. Through the work first of Shinasi Efendi,\* and then of Ziya Pasha and Namik Kemal, French literary influence began to make itself felt, and with French standards of literary taste and form came also new political forces and the ideas of nationalism, patriotism and freedom. The greatest

of these new writers was Namik Kemal\* whose play *Vatan* (*The Fatherland*) when played in the Gedik Pasha theatre in Istanbul was greeted with such applause that the Sultan, for his safety, felt compelled to close the theatre, forbid the play, and exile the author. The development of this whole revolutionary change from artificial oriental and Persian standards to French and European ideals that stress human values and draw themes directly from life is one of the really dramatic stories of the world's literary history.

This last literary period of the Ottoman Empire saw the introduction of the novel, the modern drama, the essay, and other western forms. Namik Kemal taught the people patriotism, and for years his poems were copied by hand, committed to memory, and secretly circulated. Perhaps of equal influence, although in an entirely different way, was Ahmed Midhat who compromised politically and "appeased" the Sultan, and thereby won the chance by his many scores of books to teach the Turkish people to read as they never had done before, and the writers how to write for the common people.

Among the literary schools that followed one another in this era was the famous "New Literature" (*Edibiyati Jedide*) school led by Tevfik Fikret,\* who for some years was the head of the Turkish Department of Robert College. Tevfik Fikret, who was an ardent patriot and an uncompromising idealist, introduced new literary forms but differed from the more modern nationalist poets by his copious use of obscure foreign words, especially from the Persian. His most famous work is a collection of poems published under the title *Rubabi Shikeste* (*The Broken Flute*). Like the English Robert Louis Stevenson, he also published a collection of poems for children, *Shierrmin*.

Another famous writer of this period was Abdul Hak Hamid whose poem *Makber* (*The Tomb*), written in memory of his wife, is con-

sidered by Turks to be one of their greatest classics.

The first great novelist was Halid Ziya whose *Mai ve Siyah* (*Blue and Black*) has gone through several editions. In accordance with a law of 1935, requiring the choosing of a family name, this writer now uses the name of Ushakligil.

Magazines were first published in this period, and privately owned and edited newspapers began their growth and quickly spread over the country. A sociologist named Ziya Gök Alp, influenced by Durkheim, became a leader in educational circles, and by his studies of early Turkish society gave a great impetus to Turkish studies.

It is of special note that it was during this period that the very word "Turk," gradually replacing the word *Osmanli* (Ottoman), became popular and took on new meaning. Previously used as a derogatory name for the nomadic and uncultured, the word "Türk" was first used in a favorable way in Suleyman Pasha's *Tarihi Alem* (*History of the World*), about 1875. In this book, and in the subsequent nationalistic revival, the influence of the French historians De Guignes and Leon Cahun is very evident. Their histories gave impetus to a new and glorified conception of past Turkish history, and were instrumental in furthering what became a Pan-Turanian school of thought.

After 1923. As a logical result of all these intellectual currents, Turkish thought became prepared for the last period not only of literature but of national life, the period of the Turkish Republic from 1923 to the present day. Two things especially have characterized the intellectual history of Turkey in these years: a revival of interest in the Turkish race, and a greatly awakened interest in the classic literature of the world. Largely under the leadership of the first President, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the Turks examined their early pre-Islamic history, and developed his-

torical and language theories that claimed a Turkish origin for the early languages and civilizations of the world. Not only did the University of Istanbul open a Turcological Institute (Türkiyat Enstitüsü) which, under the leadership of Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, has brought out several series of studies in early Turkish civilization, but a great interest was stirred also in folklore. For years a monthly magazine *Halk Bilgisi* (Folk Lore) has been published, first by the Folk Lore Society and in recent years by the Halk Evi (Folk Home) of Istanbul; and a flood of other studies have been published, making available for the intellectuals of the country the songs and unwritten stories of the village and nomadic peoples of Anatolia.

Thus far, the literary development of the Republic seems to be in a transition direction, two great tap roots being put down into the soil. One root is drawing sustenance from the language and unwritten literary traditions of the common people. The other root is down deep in the great books of the world's literature. The period resembles that of the reign of Murad II. Then, scholars were at work on translations from the Arabic and Persian, which helped to release intellectual forces that dominated Ottoman history for 400 years. Today, the innumerable translations from Greek and Latin and from modern Russian, French, German, and English, as well as the folklore investigations, are feeding the minds of the oncoming generation of writers with the ideas that are likely to prevail in the next great flowering of literature.

During this transition period every form of Western literature flourishes, the novel, essay, drama, poetry in every form, ultra-modern as well as classical, travel books and more. The novel perhaps predominates, and is used both to reflect life and to propagate ideas. A good example of the modern Turkish novel is the English version of Halide Edib's *The Clown and his Daughter* (London, 1935).

*The Literature of the Common People.*  
1. *Masals, or Epic Folk Tales.* Reference has already been made to the new interest in the science of folklore. Parallel with the development of a classic literature accepted in good standing among intellectuals there has perhaps always been a literature, at first handed on from word of mouth, in the last century lithographed and for a half century printed, that reflects the literary traditions of the common people. Prominent in this literature are the "masals," or tales. These are of two chief kinds, one heroic, depicting especially the brave deeds of Ali, son-in-law of the Prophet, or of the frontier warrior Seyid Gazi Battal; the other, of the minstrel-poet type, of which the story *Kör Oğlu* (Son of the Blind Man) occurs throughout the Turkish-speaking world in slightly varying forms (one of which is translated from the Azerbaijan Turkish dialect in Alexander Chodzko's *Specimens of the Popular Poetry of Persia*, London, 1842). *Kör Oğlu* concerns a man whose eyes were gouged out by his master because he selected as the best horse in his master's stable an animal that was thin and ugly. The son of this blind man then proves by song, stories, and adventure the wisdom of his father's choice. Although intellectuals, other than those interested in folklore, may scorn these "masals," nearly all have read them in their youth, and even in recent years these books, now printed in the modern Turkish letters, sell ten or twenty times as many as do even the most popular novels in the modern European sense, for the common people still love them. A famous collection of stories within stories, somewhat after the fashion of the Arabic *Thousand and One Nights*, is the collection of stories translated by E. J. W. Gibb, *The History of the Forty Vezirs or The Story of the Forty Morns and Eves* (London, 1886). These stories were popular for several hundred years, but have passed into complete oblivion in Turkey during the last fifty years.

2. *Wit and Humor*. In their love of a good joke Turks resemble Americans. The characteristic of their humor, however, is not boisterous exaggeration so much as subtle wit. One illustration of this is the story of how a woman outwitted two men, in Adler and Ramsay's *Told in the Coffee House* (N. Y. and London, 1898). In this story (found also in Allan Ramsay and Francis McCullough's *Tales from Turkey*, London, 1916?), a scribe attracts customers by the use of a sign: "The wisdom of man is greater than the wisdom of woman." By drawing the man to her house in order to write a letter and by a clever trick on her husband, this woman first endangers the life of the scribe and then saves him, sending him back to the bazaar with the injunction "Take down your sign and write instead: 'The wit of woman is twofold that of man,' for I am a woman and in one day I have fooled two men."

The great figure in Turkish literature in this field of wit and humor is Nasreddin Hoja, the sometimes stupid, but often witty and clever, village religious teacher. Originally a historical figure, innumerable stories have been attributed to him until he has assumed mythological stature. Newspaper editorials and public speeches still emphasize their point by a well aimed story from this famous character. One famous story is of Nasreddin Hoja's successful attempt to escape the necessity of preaching the weekly sermon. The first week he asked if his subject was known to his audience. On their saying, "No," he left the mosque with the remark "Of what use to you or me is an unknown subject." The second week, when the people replied that they knew, the Hoja again left, saying that in that case there was no need of wasting his time on them. And when, on the third week, the people attempted to catch him by having some say they knew and some they didn't, the Hoja again left, saying: "Let those that know tell those that don't know."

Although in other forms of literature the Turks were often borrowers, in wit and humor they seem to have been originators, as is evidenced by the fact that Persian and near-by Arabs have borrowed Nasreddin Hoja for their own uses. A rather complete translation is to be found in H. D. Barnham's *Tales of Nasr-ed-Din Khoja* (London, 1923), and a selected collection which rather remarkably succeeds in capturing the spirit of Nasreddin Hoja in Alice G. Kelsey's *Once the Hodja* (N. Y. and Toronto, 1943).

3. *The Theatre*. Today there is in Turkey a genuine interest in the drama, as evidenced by a Conservatory in Ankara, a Municipal Theatre in Istanbul and by dramatic activities in both the public schools and in the Halk Evi (Folk Homes); but this interest is largely in plays of the modern European type. The plays of Molière and several of those of Shakespeare were translated into Turkish in the last century, and today a veritable flood of translations puts the plays of nearly all nations at the disposal of the Turkish reader. Productions are also increasing.

This development, perhaps necessarily, but also unfortunately, involves a neglect of the older and more purely Turkish forms of the theatre. This old and traditional theatre was of three kinds: the "Meddah" or coffee-house storyteller, with his towel over his left shoulder, who with his skilled mimicry imitated all types of common folk to the intense delight and amusement of his listeners; the "orta oyunu" or play of the middle space, in which several actors enacted scenes in a small open space surrounded by tiers of observers, and the "Kara Göz," or shadow play, which was perhaps the most popular of all. These various types of plays were formerly presented for the amusement of the people during the evenings of relaxation in the month of Ramazan, when all good Moslems fasted from every taste of food or drink from sunrise to sunset; but in recent years they have so passed from the

scene that it is difficult today to observe even a single example of one of them. The Karagöz, with the little figures made of colored camel's hide, and manipulated behind a screen on which their shadows are thrown, is the easiest to put on, and consequently is occasionally reproduced in modern application in schools or at social gatherings. The plays consist largely of dialogues, delivered with much spirited mimicry and sometimes with music, between Karagöz, who may appear as boatman, street scribe, school teacher, or any other well-known type, and his friend Hajivat. Karagöz often appears naïve, simple and crude, and to the delight, especially of the children in the audience, is often beaten for this; yet in the end he escapes from every danger and makes a fool of everybody else.

M. A. Czaplicka, *The Turks of Central Asia*, Clarendon (Oxford), 1918; Elias John Wilkinson Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, 6 v., Luzac (London), 1900-1909; Arthur Lumley Davids, *A Grammar of the Turkish Language*, with preliminary discussion on the language and literature of the Turkish nations, a copious-vocabulary, dialogues, a collection of extracts in prose and verse (London),

1832; *Grammaire Turke, traduite de l'Anglais par Mme Sarah Davids* (Londres), 1836; Giovanni Battista Toderini, *Letteratura turchesca*, 3 v. (Venezia), 1787; *De la Litterature des Turcs*, 3 v., Poinco: (Paris), 1789; Epiphanius Wilson, ed., *Turkish Literature*, in the *World's Great Classics series*, Colonial Press (N. Y.), 1901; *Türkische Bibliothek*, 26 v., ed. G. Jacob, Mayer and Müller (Berlin), 1904-1929; Nicholas N. Martinovitch, *The Turkish Theatre*, New York, Theatre Arts (N. Y.), 1933; Allan Ramsay and Francis McCulloch, *Tales from Turkey* (London), 1914 (The best part of this book is the collection of stories originally printed in Allan Ramsay and Cyrus Adler's *Told in the Coffee House*, Macmillan (N. Y. and London), 1898); Nasreddin Hoja (the famous Turkish wit, to whom most witty jokes came to be attributed), trans. Henry D. Barnham, *Tales of Nasr-ed-Din Khoja* (London), 1923; and Alice Geer Kelsey, *Once the Hodja* (N. Y. and Toronto), 1943; Lyman MacCallum, *The Mevlidi Sherif, Wisdom of the East series*, John Murray (London), 1943 (This is the famous hymn in praise of the Prophet, by Suleyman Chelebi, written ca. 1400 and popular ever since. Perhaps next to the Kuran this is regarded as the great religious classic. MacCallum's translation is accompanied by the musical notes); Press Bureau, *Anthologie des Écrivains Turcs D'Aujourd'hui* (Istanbul), 1937; D. Patmore, ed. *The Star and the Crescent* (London), 1946. See Arabic.

JOHN KINGSLEY BIRGE.

TUSCAN—See Italian.

## TYURKIC

TYURKIC PEOPLES (or the Tyurks, as they are called in Russian to distinguish them from the Osmanli or Ottoman Turks) inhabit a large expanse of country mainly included in the Soviet republics of Azerbaidzhan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, etc., extending into Chinese Turkestan. They represent the remains of an old population which in various periods attained considerable power and at other times were under the domination of the Persians, the Mongols, and the Turks. They are all Mohammedan in religion. Included in their territory are many of those cities, Samarkand,

Bokhara, Baku, that have fascinated the western world for centuries.

Their folk literature consists of tales of various heroes, lyrics, and many varied folk motifs, which have been studied and worked over at various times.

Written literature was largely on the Persian models; we find such works as the *Divan* of Kazu-Burkhaneddin of the 14th c. and the works of Tasan-Orlu. During the rule of the Sefevid dynasty in the 15th and 16th c. the country was prosperous and there was an extensive development of mystical lyrics, and

of poetry dealing with love and asceticism of a type that we find in Persian Islam. There is also the verse novel of Leydi-be-Medzhnun of Fuzuli. Among the poets Khaman-Nesimi takes a prominent place.

With the conquest by Russia during the 19th c. we begin to find the influence of the Russian and Western schools of thought. On the one hand Zakir and Nebati speak for the old ideals of the discontented feudal aristocracy, while the more liberal nobility under the lead of Bakikhanov (note the Russianized name) work under more distinctively Russian slogans. The Mirza Famali Akhundov in Azerbaidzhan wrote the first novel on the life of the bourgeoisie; it is striking that he took a prominent part in the attempt of the people of that area to secure independence after the Russian revolution of 1918. N. Narimanov represented still more radical and anti-religious movements.

After the revolution of 1905, the movement

of Fiyuzat developed works of bourgeois romanticism; to this group belong Ala-bek, Guseyn-zade, and Khadi Dzhavid. The more radical group, taking the name of Molla-Nasreddin, a lovable vagabond who in tradition lived by his wits but always defended the poor, produced a more radical literature. To this group belonged Sabir, Gamkyudir, Alu-Nezmi. Nedzhef bek Vezirov did distinguished work in acclimating the drama of Ostrovsky in the country. There was a general stir of literary production.

With the accession to power of the Bolsheviks, the Soviets attempted to develop the country and to spread their ideas and methods of writing. In 1923 they abolished the Arabic alphabet, introducing the Latin. In a way this brought the people along the same path that Turkey had taken; they are still divided between a Soviet and a Pan-Turkish orientation.

CLARENCE A. MANNING.

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UBANGI—See African.

UGARITIC—See Canaanite.

UGANDA—See African.

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## UKRAINIAN

THE UKRAINIAN problem is one of the most involved of all involving the Slavonic nations. Since the fall of Kiev beneath the attack of Prince Andrey Bogolyubsky in 1169, the Ukrainian lands, which formed the bulk of the Grand Principality of Kiev and extended from the Don to the Carpathian Mountains, have never been organized under a single independent government. In various ways the lands have been divided between Russia and Poland and have been subjected to influences that have swung the population, especially the aristocracy, into one or the other of the contesting camps; and even today there are

counter currents that have seriously hampered the development of a free Ukraine.

In the oldest period, the literature of Kiev was the source of the present literature of both Russia and Ukraine, which was then called *Rus'*; and this name, the basis for such terms as *Rusin* and *Ruthene*, has been retained by the forces inimical to Ukrainian development. Yet gradually the people themselves came to adopt the term Ukraine, which probably means the "Border Land," i.e., the land fought over and claimed by Moscow, Poland, and the Tatars.

Before the separation of Russian and

Ukrainian culture, or the culture of the north and south, the same Byzantine tendencies existed in both areas. Church Slavonic in its eastern form was generally used and, even for a time after separation, the old *Chronicles* were continued. Thus the *Galician-Volynian Chronicle* continued in the same style as before, to the end of the 13th c.

By this time much of the Kiev territory, ravaged by Tatar and Mongol invasions, had entered into the Lithuanian state, to which it gave the language and the literary style as well as the Orthodox religion. This situation changed sharply after the marriage of Prince Jagiello and Queen Jadwiga of Poland in 1386. Jagiello, previously pagan, accepted the Roman Catholic faith, and now began a steady encroachment of Polish culture with its Western relations upon the culture of Rus'. This was the more easy because with the fall of Constantinople to the Turks, the Church of Kiev, which had still remained subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople, was deprived of the steady influx of new men and of new ideas that had been characteristic of the great Kievan period.

The next centuries offer a gloomy history. Strenuous attempts were made by the Brotherhoods of the various cities, as Lviv, and by some of the nobles, as Prince Konstantin Ostrozsky (d. 1608), to protect and develop the Orthodox culture. As early as 1556-61, the Archimandrite Hrihory of Peresoplytsy had made a translation of the *Gospel* into a new form of Church Slavonic which drew heavily upon the native vocabulary and thereby differed considerably from both the old Church Slavonic and that which had been developed in Kiev some centuries earlier. At the instance of Prince Ostrozsky and his Academy at Ostrih, in 1581 a *Bible* in this special form was printed.

Most of the work of this period dealt with religious polemics, for in 1596 the Union of Brest was consummated and a large part of

the population, especially in the west, was compelled to accept church services on the old Orthodox pattern but with an acknowledgment of the Papacy. This seemed to the Poles a hopeful means of swinging the entire population to Catholicism, but it aroused sharp dissension, and an Orthodox hierarchy was reestablished. Many of the discontented Orthodox flowed off to the still more desolate and unpopulated regions to the east and, as the Kozaks, carried on intermittent warfare against their neighbors, with their center at the Zaporozhian Sich (islands) in the lower Dnieper. The Kozak wars almost brought independence to the people under the Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, but they ended with the coming of Muscovite domination over the Ukrainians east of the Dnieper.

The *Grammar* (1619) of Melety Smotritsky (1578-1633) served as a textbook in Moscow. Ivan Vyshensky (1550-1620) wrote publicistic and polemical works. There was also a *Slaveno-rossky Lexicon*, of Pamva Beranda (d. 1632). Many of these works were used not only in Kiev but also in Moscow and even in the Balkans, where culture was rapidly falling under the oppression of the Turks. More important, however, was the work carried on at the Kiev Academy in the 17th c., especially under the leadership of Petro Mohyla (1596-1647). To defend the Orthodox faith against the arguments of the Roman Catholic polemicists, he made a serious study of both the ancient Latin authors and the scholastic philosophy, and developed a form of scholastic Orthodoxy. At the same time the academy and its associates welcomed the introduction through Poland of various forms of Western drama and poetry. Kiev became a city of keen intellectual interest, but its contact with the West was largely based on the already moribund scholasticism prevailing in Poland. Yet that same influence was preparing the revival of Muscovite culture, which had been warped by the associations with the Tatars.

Throughout the 18th c., now under Polish and now under Russian rule, this type of culture persisted; but whereas the polonization had largely stopped, the passing of Kiev under the control of Moscow and the growing power of Peter the Great and Catherine the Great facilitated the loss of that part of the Ukrainian nobility which had still remained loyal to Orthodoxy. The outstanding author of this period was the wandering scholar Hrihory Skovoroda (1722-94). Although he wrote some works perhaps under the influence of the deists and Masons, yet his chief work was that of a wandering teacher, careless of his own physical well-being and devoted to the cause of the people. Skovoroda seemed a voice crying in the wilderness; he little cared whether his works were preserved for posterity. Yet he kindled a flame that was destined to have important consequences.

The real break with the artificial form of Slavonic that had existed for centuries came with the *Eneida* of Ivan Kotlyarevsky (1769-1838). Kotlyarevsky was an Inspector in the *Institute for the Instruction of Impoverished Children of the Nobility* in Poltava. In 1798 he published, in the native Ukrainian of the region, the *Eneida*, a burlesque adaptation of the *Aeneid* to the Ukrainian scene. Aeneas and the Trojans become, with delightful irreverence, dispossessed Kozaks of the period after the destruction of the Sich. Ukrainian and Kozak customs were drawn upon for all the allusions. The work was typical of the 18th c. pseudo-classicism, but the author's success in putting the vernacular language into verse securely established the popular speech as a medium of literary expression and gave a new lease of life to the dying Ukrainian vernacular. From this moment there was never a time when the new Ukrainian literature did not find competent exponents. Kotlyarevsky later produced some comedies, as *Natalka-Poltavka*, and an ode to Prince Kuragin, and the new movement was on its

way. There seems to have been little desire for political independence in the mind of Kotlyarevsky, but as is often the case, the cultural revival led to a long chain of social and political events.

He was followed in prose by Hrihory Kvitka-Osnovyanenko (1778-1843), from the neighborhood of Kharkiv. A great landowner and a would-be author in Russian, Kvitka gradually came to write vivid peasant stories in Ukrainian. During the 1820's and 30's he wrote a number of peasant stories, as *Marusya*, which marked for world literature a definite advance in the democratic picturing of peasant life and troubles, often idealized but usually realistic and attractive.

Solidifying the new tendencies came the poet Taras Shevchenko\* (1814-61), one of the greatest of all Slavonic poets. Born a serf on a Polish estate in Russia, he was taken by his master to St. Petersburg, where he attracted the attention of the celebrated painter Bryulov, through whom he received his freedom in 1838. He published in 1840 the *Kobzar*, the first real collection of poems in Ukrainian; and the epic *Haydamaki*, in 1841. In St. Petersburg and Kiev, he continued to work, his mood changing from romantic pictures of the Ukrainian struggles of the past to themes of present social dissatisfaction. Accused by the Russian government of participation in the revolutionary society of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, he was exiled in 1847 to Orenburg, as a common soldier, and forbidden to write or paint. Released in 1857, he returned to Russia a broken man, dying in 1861. His poems breathe the spirit of Ukrainian independence. Likewise he demanded justice for the humblest, not only from the foreign Muscovite rule but from the superstitions and traditions of the village community. He was in the truest sense a social and democratic poet and he combined this with such deep feeling in language and expression that he is esteemed throughout the Slavonic world.



It is hard to single out individual poems for special mention. His *Haydamaki*, the tale of the last revolt of the Ukrainians against Poland in 18th c., is the longest and perhaps the greatest, but the pictures of local customs and of the gathering of the clans take precedence over the actual battle scenes with their undisguised ferocity. *The Great Grave* is a curious mystical poem that exposes all the tragedy of the people in their political life; *The Dream* bears a strong picture of social injustice. There are the personal poems of his imprisonment, his tales of the unfortunate fallen girl who is cast out by the village, and *The Neophytes*, a tale of the early Christians; and there is *Maria*, an adaptation of the sacred story to fit the Ukrainian situation. It is hard to say what Shevchenko might have accomplished, had he developed in freedom; he remains the truest poetic soul that the literature has yet produced.

The Society of Sts. Cyril and Methodius numbered among its members the great scholar Mikhaylo Kostomariv (1817-86) and Pantaleimon Kulish (1819-97). Both fared more happily than Shevchenko. Kulish after a short exile continued writing; his novel *The Black Council* is a story of the Kozaks in the days after Khmelnytsky. Also in 1861 during the enthusiasm that followed the emancipation of the serfs, he started a journal *Osnova* (*The Basis*); but Kulish was too closely connected with the older period of literature to attract the young men of the 60's, and between the opposition of the government and of the younger generation the journal died. A sincere Ukrainian patriot, the reformer of the grammar, and a self-sacrificing translator of most of the *Bible* and many of the world's classics, Kulish gradually became a Kozakophobe and laid all the ills of Ukraine to the Kozaks. In Russia and also in Austrian Poland, where he went in the 70's, he succeeded only in antagonizing his compatriots.

The next generation had not heard, from

eye witnesses, of the struggles of the Kozaks in the 18th c. and they tended to follow the trends of Russian literature in the 60's. Thus, Marko Vovchok (Maria Markovich, 1834-1907), who became famous for her stories of peasant life, especially her descriptions of the way in which serfdom injured the peasant women; but after her first works were praised by Turgenev, she gravitated toward Russian, and soon became silent. She had also written several versions of native legends. To the same period belongs the versatile author Oleksander Konysky (1836-1900) with his constant production of verse and prose, scientific articles and publicistic work.

In the meantime this revival of the vernacular had reached Eastern Galicia or Western Ukraine. After the division of Poland in 1772 and the acquisition of the province by Austria, the Empress Maria Theresa began to provide for the education of the Uniat clergy as a counterbalance to the Polish domination; hence came the strange phenomena that the Uniat Church, which in past centuries had seemed to be an agent for Polonization, now became the bulwark of Ukrainian national existence. It was, however, a long while before the new vernacular literature gained supremacy over the old ecclesiastical language of the Kiev Academy.

The new tendency was started by Markian Shashkevich (1811-43), a priest, who after many difficulties brought out in Budapest in 1837 a little volume entitled *Rusalka Dnyetrovaya* (*The Rusalka of the Dnyester*). The work was severely condemned by the ecclesiastical authorities and after the death of Shashkevich, his two associates Ivan Vahilevich (1811-66) and Yakiv Holovatsky (1814-88) both dropped away from the apparently unequal struggle. Meanwhile Osip-Yury Fedkovich (1834-88) started the same movement in Bukovina.

Up to this time the initiative had come almost entirely from Russian Ukraine and

after the disturbances of 1848, it seemed as if Russia offered more assurances of success. But the Austrian censorship was soon relaxed; whereas, as a consequence of the Polish revolt of 1863, pressure in Russia grew worse. In that year Count Valuyev, Minister of Education, declared that there is not, never was, and never will be a separate "Little Russian" language. The censorship was invoked and by 1876 had developed to a point where it was forbidden to print any literary works in the Ukrainian language. Authors were obliged to have their works printed chiefly in Lviv, whither many of them naturally gravitated.

In Russian Ukraine at this time, the leading intellectual figure was Mikhaylo Drachmaniv (1841-95). Influenced by the new Russian tendencies, he inclined toward socialism as the best guide for the improvement of the Ukrainian people. After 1876 he settled in Switzerland, then became a professor at the University of Sofia in Bulgaria, but he never lost his interest in his people and he dominated much of their thought. Among the realistic writers of social motifs were Mikhaylo Staritsky (1840-1904), the dramatist Marko Kropovitsky (1841-1910), Ivan Tobilevich (1845-1907), and the still greater Ivan Levitsky-Nechuy (1839-1918) with his novels depicting the evils arising after the advent of the factory system and the changing conditions of life that developed after the emancipation.

The greatest writer of this generation was Ivan Franko\* (1856-1916) from Western Ukraine, the greatest author after Shevchenko. Poet, novelist, dramatist, critic, national leader, Franko struggled to educate his people and to make them fit for national existence. From his early poems, as *The Eternal Revolutionist*, to his *Prison Sonnets*, and the historical novel *Zakhar Berkut*, a tale of the democracy of the Carpathian villages in the early Middle Ages, down through

his *Faded Garlands* and such a poem as *Moses* expressing the feelings of the leader who loses faith by advancing too far ahead of his people, Franko traced the general course of thought in Western Ukraine. Though refused a professorship at the University of Lviv, he became the recognized leader of the Western Ukraine. His works show a high technical skill which places him above most of his contemporaries. He died during World War I just as the two great empires were about to crash.

Despite the stern reaction in Russia, which grew worse after 1881, the Ukrainian writers did not lose heart. Such men as Boris Hrinchenko (1863-1910) in his poems and novels sought to bring together the leaders of the various factions and were able to maintain their courage and independence. At the same time they became more aware of foreign literatures and less dependent upon the developments of the Russian literature around them. Relations with Western Ukraine kept growing closer. We might mention such authors as Dimitry Markovich (1848-1920), the historical novelist Orest Levitsky (1848-1922), the poet Volodimer Samiylenko (1864-1925). The main writer was Lesya Ukrainka (Larisa Kvitka-Kosacheva, 1872-1913). She was a highly educated woman, but early afflicted with tuberculosis of the bones and a confirmed invalid. Yet she reached out to themes from foreign lands and times that reflect the fate of her country, as *Iphigenia* and *Ioanna, Wife of Khusov*. She represented the most striking adaptation of world literature to the Ukrainian scene and showed that Ukrainian literature was leaving the narrow range of ethnographic themes.

With the 90's, as the censorship began to relax, these tendencies became still more pronounced. A new period of historical studies opened with Mikhaylo Hrushevsky (1866-1934), who became the moving spirit of the *Shevchenko Scientific Society* in Lviv. In

literature Mikhaylo Kotsyubinsky (1864-1913) developed a new and distinctive sensitiveness in prose fiction. In such stories as *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors* he combines the old type of ethnographical fiction with a delicacy of naturalism and a description of moods that can be paralleled only in the writings of the Russianized Ukrainian Korolenko. His choice of language also adds to the charm of his writings.

Symbolism definitely made its appearance in the poems of Olga Kobilyanska (1865-1940) and Mikhalyo Yatskov (1873-1919), while in Western Ukraine Vasil Stefanyk (1871-1936) developed as a miniaturist whose short stories are gems of description of human isolation and human tragedy. He was not a prolific writer and soon lapsed into silence, until recalled for a few years by the hope of an independent Ukraine. With him were friends like Les Martovich (1871-1916).

In the 20th c. the outstanding figure is Volodimir Vinnichenko (b. 1880), in prose, with his revolutionary interest and his studies of the life of the proletariat. With the passage of time Vinnichenko developed mannerisms at the expense of his natural qualities. His fondness for paradox and contrast weakened his work for a while, but with the approach of World War I he seemed to recover his poise and resume his growth. At the same time in poetry Oleksander Oles (b. 1878) carried to an extreme the idea of de-personalized poetry in which *He* and *She* take the place of real characters to discuss the deepest problems of human thought.

In World War I Ukraine was the battle ground. After the collapse of Russia and Austria-Hungary, there was set up an independent Ukrainian Republic in Kiev in 1918,

with Professor Hrushevsky at the head. As we might expect, there was an immediate outpouring of literature. Stefanyk returned to literature and his miniatures were even more masterly. New poets as Pavlo Tychyna (b. 1891) and Maksim Rilsky (b. 1895) made their appearance. They were of various degrees of radicalism, but one and all stood for an independent Ukraine.

The triumph of Communism and the formation of the Soviet Union did not at first blast these hopes. Conditions seemed to be favorable and the Ukrainians in Russian Ukraine and Western Ukraine cooperated. Even Prof. Hrushevsky was able to carry on his work at Kiev. Yet soon there was a change. Mikhaylo Kvilovy (b. 1893), an ardent Communist, shot himself as a result of the severe criticism of his novel *Wood-Snipes*. Many of the leading scholars and writers were silenced or disappeared. Still others, as Tychyna and Korneychuk, heartily accepted the new orientation and became loud in their praise of Stalin and Communist culture.

Meanwhile considerable work was done in Lviv and other places of Poland and such writers as Bohdan Lepky (b. 1872) were able to continue writing.

All of this came to an end in 1941. Few of the Ukrainian authors were able to escape. The sword took the place of the pen. Only the future will show whether the literature will drift entirely under the control of Moscow or whether there will arise again the spirit of independence that existed throughout the last thousand years.

S. Efremov, *Istoriya Ukrainskoho pismenstva* (Kiev), 1919; C. A. Manning, *Ukrainian Lit.*, 1944. See Russian.

CLARENCE A. MANNING.

## UNITED STATES

**COLONIAL PERIOD: 1607-1750.** As might be expected, the first writing done in colonial America took its major inspiration from the European cultures in which the colonists had been trained. For example, the ten books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* which George Sandys put into English verse while an official in Virginia during the decade following 1621, were completely European in conception and execution. But also, from the beginning, there were native influences at work—the most important being the frontier, American Puritanism, and the middle-class outlook—which eventually helped to produce a truly indigenous literature. And though no certain date may be set where American literature becomes independent (American writers have always been sensitive to ideas and techniques from abroad), a broad, general movement toward national individuality has been unmistakable.

The 17th c. European vogue for travel literature, journals, and collected anecdotal miscellany inspired the first prominent body of writing done in the English colonies. Most ubiquitous of the early press-agents was that amiable soldier of fortune, John Smith, whose vivid personal tales have made him a part of American folklore, despite certain questions concerning his veracity. Smith's *A True Relation of such occurrences and accidents of note as hath happened in Virginia since the first planting of that colony* (1608) was followed in 1612 by *A Map of Virginia*, intended to attract settlers to Jamestown. Four years later he turned his attention to the northern fishing colonies with *A Description of New England*, and *New Englands Trials* (1620); and in 1631 he wrote a promotional tract, *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New-England*. His *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England and the*

*Summer Isles* (1624) was a compilation largely from the writing of others, while his own *True Travels* (1630) rehashed for his English public his adventures in foreign parts, including America. Other accounts besides Smith's soon reached England, in ms. sometimes before print, as did William Strachey's tale of shipwreck in the Bermudas (publ. 1625), which is supposed, along with other travel tales, to have influenced Shakespeare's setting for *The Tempest*.

Meanwhile, in New England, extensive daily records were being kept by leaders of the colonizing companies. William Bradford and Edward Winslowe probably journalized the migration and early trials of the Plymouth colony in the anonymous Mourt's *Relations* (1622), while the former's *History of the Plimmoth Plantation* (publ., Pt. I, 1841; 1856) became, in ms., source material for several formal histories before being spirited off to England sometime during the Revolution. John Winthrop preserved the early accounts of the Massachusetts Bay colony in his *Journal* (Pt. I and II publ. 1790; complete in 2 v., 1825-26, as *The History of New England*). Among later journals kept by individuals, the flavor and content are indicated by Mrs. Mary Rowlandson's famous narrative of her captivity by the Indians (1682), and John Gyles' and Jonathan Dickenson's similar accounts in the next few years. All of these early writings, taking their being from the hard life of the new frontier, and many of them developing through day-by-day entries, are characterized by a singular absence of literary consciousness; their straightforwardness makes them universally better reading today than much of the literature produced in Europe during the same period. The first of the native influences was already at work, although the majority of published material

was printed on European presses and based upon English models.

Religious and political matters were almost as important to America's settlers as the conquest of the physical country. The New England colonies especially were conceived largely as religious plantations, set up "for the propagating, and advancing the gospell of the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world," and for rebuilding "the most glorious Edifice of Mount *Sion* in a Wildernesse." Although the American Puritans were like their contemporary European fellowmen in nineteenthths of their culture, the Puritanical tenth was a potent yeast in their daily bread. Literary culture was extensive among the religious and political leaders, and written controversy (much of it printed in Europe) ran high around the questions of theocratic rule, dissent, and individual freedom. Winthrop's dignified defenses of the actions of the governing bodies, John Cotton's autocratic manifestos, Nathaniel Ward's codes and jeremiads, and Increase Mather's solemn warnings were set against Thomas Morton's rather flippant and disgruntled *New English Canaan* (Amsterdam, 1637), Roger Williams' dissenting series of pamphlets attacking and answering Cotton, Thomas Hooker's orthodox but independent *Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline*, and Robert Child's legal-minded *Grand Remonstrance* of 1646. These documents, however, along with the many sermons (especially the politically significant Election Sermons), are of interest today mainly because of their historical implications, rather than for any intrinsic literary value. But, significantly, the first book printed in the English colonies (with the exception of a broadside and an almanac) was religious in purpose: the notoriously unaesthetic *Bay Psalm Book* (1640) — *Scriptures* translated into a sort of rough verse by Richard Mather, John Eliot, and Thomas Weld. Also religious in intent was the queer collection of Remark-

able Providences, edited in 1684 (from a ms. of 1658) by Increase Mather, to "prove" supernatural forces in the world. The first complete *Bible* printed in the colonies was Eliot's translation into an Indian dialect, 1661-63.

There was apparently little time for poetry among the colonists, and that which did appear was generally derivative or didactic. The first important book of verse to emanate from America was Anne Bradstreet's *The Tenth Muse Lately Sprung Up in America* (Lond., 1650; rev. ed., Boston, 1678). Frankly apologetic for her lack of learning, and consciously imitative in both matter and manner, this daughter of a governor of the Bay colony nevertheless produced some personal and localized poems that show feeling and originality, even though they tend toward the stylized conceit and simple moralizing. Michael Wigglesworth's long Calvinistic treatise in ballad meter, *The Day of Doom* (1662), was widely read for years, probably as much for its lurid descriptions of hell as for its strict theology and adherence to the *Scriptures* (it even had marginal references to the related Biblical passages), which also marked his other verse, including the less popular long poem, *Meat Out of the Eater* (1699). Peter Folger, grandfather of Benjamin Franklin, also used the ballad meter in his *A Looking-Glass for the Times* (1676), a reactionary social-political tract. The writing of elegies was an avocation for many colonists, while others composed devotional meditations (modeled upon the "sacred poets" of England), the best of which are represented by the work of Edward Taylor, still today largely in ms. form. After 1700, English influences—Waller, Blackmore, Milton, Dryden, Pope—brought about a transition in American verse, represented by the imitative wit of the Rev. Mather Byles and his friend Joseph Green, both of whom later became notorious as Tories. *Poems by Several Hands* (1744) was an early example of the

typical period miscellany. But notable for their careful style and natural diction are the heroic couplets of the Rev. John Adams' *Poems on Several Occasions; Original and Translated*, which was published posthumously in 1745.

As the colonial culture ripened, its literature settled into three major categories: history, theology, and philosophy. Two early histories, Thomas Lechford's *Plain Dealing; Or Neves from New-England* (Lond., 1642) and Edward Johnson's *A History of New England* (anon., Lond., 1654, better known as *The Wonder-Working Providence of Sions Saviour in New England*) were really tracts using events to uphold a personal point of view—the former legalistic and critical, the latter rhapsodically epic and defensive. Nathaniel Morton's more impersonal *New Englands Memoriall* (1669), based directly upon Bradford's manuscript, was used extensively for later histories, including William Hubbard's (ms. 1680, publ. 1815), Thomas Prince's (1736 f.), and Cotton Mather's famous *Magnalia Christi Americana* (Lond., 1702), which, in seven epic parts, sets forth the ecclesiastical history of New England. Histories dealing with the Indians and Indian Wars were popular between 1677 and 1747 (John Mason; Wm. Hubbard; Thomas Church; Samuel Penhallow; Daniel Gookin; Cadwallader Colden; John Lawson); and two political histories appeared in Virginia, Robert Beverley's in 1705 and William Stith's in 1747.

In theology and philosophy, controversial contributions were plentiful; a few are really noteworthy. Unusual representative of the tremendous learning and energy of the early Puritans was the third of the Mathers—Cotton—whose canon includes over 450 titles. History and biography (*Magnalia*), sermons, fables (*Political Fables*, ca. 1692), books of practical piety (*Manductio ad Ministerium*, 1726, and *Essays to Do Good*, 1710), theo-

logical treatises (*Reasonable Religion*, 1700), verse, and rudimentary scientific writings (*Memorable Providences, Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions*, 1689, and *The Christian Philosopher*, 1721) all came from the pen of this American member of the Royal Society who, unbalanced though he probably was, wielded a great power in his own day and recorded for posterity not only the intellectual temper of his class but also, unwittingly, the first steps whereby American religious thought was gradually moving toward deism. Last of the major Puritan writers, and one of the greatest thinkers produced in America, was Jonathan Edwards,\* whose efforts lie at the center of the major theological and philosophic controversies of the first half of the 18th c. A precocious idealist and mystic in his youth (*Of Being; Notes on the Mind; Personal Narrative*), he later led one party in the religious upheaval known as the "Great Awakening," and finally, with an iron-bound logic, became the recognized Calvinistic champion in orthodoxy's doctrinal controversies with encroaching liberalism. In the meantime, Charles Chauncey, lofty and eloquent preacher and writer; Jonathan Mayhew, cheerful liberal who was master of the ironic attack; and Samuel Johnson, skilful American disciple of Berkeley and first president of King's College, now Columbia University, were cutting newly reasoned paths somewhere between the old Calvinistic determinism and the popular revivalism of the "Great Awakening." Johnson; second in his America only to Edwards as a thinker, produced in 1746 the brilliant *Ethices Elementa*, which was reprinted by Franklin in 1752 as *Elementa Philosophica*. Meanwhile, almost as a person apart, John Woolman, Quaker mystic and reformist, composed in his *Journal* (publ. 1774) "a classic of the inner life," and argued compassionately in several tracts against slavery.

That changes were also taking place in the

thinking of the average literate colonial is evident in several of the more famous diaries of the time. Where Cotton Mather's enormous *Diary* abounds with abstract musings, the *Diary* (publ. 1878-82) of Samuel Sewall, "the American Pepys," is full of the everyday business of a mercantile life between the years 1674 and 1729, which is touched frequently but only moderately by the dying Puritan tradition. In Sewall, who also wrote humanely concerning slavery, Indians, and women, the orthodox harshness is greatly mellowed, and other concerns often take its place. The journal of Madame Sarah Kemble Knight, written as she braved the difficult inland journey from her native Boston to New York in 1704-5, is aristocratically impatient and amusingly shrewd in its observations. And full of the cultured, adventurous, and sometimes homely doings of a Southern gentleman are the pages of *History of the Dividing Line* (ms. 1729, publ. 1841) and recently published portions of a *Secret Diary*, both written by William Byrd of Westover, Va. In a private shorthand the diary records Byrd's daily comings and goings, his diet, his reading (Greek and Hebrew before breakfast), his social successes and failures, and occasionally his private thoughts and actions. Dr. Alexander Hamilton's *Itinerarium* is an interesting account of the life and manners of the Middle Colonies as this Maryland physician viewed them in 1744. The colonial American, as revealed by these four diarists, was gradually molding a character and culture of his own in the rapidly developing land.

The early growth of American book, periodical, and newspaper publishing may be identified, more closely than for any other single individual, with that universally talented man of the Enlightenment and typical "new American," Benjamin Franklin,\* who is today most often remembered for his minor classic, the *Autobiography*. When Franklin set up as a printer in the 1720's there were

presses in eight towns in all the colonies; when he died in 1790 printing was an established business. Along with William Parks, of Annapolis and Williamsburg, he not only raised the general artistic standards, but he also established several publishing "firsts," including the printing in 1735 of the first translation from the classics to be made in America, Cato's *Moral Distiches*. He continued, with his famous *Poor Richard's Almanack* (1732-58), a long-lived American tradition that was already as old as the first colonial press; but he substituted his own pithy common-sense prose for the poetry filler that had been used by Nathaniel Ames, his most famous predecessor, in the annual *Astronomical Diary and Almanack* (1725-64). He brought an editorial revolution into the newspaper field, where most of the early journals had consisted of little more than belated reprints of European articles [as in the *Boston News-Letter* (1704-76), *The Boston Gazette* (1719-41), the *New York Gazette* (1725-44), and *The Maryland Gazette* (1727-1839)], although Andrew Bradford's *American Weekly Mercury* (Phila., 1719-46) published local news and comments, and the conservative *New England Weekly Journal* (Bost., 1727-41) printed some miscellaneous material. For Franklin—schooled on his brother James' politically radical *The New England Courant* (Bost., 1721-26)—frankly adopted a primary policy of entertainment as well as news when he acquired *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (1729-1815) from Samuel Keimer by the simple expedient of writing for Bradford's rival paper until the competition became too keen for Keimer's *Universal Instructor . . . and Pennsylvania Gazette* (1728-29). Unlike the majority of the newspapers that followed in the century, however, Franklin's generally kept political opinions out of its columns. And finally, the first announcement in America of a magazine was made by Franklin in 1741, although his *The*

*General Magazine* came from the press three days later than Andrew Bradford's competing *The American Magazine*. Neither venture lasted out the year; but they were the beginning of a typical and flourishing American institution.

1750-1800. As colonialism turned slowly to nationalism, local American history, geography, and biography naturally came to the fore. Thomas Hutchinson, jurist and royal governor, carefully collected many rare manuscripts for his reliable but conservative *History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay . . . to the Year 1750* (1764-67), which was later continued by George Minot. Numerous State histories appeared in the period, the best probably Jeremy Belknap's *History of New Hampshire* (1784-92); and that prolific Southern historian Dr. David Ramsay produced after 1785 several derivative histories of the Revolution, which were to be followed in the next half century by many popular volumes on the same theme. Jedidiah Morse's *Geography Made Easy* (1784) and *American Geography* (1789) gave him the title of "father of American geography," although numerous informal physical descriptions of the country had appeared earlier and continued to come from the press. Most famous of these descriptive works are Jonathan Carver's *Travels through the Interior Part of North America* (1778), based upon his official investigation of the Indians in the Great Lakes and Mississippi area; the botanist William Bartram's *Travels* (1791) in the South; Crèvecoeur's famous physiocratic *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782), describing rural life in America as well as answering, in the famous third letter, the pertinent question, "What is an American?" ["He is an American who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. . . . Here

individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men . . ."]; Thomas Jefferson's statistical and descriptive *Notes on the State of Virginia* (Paris, 1784), written to answer inquiries from France about the land and the social life; and, in the next century, several popular accounts of the Lewis and Clark expedition. These were forerunners of numerous 19th c. critical, defensive, or sentimentalized observations on life in America, by both visitors and natives. The most remembered of the many biographies of the day is probably "Parson" Mason Locke Weems' legend-building *The Life and Memorable Actions of George Washington* (ca. 1800), although it is not the most commendable representative of the art of biography as practiced at the time.

The serious business of gaining independence and forming a new nation naturally occupied a great deal of the literate energy of the colonies from 1750 to 1800. A vast and interesting body of speeches, newspaper articles, pamphlets, and books remains today as a record of the struggle. Its primary purpose, however, was not literary and its literary value is often dubious. Representative of the opinion-forming press, and some of the most effective propaganda ever penned, are Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* (Jan. 10, 1776), persuasively urging the reluctant colonies toward complete independence, and his series of 16 pamphlets, *The American Crisis*, published at crucial turning-points between December 19, 1776, and April 19, 1783, to rouse the flagging spirits of the Revolutionists. Writing with disarming candor, simplicity and clarity, and cleverly appealing with conscious boldness and frequent 18th c. "wit" and "feeling" to nearly all the groups in the country, this English-born firebrand, who became also a citizen of America and France, thus laid in America the stylistic and conceptual bases for his great repository of revolutionary political thought, *The Rights of Man* (Lond., 1791



-2). As a model of 18th c. style, *The Declaration of Independence*, written by Thomas Jefferson, with careful revision by Franklin and John Adams, stands alongside *The Federalist* (1787-8), 85 essays prepared by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay in support of the Constitution. These two documents display the learning, the polish, and the intellectual command that mark the best English prose of the period, and they deserve to be regarded as monuments of an amazing era in style.

Although the rank and file of Americans in this period, as well as many of the established leaders, remained fundamentally conservative, nearly all were touched more or less by that species of rationalism which in Europe had emerged as The Enlightenment. Based upon the concepts of the equality and essential goodness of "natural" man, and the immutable harmoniousness of the principles (laws) of nature, it stressed science, education, progress, and humanitarianism—all motivated and directed by the disciplining power of reason inherent in all humans. In the political sphere these ideas reinforced both the American and the French Revolutions; in the social area they brought to the fore questions of reform and education; and in religion they produced the general liberalism which in its most advanced forms was known as Deism. In America this rationalism, frequently imported from France, was highly popular with many of the developing figures of literature, although it was constantly modified by concurrent traditions of classicism, neo-classicism, the Christian ethic, the frontier spirit, and the succeeding movement of Romanticism. For example, although both Franklin and Jefferson demonstrate basic rationalistic tendencies in their philosophies, neither eventually went the whole way with Paine, whose violent deistic manifesto, *The Age of Reason* (Paris, 1794-5), was preceded

in America by Dr. Thomas Young and Ethan Allen's radical *Reason the Only Oracle of Man* (1784). But it was an age of ideas, when men had empires in their brains, and was one of the most cosmopolitan periods in American history.

With a few exceptions, American literature up to the last quarter of the 18th c. had been largely purposive, didactic, utilitarian; so it is of importance to note the first movement toward conscious artistic creation and expression. Early stirrings were visible in Franklin's *Busybody Papers* and his later personal essays; in various imitations of the nature poetry of Thomson, Pòmfret, Young, and Goldsmith after 1740; in the versatile Francis Hopkinson's poems on local subjects; and in Thomas Godfrey's lyric and narrative verse (ca. 1757-8) in the manner of the Cavalier poets. But, hampered by a paucity of native tradition and culture, by a lack of appreciative audience, and by the speculative and controversial temper of the times, the beginnings were often crude and imitative. And most of the would-be belletristic authors continued to write extensively in the older "practical" vein, so that their works retain generous portions of satire, argument, or persuasion, directed at pertinent issues of the day.

The Connecticut (Hartford) Wits, led by John Trumbull and Timothy Dwight, began at Yale their literary mission as "apostles of culture and patriotism," which they carried on, for the most part, in interminable and rather heavy neo-classic verse. Even for them politics and religion continued dominant. Trumbull's clever academic satire, *The Progress of Dulness* (1772-3), never achieved the popularity of his cluttered but light-hearted mock-epic against the Tories, *M'Fingal* (1775-82). Timothy Dwight, energetic grandson of Jonathan Edwards and later distinguished president of Yale, produced a native pastoral, *Greenfield Village* (1794), and

an epic in heroic couplets allegorizing the Revolution, *The Conquest of Canaan* (1785); but by far his larger effort was directed at upholding orthodoxy and Federalism in such writings as the abusive and violent satire upon Deism in *The Triumph of Infidelity* (1788) and the weighty disquisitions of his 5 volumes of sermons, *Theology, Explained and Defended* (1818-9). David Humphreys wrote several optimistically patriotic pieces, and Dr. Lemuel Hopkins wielded the most active pen in the group's mock-heroic, *The Anarchiad* (1786-7), a celebrated political satire, against disunity and democratic liberalism, which illustrates the widespread conservative reaction in the nation, once independence had been won. Joel Barlow, the most original of the group, became its renegade after his sojourn in revolutionary France. He revised his early *Vision of Columbus* as *The Columbiad* in 1807, transmuting nationalism into a "political harmony of mankind"; and in one of his liberal social tracts, *Advice to the Privileged Orders* (1792), he argued society's responsibility for individual well-being. As a contrast, his famous poem in praise of the homely American fare, *Hasty Pudding* (1796), is among the most natural and charming pieces written in the century.

Philip Freneau\* was also mixed partisan and artist. His topical verse is marked by invective (*A Political Litany*, 1775), denunciation (*The British Prison Ship*, 1781), balladry (*On the Memorable Victory of Paul Jones*), and rational, reflective verse (*On Mr. Paine's "Rights of Man"* and *On the Religion of Nature*); his vigorous political prose was equally frank and plain, especially in the *National Gazette* (1791-3), a Jeffersonian organ that Freneau edited, and in *Letters on Various Interesting and Important Subjects* (1799) under the pseudonym of Robert Slender, O.S.M. [One of the "Swinish Multitude"—a phrase of Burke's]. On the other

hand, in his belletristic work Freneau achieved a lyric treatment of nature that foreshadows the major English romanticists, even though he sometimes still echoed the stock poetic devices of his day. And against the Gothic turgidity of his *The House of Night* should be set the pensive, wistful, restrained lyricism of *The Wild Honeysuckle*, which blends the two typical themes of loveliness and transience. Meanwhile, the period's most "popular" poets were two Bostonians, Mrs. Sarah Wentworth Morton and Robert Treat Paine, who produced imitative epics in the heroic style, polished conventional verse, and satire.

Popular drama developed slowly in America, although there were professional performances as early as 1703, and some fugitive pieces had been played privately. Shortly after the mid 18th c., however, the stage began to prosper in New York, Charleston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore—away from the strongholds of Puritanism. The repertoire was, as it long continued to be, chiefly imported from abroad. But the important American Company, organized in 1758 under David Douglass, proved hospitable to worthy native efforts, and presented in 1767 the first American tragedy, Thomas Godfrey's *The Prince of Parthia* (ms. 1759, publ. 1765), a romantic piece in flexible and dignified blank verse. It was likewise this company (reorganized in 1784 after drama had been discouraged by the Continental Congress in 1774) that played in 1787 the first American comedy, Royall Tyler's *The Contrast* (publ. 1790), a play of intrigue and manners based upon Sheridan but with the important local contributions of the first stage Yankee and a theme of intense nationalism. And it was also with the American Company (which he managed from 1796 to 1805) that the important William Dunlap did his work. Dunlap wrote and produced at least 65 pieces (30 of them entirely original),

beginning with a comedy of manners, *The Father* (1789) and a tragedy, *Leicester* (publ. 1807; first played in 1794 as *The Fatal Deception*). The influence of his numerous adaptations of French and German drama—he rewrote at least 13 plays by Kotzebue, for example—was somewhat balanced by the native material and ideas of such plays as his popular Revolutionary tragedy, *André* (1798; rev. as *The Glory of Columbia*, 1803). Also a successful artist, Dunlap wrote an authoritative *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (2 v., 1834) as well as a *History of the American Theatre* (1832) and a history of New York.

America's first novels were largely imitative. They were also forced, by Puritanical disfavor, to adopt a tone of moralizing, and ostensibly to avoid fiction ("lying") by taking their incidents from actual events. William Hill Brown's suppressed *The Power of Sympathy* (1789; long attributed to Mrs. S. W. Morton); Susanna Haswell Rowson's incredibly popular *Charlotte Temple* (Phila., 1794; written earlier in England, though both authoress and novel became thoroughly naturalized); and Hannah Webster Foster's *The Coquette* (1797) stemmed directly from the Richardsonian epistolary school of seduction, sentiment, and moral repentance. Royall Tyler's *The Algerine Captive* (1797) combined, like Smollett, satire and adventure; Hugh Henry Brackenridge's huge, badly organized *Modern Chivalry* (1792–1815) went back to Cervantes and Swift in its style and method of social satire; and Charles Brockden Brown's\* feverishly powerful works owe debts to Godwin, Richardson, and the Gothic novel of Europe. Of these early American novelists only the last two made permanent contributions (Brackenridge's panorama of the American scene; Brown's powerful handling of emotion and his delving into the psychological); but they all had a part in breaking

first paths for a form that was to become the broadest and most traveled highway of expression in American writing.

#### UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

1800–1830. America's growing national awareness and self-confidence is nowhere more evident than in the increasing influence of native factors upon its literature. Just as the nation's essentially patrician leadership was progressively affected by typically home-spun characteristics, so its literate expression was constantly modified by such things as nationalism, the frontier, ardent democratic beliefs, agrarian economics, Evangelical religion, cultural immaturity and sentimentalism, unique publishing conditions, and the increasing importance of local scenes, customs and legends. These factors became particularly noticeable as they worked upon the currents of Romanticism coming from abroad, to produce the first extensive body of distinctively American writing. In the process, America's literary center, which had already shifted from Puritan New England to the Middle Colonies, became more firmly located, for a time, in the latter area.

Offspring of both the traveler's journal and the Addisonian essay on manners were numerous series of popular sketches dealing with the American scene. Some of these were attempts at social satire in the neo-classic manner, while others were serious reports, or patriotic refutations of unfavorable foreign comments. Perhaps the most successful "American Addison" was Joseph Dennie of Boston and Philadelphia, whose graceful "Lay Preacher" essays, begun in 1795, mixed wit and sobriety in the approved fashion. In the South, meanwhile, William Wirt's *Letters of the British Spy* (1803) and *The Rainbow* (1804) achieved a widespread reputation as examples of elegant oratorical rhetoric. A new note was struck, however, by the mock-serious gaiety of the anonymous *Salmagundi* papers,

which appeared in New York during 1807-8 though the combined efforts of a group of young "laughing philosophers" who announced their intention as "simply to instruct the young, reform the old, correct the town, and castigate the age"; thus were James Kirke Paulding, William Irving, and the latter's youngest brother, Washington, introduced to American literature. The mood set by these rollicking essays quickly became a vogue, further represented by such collections as *The Idle Man* (1821-2) of Richard Henry Dana, Sr.

Paulding went on to become one of the leaders in America's brief literary war against uncomplimentary British sightseers; his work may be represented by his comic *The Diverting History of John Bull and Brother Jonathan* (1812), his serious *The United States and England* (1815) and his defensive *John Bull in America; or, the New Munchausen* (1825). Meanwhile Timothy Dwight was commenting gravely and aristocratically upon his *Travels in New England and New York* (1821-2), and James Fenimore Cooper blew warm, then cold, concerning America, in *Notions of the Americans* (1828) and *The American Democrat* (1838). Perhaps the most famous of the British comments upon the raw, new country were Mrs. Trollope's rousing critical *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (1832), and Dickens' frank *American Notes* (1842).

In 1809 Washington Irving\* continued the mood of *Salmagundi* with his famous burlesque *History of New York . . . by Diedrich Knickerbocker*, which, from his brother's original idea of parody upon a contemporary history, he had developed into a heroicomic masterpiece of warm, romantic, grotesquely humorous legend. The shift away from satire toward romance (a shift that may be noticed also in Irving's conscious literary pronouncements between 1807 and 1824) was a vital keynote that was to sound long in America.

The romantic impulse, plus the discovery, finally, of acceptable native and foreign material for imaginative literature, opened up a new era. In the next fifteen years Irving himself drank at the fountain of Romanticism in England and the Continent; the result was several groups of short stories and sketches marked by frequent antiquarianism, a tone of whimsically naïve sentimentalism, and a pace deliberately made leisurely and desultory. *The Sketch Book* (1819), immediately acclaimed in both England and America, Irving followed with a number of similar collections using European and American scenes and legends. These were varied by biographies of Columbus, Goldsmith and Washington, and by three books dealing with the American West, of which the most authentic is *A Tour on the Prairies* (1835). Deficient as he may have been in sustained dramatic power and intellectual depth, Irving contributed to American literature some things that no other writer has exactly matched, including a sure, polished style, a deft handling of the short tale, a cosmopolitan attitude that achieved him international recognition, and a genial, humorous development of a realm of permanent romance in the legends of the past.

Loosely held together by geographical circumstances and similar tastes, a group of writers often called the Knickerbocker school flourished in New York during the time of Irving and Paulding, producing, as did many similar groups, a literary journal, *The Knickerbocker Magazine* (1833-65), which attempted to call forth and nurture an extensive national literature. Among its members were Joseph Rodman Drake, who is remembered for his *The Culprit Fay and Other Poems* (1835); Fitz-Green Halleck, a skillful versifier; N. P. Willis, who wrote society verse, brilliantly-turned short stories, sketches, and a novel; and Robert Sands, editor, essayist, and poet. Also a member, by virtue of his long residence in New York, was William Cullen Bryant.

Although Bryant\* reacted early against the less liberal elements of his west Massachusetts upbringing, he continued to retain a good deal of the moral austerity of his Puritan ancestors, evident in such poems as *Thanatopsis* and *The Battle-Field*. And when, after nine years of practicing law, he turned definitely to letters (*I Broke the Spell that Held Me Long*, 1824), it was the landscape of the western Berkshires that provided his most successful material, pervaded as it became with the Romantic theme of transience and Bryant's own sensuous appreciation of nature as a haven of retreat from hurried life, as in *Autumn Woods* and *Lines on Revisiting the Country*. It was also as a Romantic liberal that Bryant championed freedom and nationalism, not only in verse (*Song of Marion's Men*; *Earth*; *The Antiquity of Freedom*; *Oh Mother of a Mighty Race*; *Italy*; *Our Country's Call*), but also in vigorous editorial and oral prose (*The Right of Workmen to Strike and Freedom of Speech*, 1836; *Mazzini*, 1878).

The first really extensive exploitation of the romance of native material came, however, at the hands of James Fenimore Cooper,\* who, after one experimental conventional novel of manners in 1820, successively hit upon his three most successful themes: American colonial history in *The Spy* (1821), the Indian and frontiersman in *The Pioneers* (1823), and exciting chases at sea in *The Pilot* (1824; dated 1823). Owing relatively little to Scott, to Smollett, or to the Rousseauistic idea of the noble savage, Cooper developed historical legends and native scenes, as well as American and European social conditions, with a vivid and intense power of imagination (which enabled him to make quite real, for example, Indians he had never seen except in books, and a prairie he had never observed), and with a knack of creating a certain type of heroic figure and putting him into situations full of suspense (usually that

of pursuit, capture, and escape). Writing the first American novels of convincing merit, Cooper was at his natural best when his tale, as it often did not, ran swiftly from his pen without the intrusion of his moralistic concern for the evils he found in contemporary American Jacksonianism. Along with *The Spy* and several of the sea stories, the five "Leather-Stocking Tales" (*The Pioneers*; *The Last of the Mohicans*, 1826; *The Prairie*, 1827; *The Pathfinder*, 1840; *The Deerslayer*, 1841) have been Cooper's most popular novels because of their appeal simply as romances of action. And while the charges by Lowell, Mark Twain, and Bret Harte against Cooper's melodramatic plots and the woodenness of his major characters (especially the heroines) are well founded, the fact remains that he did define several vivid romantic areas that still have their appeal, he created numerous minor characters that contain the real breath of life, and he marked out in Harvey Birch, Long Tom Coffin, and Natty Bumppo fictional personalities that have the major attributes of folk-heroes.

The three major streams that fed the growing current of minor American prose fiction during the next decades were Richardson's moralism, Irving's geniality and Gothicism, and Cooper's poetic frontier and historical romance. John Neal, avowedly inspired by *The Spy*, wrote ca. 1823 four Byronic novels about the American Revolution, and later several that contain intermittent realistic pictures of New England life. Catherine Maria Sedgwick and Lydia Maria Child, who may be taken as the best representatives of the host of popular moralistic novelists, both wrote historical romances; the former was also early in the field of the lifelike domestic novel of manners, and the latter devoted her whole life to anti-slavery work. Daniel Pierce Thompson created a half dozen authentic tales of the frontier, among which *The Green Mountain Boys* (1839) stands out as a classic

of the Cooper school. And Robert Montgomery Bird, of Philadelphia, turned to Kentucky border warfare for his best novel, *Nick of the Woods* (1837), which, incidentally, tries to correct Cooper's generally romanticized portrait of the Indian.

In drama there was for a time a slow development toward independence from foreign models and materials, a development largely halted by the Civil War. James Nelson Barker continued in Philadelphia the portrayal of contemporary manners in *Tears and Smiles* (1807), and turned definitely to American topics in the Pocahontas legend of *The Indian Princess* (1808), and the New England witchcraft theme of *Superstition* (1824). The prolific John Howard Payne, of New York, on the other hand, represents almost complete foreign influence in his handling of opera, tragedy, comedy, melodrama, and farce. Of real significance was the increasing importance of New York as a center of drama after 1825, particularly in regard to the career of the actor-producer Edwin Forrest, who presented such American pieces as John Stone's bombastic Indian play, *Metamora* (1829); R. M. Bird's tragedy of Peru, *Oralloossa* (1832), and his important *Broker of Bagota* (1834); Richard Penn Smith's various attempts to treat native material; and Robert Conrad's *Jack Cade* (1835), which implied the value of democratic ideals. One of the greatest stage successes of the period was Anna Ogden Mowatt's social satire, *Fashion* (1845, publ. 1850). And the highest artistic achievement was perhaps that of the Philadelphian George Henry Boker in his romantic tragedies. His masterpiece, *Francesca da Rimini* (1855), treats a legend from Dante and Boccaccio in powerful and musical blank verse of an Elizabethan cast. In the meantime many plays had been adapted from American novels, the most popular of which was George Aiken's unauthorized dramatization of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852, which

held the stage for many years after the Civil War.

National consciousness was evident in the matter of language as well as literature. One of the early advocates of an "American" English was Noah Webster, who, in editions of dictionaries in 1806, 1828, and 1840, took an independent though sometimes unscholarly stand that involved him in a brief "war of the dictionaries" with his fellow Yale graduate, the scholarly, conservative lexicographer, Joseph Worcester. By virtue of the later revisions by other hands, Webster's dictionary eventually gained popular ascendancy. Webster's celebrated *Spelling Book* (1783), grammar, and reader had already become national institutions that exerted a great influence, as did also Lindley Murray's long-popular *Grammar* (1795).

The striving toward national literary independence was, of course, not always a beneficial thing. Nowhere is the sometimes absurd pretentiousness of literary nationalism more evident than in most of the numerous literary journals that flourished after the Revolution. On the other hand, the periodical press, aided by the liberality of the post office rates, but continually harassed by financial difficulties that made many titles short-lived, played an important part in the development of American literature by providing a ready outlet for ambitious writers, otherwise hampered in publishing by lack of copyright laws and by European competition. The list of reviews, literary miscellanies, magazines, quarterlies, and annuals published in America is an amazingly large one; and although the early publication centers were Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, many cities such as Cincinnati and Lexington in the relatively isolated West soon became publishing havens, for a time at least. It was, however, for such Eastern periodicals as *The North American Review* (1815 to date), the fashionable *Godey's Lady's Book* (1830-98), the Transcendentalists' *The*

*Dial* (1840-44), *Graham's Magazine* (1841-58), *Harper's Monthly Magazine* (1850 to date), and *The Atlantic Monthly* (1857 to date) that many of the country's important authors first wrote their most characteristic material. And the now-intriguing annual miscellanies, called Christmas or New Year "gift-books," which flourished between 1828 and 1865, contained some of the best art of the period.

The career of Edgar Allan Poe\* is an unusual illustration of the influence of the periodicals upon even major writers. Not only was Poe editor, contributor, and sometimes stockholder in such publications as *The Southern Literary Messenger* (1834-64), *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine* (1837-40), *Graham's Magazine*, *The New York Mirror* (1823-60), the *Broadway Journal* (1845-6), and *Godey's Lady's Book*, but it is evident that much of his method, manner, and even material were shaped or furnished by the practices of the periodical press in this country and Europe. Thus, many of his famous prose pieces, such as the *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque* (1840) and *Tales* (1845), were designed originally to appeal to the readers of the magazines; and his vigorous critical defense of the shorter units of composition may stem from the practical demands of the periodicals. Also, much of his criticism, including the miscellaneous *Marginalia* as well as such important essays as his review of Hawthorne's *Twice-Told Tales*, in which he laid down the principles of the short-story, was composed primarily as editorial assignments. His poetry, on the other hand, probably owes little to such influences, although there is a suggestion of the journalistic about his debatable essay upon *The Raven*, *The Philosophy of Composition* (1846), even though it may have been written originally as a lecture. Nevertheless, the point should not be overdrawn, for the important fact is that Poe rose artistically above his most fre-

quent medium in numerous prose masterpieces which, along with his best poetry, have exerted a profound influence upon world literature. Perhaps his greatest contributions to his own America were his constant rejection of the provincialism of his time, and his romantic insistence, against the "heresy of the didactic," that the "end of art is pleasure, not truth."

1830-1850. Where the Southern-trained Poe had shown few evidences of sectionalism, many other Southern writers generally set themselves to record the traditions and culture of their own area. Their favorite mediums, aside from the ever-present oratory, were the sketch and the historical romance. John Pendleton Kennedy retained an almost reportorial sense for facts as he moved from an Irvingesque picture of genial Virginia plantation life in *Swallow Barn* (1832) to the historical romance of the Revolution in the South in *Horse-Shoe Robinson* (1835) and *Rob of the Bowl* (1838). Dr. William Carruthers drew a kindly but shrewd contrast between sections in his *The Kentuckian in New York* (1834) and then turned to the colonial South for two romances. And Nathaniel Beverley Tucker used the same type of fiction in *The Partisan Leader* (1836) to display ardent adherence to the political philosophy of secessionism. A more natural storyteller than any of these, William Gilmore Simms opened a new, exciting frontier with a series of tales that he originally conceived as epics of his beloved native South. In these romances he overlaid the actual events with liberal portions of a racy, idiomatic, vigorous, but often melodramatic imagination. *The Yemassee* (1835), a rousing story of 1715, in which the effect of civilization upon the Indians is made movingly tragic, was a prelude to a group of seven romances of Revolutionary days such as *The Partisan* (1835) and *Woodcraft* (1854), in which the great comic character of Captain Porgy stands supreme. Simms' sensational and

often coarse tales of the lawless border are of lesser stature, as are also his attempts to novelize foreign history. Even more picturesque today are the vernacular, realistic, unconventional, and unliterary sketches of such "humorists" as Augustus Longstreet in his brutally frank *Georgia Scenes* (1835) and Joseph Baldwin in the satirical, anecdotal *Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi* (1853). Conventionalized, sentimental idealization of the past is, on the other hand, epitomized by John Esten Cooke's romances of colonial Virginia (ca. 1854-59) and his later novels.

In the meantime New England had again brilliantly entered the literary scene. Its renaissance came about, in part, through two important factors: a concerted liberal revaluation of the section's Puritan heritage; and a sudden absorption with Platonic and German ideas, especially as influenced by the 17th c. English writers, by Carlyle and Coleridge, and by the new group of German-trained scholars or men interested in German thought—Karl Beck, Karl Follen and Francis Lieber from Germany, and the Americans James Marsh, Frederic H. Hedge, Edward Everett, George Ticknor, Joseph Cogswell, and George Bancroft. Underlying the whole was the current optimistic, youthful, romantic faith in the individual and democracy.

New England's bonds of the past had already been loosened by rationalism and by the Unitarian revolt of such men as the Channings; but it was Transcendentalism ("idealism in 1842") as expounded by Ralph Waldo Emerson\* and others that brought about the first great release of literary energy. Emerson, whose vast influence has rested upon his power to stimulate the thought of others, led not only a spiritual revolt in leaving his pulpit in 1832, but also an artistic one in his advocacy of the organic dependence of form upon idea and his concept of the artist as seer, bound to cheer, raise, and guide. In developing his natural power of

expression Emerson was influenced by theories of pulpit and platform eloquence, by English and other mystical writers, and by a direct appeal to nature. Essentially he viewed language as having two functions: symbol for spiritual truth, and vehicle for concrete fact. And, according to his doctrine of correspondences, the two must fuse and blend to provide the image that best unites Truth, Beauty, and Goodness. Consequently, in his writing the unit is nearly always the sentence or the line; and his great power lies in his innumerable quotable epigrams and his penetrating use of words. Despite his almost exclusive basis in the world of ideas, which eliminated for him the great realm of literary power to be found in human emotions, in his essays he constantly brought his ideas to a concrete, often homely level, thus avoiding the fault that marks others of the Transcendentalists such as Bronson Alcott, the dreamy theorizer. When Emerson took his point of departure from the living record of individuals or groups, as in *Representative Men* (1850) and *English Traits* (1856), his achievement was most truly universal in appeal. His essential humanity, as well as his calm, critical approach to the problems of his times, is revealed best in his extensive *Journals*, the record of his intellectual Odyssey, which he habitually used as the source for his lectures, essays, and poems.

Other memorable figures connected with the Transcendentalist movement were Margaret Fuller, editor, critic, and feminist; Orestes Brownson, novelist and social reformer who created a sensation by turning Catholic; Jones Very, mystic poet; Theodore Parker, brilliant preacher; Sylvester Judd, turgid religious novelist. But the most important creative artist, next to Emerson, was Henry David Thoreau,\* who went beyond even his friend and fellow "seer" in his ideas of individualism and anti-materialistic revolt. He exemplified perfectly Emerson's injunction to



"The American Scholar" to gain his education from nature, the past, and action: for, the "nature-study" that comprises so large a part of his published writing came constantly under the influence of his mastery of large areas of the Greek, English, and Eastern literatures, and much of his popular appeal rests upon the spirit of personal adventure inherent in what he has to say. As a conscious prose stylist Thoreau felt that style would come naturally, organically, with anything that the writer's whole being wished to express; but he also stressed the necessity in the artist's character of long steeping in life-giving analogies between the processes of art and the primitive experiences of the race. "Homeliness is next to beauty in books," he wrote in *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (1849); but at the same time he was, like Melville, strongly influenced by the conscious prose rhythms of such 17th c. English writers as Sir Thomas Browne. Thoreau's treatment of nature is closely allied with his theories of art and philosophy, for his tendency toward accurate observation is constantly fused in his great books, such as *Walden* (1854), with totality of feeling and with a pervading sense of cosmic analogy.

Nathaniel Hawthorne\* also applied realistic observation of the past and present to concerns of the spirit, but his method and results were entirely different from Thoreau's personalized speculations. His allegorical fiction reveals a cool but profound central interest in the social and moral relationships of human beings as they face the realities of life. The problem of sin and evil, which the Transcendentalists too often neglected, Hawthorne anatomized as to cause, manifestation, effect, and possible cure, in such stories as *The Genile Boy*, *Young Goodman Brown*, and *Ethan Brand*; and the same concern lies at the bottom of *The Scarlet Letter* (1850), one of the great American novels, and *The Marble Faun* (1860), a "romance" laid in Italy. The

dark influence of heredity, determinism, and conscience pervades his work also, but appears especially in *Fancy's Show Box*, *The Maypole of Merry-Mount*, *The Minister's Black Veil*, and the second finest of his romances, *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851). Not only was Hawthorne antipathetic to the basic optimism of the Transcendentalists, but he distrusted also any extreme emphasis upon the intellect of man as a means of moral advancement. The sin of pride—especially pride of intellect—was greater to him than sins of the flesh, and he refused to accept utopian visions of progress built upon reason alone, as is shown in *Earth's Holocaust*, *The Celestial Rail-Road*, and *The Blithedale Romance* (1852), which is based upon his own brief experience in one of the many current utopian social schemes. This seriousness of purpose, combined with Hawthorne's love for the shadows of the Puritan past, the history of which he knew as few others of his time, caused his writing to have an almost uniform somberness of tone: The darkness is constantly illuminated, however, by a delicate perception of color, shade, and beauty of style. Consequently, Hawthorne is remembered not only as a great moral allegorist, but also as one of the finest prose artists in English; and upon both grounds he represents the best possibilities in the American tradition.

Herman Melville,\* although he owed much to his friendship with Hawthorne, was one of the few great writers of the period not directly influenced by New England. From his native New York he embarked as a youth upon a short but vital period at sea, and then returned to solve for himself the problem of ultimate truth, plagued by thorough realistic honesty, an unconventional and insurgent mind, and a vast amount of omnivorous reading. His first books were vivid, semi-autobiographic tales, which achieved their primary purposes of financial and artistic self-confi-

dence, and popularized the little-known areas of the South Seas and life aboard ship. Today these stories remain deservedly popular, for both their adventurous material and their beauty. After this apprenticeship, Melville began what he considered his real work, the painful dual effort to get at real truth and communicate it. This conscious artistic attempt, germinating in *Mardi*, coming to full bloom in his masterpiece, *Moby-Dick* (1851), and scattering like lost seed pods in *Pierre*, gathered its stylistic nourishment from such sources as the Bible, Shakespeare, Sir Thomas Browne, Smollett, Carlyle. *Moby-Dick*, the best example of Melville's power, is, on one hand, an exciting story of whaling, liberally interspersed with accurate observations of nature, and on the other, a vast symbolic treatment of the brutality of life and the struggle of mankind against it. Enveloping both is a style that adapts itself to nearly every need for expression, ranging from the greatest rumble of elemental emotion to the most subtle delicacy of mood. The last years of his life Melville spent largely in writing poetry, most of it unconventional, but strong and always sincere in spite of its imperfections and didacticism. Popularly he probably remains at the top of that list of 19th c. American writers of the sea which contains such names as Cooper, Richard Henry Dana, Jr. (*Two Years Before the Mast*, 1840), Charles Nordhoff, and W. Clark Russell.

The New England revival of literature produced important poetry as well as prose. Emerson, with his ability at compression and word-value, left some pieces that are unique in English, although he himself did not truly fulfill his own plea for the poet as spokesman of America as a whole. For that, he was too constantly concerned with the deep ethical problems that occupy so much of his prose, and his verse tended to become gnomic and often cryptic, although it was nearly always vital and subtle in its music. Nevertheless, in

his insistence that poetry arises out of the poet's own living, in his pungent use of concrete facts as symbols of spiritual ideas, and in his freeing dictum that it is "not metres, but metre-making argument, that makes a poem," he exerted a profound influence upon American poets. A few varied examples of his qualities as a poet are the noble but atypically conventional quatrains of the popular *Concord Hymn*, the delicate lyrical feeling for natural beauty in *The Snow Storm*, the moving elegiac treatment of his young son's death in *Threnody*, and the perfectly integrated ethical suggestion of the short *Days*.

Far less subtle and more emotional was the verse of John Greenleaf Whittier,\* Haverhill Quaker whose honest, homely poems of nature and reform still remain popular. The rusticity of *Maud Muller*, the Yankee balladry of *Skipper Ireson's Ride*, and the descriptive beauty of his masterpiece, *Snow-Bound, a Winter Idyl*, are typical of Whittier's finer work, nearly all of which is in the simplest and most conventional forms.

As a popular poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow\* outranged all his contemporary New England neighbors. His long career was molded by a thorough, scholarly knowledge of the literature and background of Europe, but he always managed to handle his learning with an ease and simplicity that constitute his greatest appeal, particularly in his early wholesomely emotional and frankly didactic poems such as *A Psalm of Life* and *The Village Blacksmith*. Even before Whittier he opposed slavery in such verses as *The Warning* (1842) and pleaded for pacifism in *The Arsenal at Springfield*; and the prospect of the Civil War led him to call for strength of the Union in *The Building of the Ship* (1849). But his poetic interests developed primarily in treating the legend and romance of the European and American past in a variety of forms, many of them experimental on his part. Typical in theme and in con-

sciously elaborate form are the soft unrhymed hexameters of *Evangeline* (1847); the octosyllabic couplets used for dramatic and narrative purposes in *The Golden Legend* (1851), a convincing study of the Middle Ages; the unrhymed trochaic measures of the ethnic epic *The Song of Hiawatha* (1855); the initial reiteration and parallelism of *The Courtship of Miles Standish* (1858); the story-series of *Tales of a Wayside Inn* (1863), containing such famous narratives as *Paul Revere's Ride*, *King Robert of Sicily*, and *The Saga of King Olaf*; the accurate historical temper of the two parts of the long dramatic poem *The New England Tragedies* (1868); and the blank verse of the powerful but little-known dramatic "fragment," *Michael Angelo* (1883). There is perhaps no better piece of occasional verse in American literature than Longfellow's dignified *Morituri Salutamus*, written for the 50th anniversary of his class at Bowdoin; and such sonnets as those preceding his translation of Dante's *Divina Commedia* have been highly praised. Beyond his contribution as a poet, Longfellow added to the literary growth of his time as a teacher, editor, translator, and prose writer.

Like Longfellow, James Russell Lowell\* is more important as a contributor to the development of American letters than as a figure in world literature. He also was a well-read scholar who felt a strong appeal in the humanistic traditions of European culture, and he continued—with idealism and urbanity—the civilizing influence which his nation needed. His contributions to American literature were perhaps greatest as discerning critic, editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* and *North American Review*, letter writer, and charming interpreter of American ideals in Europe; but among the rather diffuse, often hortatorical and sometimes capriciously jingling body of his poetry and prose lie some fine things. The two series of *Bigelow Papers* (1848, 1867) were originally journalistic political essays,

but they remain a definite contribution to American dialect humor with their deliberate provincialism, couched in racy Yankee dialect and filled with shrewd, witty, common-sense observations. The merry *A Fable for Critics* (1848), dealing with contemporary authors, contains the same blend of rather whimsical wit and penetrating judgment. And the more serious trio of memorial odes, composed after the Civil War, state with nobility and dignity the national ideals and responsibilities in light of the past struggle.

One of the most delightful figures of the period was Boston's Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes,\* physician, conversationalist, wit, and self-styled Brahmin. Writing was a pleasant but persistent avocation for this energetic optimist, and his reputation still rests upon delight rather than profundity, although his work frequently displays uncommon perception and mental honesty based upon habits of mind formed by science. Many of his pieces are completely captivating: *Old Ironsides*, *The Last Leaf*, *The Chambered Nautilus*, *The Deacon's Masterpiece* (under the humorous story a satire upon the Calvinism that Holmes attacked all his life), *The Voiceless*, *Dorothy Q*, *How the Old Horse Won the Bet*. Much of his most memorable verse appeared originally as interludes amid the sparkling prose of the long series of *Breakfast-Table* essays, which appeared originally in the *Atlantic Monthly*, a magazine that owed not only its name but a good deal of its original success to the genial doctor. It was in these discursive essays that Holmes's writing reached its peak, for in them he could approach the spontaneity and brilliance that made him a legend as a conversationalist.

Now in the shadow of the major writers, many minor figures are remembered chiefly as representatives of popular trends of the day. Oratory was still a highly influential form of expression, especially in the South; and the pulpitering of such liberal ministers as

Horace Bushnell, Henry Ward Beecher, and Mark Hopkins gained them considerable fame. In journalism the personal editorial as written by James Bennett and Horace Greeley was the focal point of the influence of the press. At this time also began the vast flood of so-called Sunday School books and juveniles which, in point of sheer numbers, have evidently been a vital part of the sub-literary reading of America well into the present century. Perhaps more truly creative were the Irish-born Fitz-James O'Brien, who followed the lead of Poe with several imaginative short stories such as *The Diamond Lens* and *The Wondersmith*, and the lyricist Stephen Foster, whose songs have become popular classics. The Western frontier was beginning to stir at this time also, and its first literary movements are to be observed in the *Recollections* (1826) and later romanticized novels of the Massachusetts missionary Timothy Flint; in the consciously localized writing of Judge James Hall, whose most famous collection of sketches and tales was *Legends of the West* (1832); and in the several books of stories and essays by Mrs. Caroline Kirkland. Meanwhile, as a part of the ever-growing folklore of the frontier, the Davy Crockett, Mike Fink, and other legends were developed in a number of printed versions.

Indicative of the serious sense of national consciousness were the productions of American historians, compilers, and biographers. Timothy Pitkin, Abiel Holmes, Benjamin Trumbull, and David Ramsay wrote early factual but didactic accounts of the country's development, and Richard Hildreth produced in 1849-52 a reliable 6 volume history; but the greatest name among the first national recorders was that of George Bancroft, whose *History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent* appeared in 10 volumes between 1834 and 1874. In the meantime source materials and facts were being compiled or edited by Jared Sparks in

the *Library of American Biography* (25 v., 1834-47) and Peter Force in *The American Archives* (9 v., 1837 f.) and *Tracts* (4 v., 1836-46). And American literature was given its first extensive treatment as a body in Evert and George Duyckinck's *Cyclopædia of American Literature* (1855, rev. 1866), soon followed by S. Austin Allibone's *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors* (3 v., 1858-71, with 2 v. supplement, 1891). The two most important American contributors to the romantic school of history were William Hickling Prescott, whose masterpiece among his studies of the Spanish culture is generally granted to be the sweeping but accurate *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (1843), and John Lathrop Motley, whose famous *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* (1856) and *The United Netherlands* (1860-67) were not only accurate history but also parts of a lifetime study in the implications of the movement of Protestantism. Representative of the rapidly growing body of travel and adventure literature is Francis Parkman's *The Oregon Trail* (1849), which now overshadows the author's serious historical series concerning the French and English struggle for colonial America.

1850-1870. Towering over literature of the mid-century stands the ever-increasing stature of Walt Whitman,\* all-embracing poet of the American dream. From the moment of the first edition of *Leaves of Grass* in 1855, Whitman has been a controversial figure—praised by Emerson and rejected by Lowell and Holmes; more popular in Europe than America until late in the century; and still the subject of widely diverse opinions. With an amazingly wide background of reading, he turned away from convention but not from past experience, seeking in "transcendent and new" expression—"indirect, and not direct or descriptive or epic"—a medium for the poetry that was to be "for ages and ages in common, and for all degrees and complexions." The

"poet of the modern," he felt, should be a seer, expressing the vital Ideas upon which progress is to be built, indicating to the people, from their own unconscious pattern, "the path between reality and their souls" and the "Sanity and ensemble" of the world-spirit. To do this he must encompass within himself the total nature of man, become the "one complete lover," revealing his insights with simplicity and "perfect personal candor." In these concepts Whitman was the culmination of the romantic period in America: From the transcendental phase he derived a mystic, rhapsodic assurance of spiritual verities (*Darest Thou Now O Soul*) and a conviction that the individual ego is a type of the race and even of all life (*Song of Myself, Me Imperturbe, One's-Self I Sing*). From the current emotionalism and faith in "the natural," combined with his own almost abnormal sensitivity to physical stimuli, he gained his sheer, pagan-like joy in nature as an experience and a microcosm (*When I Heard the Learned Astronomer* and *With Husky-Haughty Lips, O Seal!*), in the human body (*Children of Adam*), in the miraculous of the commonplace (*Miracles*), in the importance of childhood (*There Was a Child Went Forth*), and in a half-emotional, half-spiritual love for mankind en masse (*Crossing Brooklyn Ferry, I Saw in Louisiana a Live-Oak Growing* and *Give Me the Splendid Silent Sun*). From democratic and patriotic nationalism he evolved a central, lauding faith in America (*For You O Democracy, I Hear America Singing, From Paumanok Starting, and Thou Mother with Thy Equal Brood*); in the spirit of the frontier (*Pioneers! O Pioneers!*); and in America's catalytic function in world progress (*Years of the Modern*). And from the advances of physical science he caught a hope for evolutionary progress, an unfolding of cosmic purposes among men (*Passage to India*). The final depth and universal spirituality of Whitman's work owes

a great deal to his experiences as a male nurse and deeply concerned nationalist during the Civil War. He had already written a moving but generalized elegy in *Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking*, but the death of Lincoln gave him the vital inspiration for the elegiac poem most generally considered his masterpiece, *When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloomed*, as well as for the more conventional rhymed stanzas of *O Captain! My Captain!* Also out of his Civil War experiences came the compassionate, realistic prose volume *Specimen Days* (1882) and a new type of war poetry, emphasizing the suffering and experiences of individuals, in *Drum Taps* (1865).

Whitman, of course, was not the only poet to be moved by the Civil War, and a number of popular lyrics and songs of real merit came out of the struggle and were collected, along with a great deal of bad verse, in numerous anthologies such as Francis Browne's *Bugle Echoes* (1882). In prose, however, a good many years were to elapse before the war itself could be examined with any telling perspective, and as a whole the post-war writers seem less important than their great predecessors. This was partially due to the fact that the country's pains of growth and reconstruction were accompanied in literature by an experimental, transitional impulse toward realism, despite the popular persistence of the romantic attitude. In its first stages this was a critical realism, stemming partially from the perturbation of those reared amid the old ideals as they faced the new materialistic and scientific regime. Such was the case of Whitman's *Democratic Vistas* (1871), a vanguard of the long line of American books that were to retain an optimistic faith in the ideal democracy but fret over the growing intellectual, economic, and social conflicts.

Harriet Beecher Stowe's work is pertinent evidence for the contention that second-rate writers reveal more accurately the popular temper and conditions of their own times

than do great geniuses. Although she is remembered almost solely for the propagandistic *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), she produced many other books of fiction that not only illustrate the slow trend toward realism (through stages of moralism, sentimentalism, idyllic description and local color), but also draw an accurate, oftentimes powerful picture of the religious and mental conflicts of the people of New England. This is especially true of *The Minister's Wooing* (1859), *Oldtown Folks* (1869) and *We and Our Neighbors* (1875), as well as the historical novel *Agnes of Sorrento* (1862), which has obvious contemporary implications in dealing with the life of the religious rebel Savanarola. Similarly occupied with a tempered religious revolt against the harshness of the old orthodoxy were the novels of Donald Grant Mitchell, J. G. Holland, and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward. The frequent sentimentalism and piousness marking the last two were even more noticeable in the popular fiction of E. P. Roe; but Edward Rowland Sill's posthumously collected *Poems* (1902), also disturbed by problems of religious scepticism, contain little of the sentiment that prevails in so much of the religious literature of the middle of the century. Meanwhile, there were numerous representatives of the optimistic, solid, genteel conservatism of the larger part of the North. Donald Grant Mitchell ("Ik Marvel") and George W. Curtis gracefully carried on the Irvingesque story-essay tradition, mingling gentle local satire, humor, sentiment, optimism and a love of nature. Bayard Taylor became "the laureate of the gilded age." Louisa May Alcott, of *Little Women* (1868-9) fame, wrote many other charming, moralistic books of fiction. Edward Everett Hale, remembered chiefly for *The Man Without a Country* (1865), was a prolific writer encouraging practical optimism and philanthropy. Charles Dudley Warner was important as a facile essayist, a novelist and general editor

of *The American Men of Letters Series*. And Thomas Bailey Aldrich epitomized current literary conservatism both as editor of the *Atlantic* and in his essays, short stories and novels, the best of which is the semi-autobiographical *Story of a Bad Boy* (1870).

In the South, aristocratic nostalgia was mingled with a new vigorous lyric dedication to letters on the part of a few authors. Paul Hamilton Hayne deliberately chose literature as a profession, composing delicate idyllic poems about nature and his beloved Charleston, martial lyrics during the war, and a post-war collection of *Legends and Lyrics* (1872). His friend Henry Timrod also became a professional writer under the encouragement of Simms, and, with a competent knowledge of classical and English poetry at his command, succeeded at first as a lyricist of nature and then as the poetic spokesman for the Southern cultural dream, in such local color pieces as *The Cotton Boll* and the stately ode *Ethnogenesis* (1861, publ. 1873). The South's war songs and poems were put into many collections, the best probably J. W. Davidson's *Living Writers of the South* (1869). After the war the theme of 'The Lost Cause' permeated the work of some new poets such as Carlyle McKinley, and influenced the "escapist" writing of such others as John Banister Tabb, whose detached, abstracted poems of nature and religion are gems of conciseness, simplicity of diction, and delicate intensity of feeling. For other writers who avoided the almost inevitable sense of defeatism during the days of "reconstruction," there was hope in the future. Of this last type was Sidney Lanier,\* one of the greatest Southern poets, who not only applied social criticism in his verse, but also enlarged the metrical and thematic bounds of English poetry with his orchestral style, his pure artist's sense of imagination and his pantheistic adoration of Southern nature. In spite of some overstraining for musical effect and a tendency to be

didactic, Lanier's better lyrics, such as the stoic *The Stirrup-Cup*, the religious *A Ballad of Trees and the Master*, the lover's *Evening Song*, the melodious *Song of the Chatta-hoochee*, are full of the moral and physical beauty he found in life; and the vivid, rapid balladry of *The Revenge of Hamish* is packed with the drama of human emotion. In the longer ode, *Corn* (1875), Lanier expressed his agrarian economic views for the South, and in *The Symphony* he used that musical form as the structural basis for a protest against the evils of trade. The shorter dialect poem, *Thar's More in the Man than Thar Is in the Land*, expresses his conviction that individual responsibility lay at the center of success and progress, especially in the agricultural South.

In spite of the prevailing seriousness of mind of American writers during the early years, there had been a constant strain of wit and humor of the conventional European sort: satire, burlesque, geniality, and general recognition of the incongruous, especially of eccentric types. But a truly native American literary humor had to wait for the development of a typical technique and subject-matter, and it was only in the second quarter of the 19th c. that it emerged with recognizable characteristics. The materials had been sifted out by almanacs, jest books, dramas, newspapers, and travel books; the manner evolved from sketches, oral tales, and newspaper satire. Essentially it was back-country or frontier in attitude, drawing upon misspelling and then dialect, creating specific recognizable characters, using both drawling understatement (often connected with a sort of pseudo-naïveté) and fantastic exaggeration (especially in the tall-tale) but relatively little irony, and almost always making the most of shrewd comment or genial philosophy about men and life. Until it was conventionalized it was also genuinely realistic, and even then it remained deliberately coarse, prudential, anti-

sentimental, dialectic and often vulgar, and only in the latter part of the century did it cease to be basically moralistic underneath all the trappings of funning. One of its major contributions to the development of American literature as a whole was its ever-present emphasis upon local color.

The early Down-East or Yankee humorists include Seba Smith, creator of Jack Downing; Thomas C. Haliburton, originator of Sam Slick; Lowell, with his Hosea Biglow; Frances W. Whitчер, parent to that talkative trio, Widow Spriggins, Widow Bedott and Aunt Maguire; and Benjamin Shillaber, sire of the fumbling Mrs. Partington. Consistently employing dialect and increasingly emphasizing authenticity of background and individualized character, these writers developed a rich narrative technique (often epistolary or in dialogue); and they all were frequently motivated by political disputes. During the same period a boisterous old Southwest group of humorists sprang up, influenced by oral narratives and by insistent realism. Longstreet and Baldwin were the first in this consciously artistic tradition, which culminated in George W. Harris's *Sut Lovingood* (1867), using the framework technique for setting forth a mock oral tale and making the most of its colloquial richness, disarming directness, and vivid comic detail.

After about 1860 a new crop of literary comedians began to enter the scene, interested in continuously amusing their readers by employing every trick of the trade—cacography, anticlimax, verbal and contextual incongruity, puns, burlesque. They too were vicious in their attack upon sentimentality or insincerity, but their stereotyped techniques seem often tiring today. The most important names of this group are George H. Derby ("John Phoenix"), Henry Wheeler Shaw ("Josh Billings"), David Ross Locke ("Petroleum V. Nasby") and Charles Farrar Browne ("Artemus Ward"). Nearly all the traditions of

native American humor came to their climax in Mark Twain; but they were continued in new directions during the 19th c. by the writers of pure local color, by such recreative dialect humorists as Charles Leland, by George Ade in his *Fables in Slang* (1900), by Edgar Wilson ("Bill") Nye, by such newspaper paragraphers as Eugene Field, by the gentle H. C. Bunner, by the political sarcasm of Finley Peter Dunne's "Mister Dooley," and by the deft, surprising verbal cleverness of William Sydney Porter ("O. Henry").

Mark Twain, or Samuel Clemens,\* not only brought early professional American humor to its peak, but he also expressed vigorously and faithfully the spirit of the part of the nation that was expanding to the west. With a colloquial literary independence that was probably helped rather than hindered by the pressure of Eastern conservatism to which it was later subjected, he developed a natural idiom of free improvisation which concealed a deliberate art based upon the framework technique, the subtle timing and rhythm of the oral tale, and intimate acquaintance with the material it employed. His finest writing contains the same apparently naïve contradictions that made him so appealing as one of America's greatest platform performers: unconventionality, self-reliance, mirth, profanity, realism, cynicism, boisterousness, tenderness, a touch of chivalry, the sentiment of democratic society, and a brash loyalty to homely American institutions. His works that will live longest are those dealing with the Mississippi river frontier in which he grew up, *Tom Sawyer* (1876), *Life on the Mississippi* (1883), and *Huckleberry Finn* (1884). Not only do these contain the beauty that comes from the love of a section, and the humor and narrative appeal that come from individual ability, but they reveal—especially *Huckleberry Finn*, his masterpiece—a moving, epic sense of the interpenetration of char-

acter and environment, of ideals and actualities, in the life of the race. In the later philippics, however, Mark Twain's rationalism tended to squeeze out his innate love of humanity in the individual; then his constant serious protests against sham, hypocrisy, inordinate privilege, and sentimentality turned to cynicism, and his deep sense of the tragic incongruities of life became darkly pessimistic. This later disillusion should not be over-emphasized, however, for the Mark Twain that remains supreme is the one that achieved an integrated balance between seriousness and humor.

Far more romantic than Mark Twain's stories of the West were the local color tales of Bret Harte,\* who popularized the bizarre qualities of the Far West with his contributions to *The Overland Monthly*, which were collected in the highly successful *The Luck of Roaring Camp and Other Tales* in 1870. A conscious literary workman, Harte lacked, however, the sincerity and moral concern that raised Mark Twain above the commonplace, and once he had exploited the dramatic possibilities of his fresh material he failed to produce anything further of real significance, despite his ability at condensation and clear-cut delineation of striking figures. The decline of his influence was paralleled in the career of another spokesman of the Western frontier, the fabulous Cincinnatus ("Joaquin") Miller, whose energetic, rhetorical, but unfeigned and authentic *Pacific Poems* (1870) and *Songs of the Sierras* (1871) created a momentary sensation in London and then America. One of the significant things about the acclaim accorded both Harte and Miller is the revelation of the increasing demand for realistic local color fiction, which was to be characteristic of the next few decades.

1870-1900. Literary local color, characterized by emphasis upon picturesque localized settings and character types, and by a sense of actuality and truth to human life, was



basically romantic in its attitude toward its material, although in its scrupulous effort at faithfulness in background and dialect it fostered realism. Because of its limited scope its chief medium came to be the short story, but it did affect some poetry and inevitably influenced longer prose narratives. Thus, such verse collections as John Hay's *Pike County Ballads* (1871) and James Whitcomb Riley's *The Old Swimmin'-Hole and 'Leven More Poems* (1883) show many local color characteristics, as do also a majority of the novels of the period. Recognized forerunners and transitional figures in the movement were Rose Terry Cooke; H. B. Stowe; Bret Harte; Constance Fenimore Woolson, grand-niece of Cooper, who wrote of the primitive French colonies near Mackinac in *Castle Nowhere* (1875) and then gave a sympathetic interpretation of the South and of Italy in later collections.

Because of its dialects and rural conditions, the South provided a wealth of local color material. Irwin Russell's early authentic poems in Negro dialect, later issued as *Christmas-Night in the Quarters*, started a vogue that was largely developed by Joel Chandler Harris with his numerous "Uncle Remus" stories after 1880, and by Paul Laurence Dunbar's finer dialect pieces as collected in *Lyrics of Lowly Life* (1896). George W. Cable memorialized New Orleans with *Old Creole Days* (1879) and many other prose works noted for their style and charm; Richard Malcolm Johnston's Georgian *Dukesborough Tales* (1857; 1871) became popular in the North with a new edition in 1883; Mary Noailles Murfee ("Charles Egbert Craddock") in 1884 assembled her earlier *Atlantic Monthly* stories in a volume titled *In the Tennessee Mountains*, following it in the next decades with ten similar collections marked by the same rhythmical prose, poetic description, and general atmosphere, and with a series of historical novels of the Civil War and colonial days in

the South; Thomas Nelson Page sentimentalized the Old South not only in collections of stories such as *In Ole Virginia* (1887) but also in novels, essays and biographies; Francis Hopkinson Smith took time out from producing illustrated travel books to pen a famous novelette about the proud but destitute *Colonel Carter of Cartersville* (1891); and Kate Chopin achieved in the polished tales of *Bayou Folk* (1894) and *A Night in Acadie* (1897) a delicate but poignant objectivity that turned into distinct realism in her last novel, *The Awakening* (1899), dealing with the psychology of mixed marriage.

Similar to this Southern local color in their appeal were the equally popular books of travel and exploration that brought to Americans the romance of faraway places and peoples, ranging from Africa and Syria to Russia, Alaska, and the North Pole. Bayard Taylor, W. D. Howells, Charles A. Stoddard, to mention only a few names, achieved their first successes with travel stories and sketches. The Far West was exploited by such writers as John C. Frémont, George Catlin (famous for both stories and drawings of the Indians), Joaquin Miller, Owen Wister (*The Virginian*, 1902), and Charles B. Clark, whose poems in *Sun and Saddle Leather* (1915) are the best representatives of the many adaptations from cowboy ballads and tunes.

Historical novels also thrived as a part of the period's persistent romantic tradition. Even the most famous of these make a long list: General Lew Wallace's *Ben-Hur* (1880); Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona* (1884); Silas Weir Mitchell's *Hugh Wynne, Free Quaker* (1896-8); Frederic J. Stimson's *King Noanett* (1896); James Lane Allen's *The Choir Invisible* (1897); Charles Major's *When Knighthood Was in Flower* (1898); Mary Johnston's *Prisoners of Hope* (1898) and *To Have and To Hold* (1900); Paul Leicester Ford's *Janice Meredith* (1899); Winston Churchill's *Richard Carvel* (1899) and *The Crisis* (1901);

Booth Tarkington's *Monsieur Beaucaire* (1900); Maurice Thompson's *Alice of Old Vincennes* (1900); Henry Harland's *The Cardinal's Snuff Box* (1900).

Also romantic, despite frequent realistic elements, were the productions of such polished technicians in the short story as Frank R. Stockton, whose serious-faced use of the paradox and grotesquely unexpected is best known in the title story of *The Lady or the Tiger?* (1884); Ambrose Bierce, bitter and mysterious figure who exploited sardonic humor, the surprise ending and realistic study of emotional states in the grim horror stories of *Tales of Soldiers and Civilians* (1891; rev. as *In the Midst of Life*, 1898) and *Can Such Things Be?* (1893); and O. Henry, who brought to its peak the technique of surprise or anticlimactic ending with his seemingly innumerable stories of American life, especially in New York City as in *The Four Million* (1906). Lafcadio Hearn, noted for his later sympathetic portrayal of the Japanese, among whom he chose to live, strove for technical and stylistic virtuosity in handling the exotic and fantastically beautiful material which fascinated him. In poetry the traditional romantic idiom and attitude found a momentary preservation in the verse of three New Yorkers who were also contemporary literary arbiters in their positions as editors, critics and anthologists: Richard Henry Stoddard, Edmund Clarence Stedman, and Richard Watson Gilder. Frank Dempster Sherman composed delicate lyrics and catches as a pleasant avocation. Marking an exuberant reaction against these esthetes is the transitional figure of Richard Hovey, whose Bohemianism, chauvinistic patriotism and spirit of poetic revolt are best seen in the three series of *Songs from Vagabondia* (1894, 1896, 1901—written in collaboration with Bliss Carman) and in *Along the Trail* (1898).

The local color impulse in New England was accompanied by factors that tended to

make its tone there far less romantic than in the South. In part those factors were the same ones that were to bring about the movement of authentic realism; but at the core lay something even deeper—a feeling that the section had somehow become physically devitalized, and that resolution and fortitude were the best remaining virtues. This "granite lip" attitude appears in its earliest, purest state, relatively free from conscious local color, in the poems of Emily Dickinson,\* which were written, without view of publication, anywhere from 10 to 60 years before they were posthumously collected in *Poems* (four series: 1890, 1891, 1896, 1945). These miniature untitled lyrics owe a great deal in both idea and treatment to Emerson, and therefore represent quite clearly the dualism and centrality, the balance between abstraction and sensation, that characterized the Emersonian romanticism; but there is an addition of tense emotion, of psychological introspection, and especially of a gamin-like enjoyment of the ironic, which give an entirely new tone to the poems as they treat subjects which her editors classified as 'Life, Nature, Love, Time, and Eternity.' These new qualities are partly the result of Miss Dickinson's unique personality and imagination, expressing themselves in spontaneous, artless effect, and economy and vividness of image, but they also foreshadow the similar attitude of the women that were to become New England's most representative local color writers.

Sarah Orne Jewett of Maine is the most appealing of these recorders of New England village life in its darker phase. Her method is intentionally realistic and authentic, but is marked by careful selection for beauty and dignity, by a delicacy and shy gaiety, and by a constant somberness of tone that leave an aura of romantic tenderness around such stories as those collected in *Deephaven* (1877) and *A White Heron, and Other Stories* (1886). Her masterpiece is *The Country of*

*the Pointed Firs* (1896), a group of carefully integrated sketches of a Maine seaport community during its decline. Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, on the other hand, evolved from the typical New England restraint and local color realism a stern, objective, often ironic treatment of human character which she managed best in short stories noted for their bare, austere style and their bleakness of outlook, which is relieved somewhat by a constant vein of deep-lying humor. Her best-known and most representative work is *A New England Nun and Other Stories* (1891), dealing with rural life in her native Massachusetts. Margaret Deland's short story character studies, in the series of collections beginning with *Old Chester Tales* (1898), were, on the other hand, more genial and optimistic in tone, as was also Edward Noyes Westcott's local color novel, *David Harum* (1898), with its use of the traditional crusty, witty but wise benefactor who, in this case, is a New England country banker.

Literary realism is, of course, a permanent tendency in history—the attempt to render life as it really is. But at certain periods, such as the one under discussion, the tendency becomes dominant and even extreme; and isolated, sporadic evidences of it are replaced by a definite, conscious movement. In America the frontier had always been a contributor toward the realistic because of its rugged, down-to-earth contact with existence, and from that basis grew American 'realism.' It was developed and accompanied, however, by a renewed zest for localized experience on the part of authors, and by a rejuvenated scientific curiosity and indignation concerning the state of civilization. This latter questioning was fostered by three general conditions: the economic warfare engendered by industrialization, immigration, urbanization, and the growth of class consciousness; the advance of science, bringing such upsetting theories as higher criticism, evolution, survival of the

fittest, and especially a new type of materialism and determinism; and finally, the gradual infiltration from Europe of the ideas and practice of such literary realists as George Eliot, Hardy, Zola, Taine, Turgenev, and Tolstoy, all of whom had distinct influence upon one or more of the new American realists.

It was out of the Mid-West that came the first clear break with the lingering traditions of romanticism. As early as 1855 Bayard Rush Hall ("Robert Carlton") in *The New Purchase* had reported fairly accurately the life of Indiana, but it was Edward Eggleston, Methodist backwoods preacher influenced by Taine's environmentalistic theory of art, who brought the Mid-West to America's attention with such novels as *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* (1871), *The Circuit Rider* (1874) and *Roxy* (1878). Eggleston's realistic reporting of the crudities and peculiarities of the Mid-West frontier was soon seconded by Edgar Watson Howe's grim and extremely powerful naturalism in *The Story of a Country Town* (1883), as well as by Joseph Kirkland's frank and forceful descriptions of frontier drabness in *Zury* (1887) and *The McVeys* (1888). Meanwhile, from Ohio came a young journalist who was to become America's major exponent of a gentle or selective realism of the commonplace, as well as a sincere literary arbiter in his editorial positions on the *Atlantic* and *Harper's*, in which capacity he sponsored a whole new generation of much bolder realists. Because of these activities William Dean Howells\* remains an important figure in the rise of American realism, although his own fiction now seems rather pale, shallow, and descriptive when contrasted with later realistic novels. Nevertheless, the ardent humanitarianism and sense of social injustice which in his later period led Howells in the direction of socialism (*A Traveler from Altruria*, 1894) did not blind him, as it did so many other 'realists,' to the general and normal scope of American life,

so that such later novels as his solidly realistic *The Landlord at Lion's Head* (1897) and the searching *An Imperative Duty* (1892) and *The Son of Royal Langbrith* (1904) show his continued awareness of the subtle disturbances of average existence. His closest approach to the typical Mid-West realism of frontier life, in *The Leatherstocking* (1916), indicates that he might have developed that material with as much power as others, had he so chosen. A close friend of Howells, the Norwegian-born Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen, achieved some distinction also as a realist, treating especially the urban problem of new wealth and social injustice in three novels, the most appealing of which is *The Social Strugglers* (1893).

One of the most brilliant early stars on the horizon of realism was Stephen Crane, protégé of Howells, and journalist turned author. Crane's deservedly famous novel treating the psychology of fear in a soldier, *The Red Badge of Courage* (1895), not only continued his earlier (*Maggie, a Girl of the Streets*, 1893) non-moralizing, actualistic portrayal of human behavior, but it also introduced into fictional prose style a new impressionistic elimination of detail which placed a sharp focus upon the central image. In varying degrees this same mixture of impressionism and realism marks Crane's later work in verse, short stories, and war correspondence. In both aspects his influence has been extensive.

Economic and social problems held from the first a large place in realistic literature. As far back as 1861 Rebecca Harding Davis had dealt realistically with *Life in the Iron Mills*; and other realistic social protests lay buried within material which was ostensibly humorous (as in Mark Twain), autobiographical (as in Albion W. Tourgée's treatment of the Reconstruction in *A Fool's Errand*, 1879), or romantic (as in Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward: 2000-1887*, 1888—the master-type of many Utopian

novels, the cause of the rise of the Nationalist Party, and still one of the most widely read books in America). But Hamlin Garland, who developed his own objective literary combination of localized democracy and individualism, called 'veritism' (*Crumbling Idols*, 1894), was one of the first consistently to apply the realistic method to the economic ills he had met in his own youth on the 'Middle Border,' in his talks with Howells, in his reading of the Russian novelists, and especially in Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* (1879). Garland's private solution for the emotional, cultural, and economic poverty that he portrayed in such collections of short stories as *Main-Travelled Roads* (1891) and *Rose of Dutcher's Coolly* (1895) and in the autobiographical *A Son of the Middle Border* (1917) was in the single-tax theory of George and in the Populist Party, which he actively supported for a time. Another pioneer realist, Frank Norris,\* after a period of frankly naturalistic writing and one of semi-romance, also developed a 'social vision' whereby he saw *The Responsibilities of the Novelist* (1903) as those of preaching "by telling things and showing things"; this creed he began to carry out in a trilogy (he completed only two parts, *The Octopus*, 1901; *The Pit*, 1903) showing the social and economic forces at work in the production and marketing of wheat. Edwin Markham's popular poem *The Man with the Hoe* (1899) meanwhile objected to the dehumanizing effect of labor upon man; Robert Herrick's series of critical novels studied the pressure of a materialistic society upon the decent individual; and Winston Churchill's painstakingly documented novels investigated American political machines (*Coniston*, 1906), corrupt railroad practices (*Mr. Crewe's Career*, 1908), and the social responsibility of religion (*The Inside of the Cup*, 1913). These few writers are representative of many more, in both material and treatment.

The conflict between science and old beliefs held an equal place with economic disturbances in the literature of the time, but in an essentially advanced stage. For, where the economic literature was largely that of initial protest, religious-ethical problems had long passed through that phase with Melville, Holmes, and Mark Twain, and were now at the point of anatomizing the doubts that grew out of the process. Margaret Deland's *John Ward, Preacher* (1888), Harold Frederic's *The Damnation of Theron Ware* (1896), and James Lane Allen's *The Reign of Law* (1900), all best-seller novels, represent the numerous serious attempts of the period to deal with the breakdown of faith. Perhaps the most significant spokesman of the bewildering search for values, however, was Henry Adams,\* whose self-termed failure to find a key to his civilization, in *The Education of Henry Adams* (1907; 1918), was actually an ironic and sometimes cynical criticism of his time.

In a country in which changing values, shifting social lines and constant expansion were obviously operating to make its culture different from that of Europe, it was only natural that the basic psychology of social life should be closely examined, aside from and beyond the closely allied topics of economics and personal belief. It was chiefly as a social psychologist, within a highly restricted field, that Henry James\* became important as a realist and stylist. Noted for his sensitive contrast of the American and European cultures, and for his study of moral crises of taste, decency, or judgment in characters that have little to occupy them but cultivated leisure, he also made lasting contributions—as an untiring craftsman and critic (esp. his *Critical Prefaces*, in the 26 v. N. Y. Edition of his works, and in *The Art of the Novel*, 1934)—to the short story and to the novel, which he considered the highest medium of expression (*The Art of Fiction*, 1885). His

final fictional method evolved rather slowly but surely, and the classical finish and clarity of style in the early and relatively conventional novels (best represented by *The Portrait of a Lady*, 1881) gave way in his later masterpieces (*The Spoils of Poynton*, 1897; *The Wings of the Dove*, 1902; *The Ambassadors*, 1903; *The Golden Bowl*, 1904) to increasing complexity and subtlety, and insistence upon capturing and revealing all the values inherent in a relatively static situation as it slowly unfolds to those participating. The same propensity for making his writing a sort of 'initiation' into an attenuated social, artistic, or moral value is to be seen in his short stories. These he rarely could keep within the traditional length, and in them he discarded the typical American emphasis upon action and anecdote for social studies (*The Real Thing*) or haunting psychological ghost stories (*The Turn of the Screw*). His extended attempt in mid-career to become a successful dramatist met with almost complete stage failure.

Similar to James in dealing with the international scene were Francis Marion Crawford, whose popular, melodramatic but engaging set-pieces are seen at their best in the so-called Roman series beginning with *Saracinesca* (1887); and the erstwhile war-correspondent, Richard Harding Davis, whose cosmopolitan fiction was vivid but superficial. Meanwhile Dr. Silas W. Mitchell, a physician specializing in nervous diseases, wrote several realistic psychological novels (none as successful as his historical romances, however); Henry Blake Fuller alternated between fanciful romance and such realistic urban studies as *The Cliff Dwellers* (1893); and David Graham Phillips began a muckraking war on fraud, oppression, and 'the new woman' which culminated in his best book, *Susan Lenox* (1917). The most provocative voice among the poets belonged to William Vaughn Moody, whose realistic, tragic *Poems*

(1901) marked the beginning of a new era in verse, just as his best play, *The Great Divide* (1906; 1909), with its theme of the struggle between the rigor and formality of old civilization and the freer but more brutal impulses of the frontier, headed the American realistic theatrical renaissance.

After the Civil War, American drama was long dominated by the producing tradition of Dion Boucicault and Augustin Daly, which looked to Europe for most of its material, using only occasionally bits of native local color for variety. Bronson Howard had, it is true, introduced a revival of American themes, and was important in organizing protection for native dramatists; but even his best plays, such as *Young Mrs. Winthrop* (1882), *The Henrietta* (1887), and *Shenandoah* (1888), are now dated and suffer from the conventions of his day. Steel MacKaye likewise did a great deal for imaginative staging, and his *Hazel Kirke* (1880) showed a quiet masculinity, which James A. Herne furthered in the clarity and simplicity of his psychological character studies *Margaret Fleming* (1890) and *Shore Acres* (1892), and C. Augustus Thomas continued in a reportorial vein in *The Witching Hour* (1907) and *As a Man Thinks* (1911). But the first American to take rank in the world theatre was the writer of social comedy Clyde Fitch, whose feeling for dialogue, authenticity to the life of his time, and power within individual scenes were cut short in their development by his premature death. Such plays of his as *Beau Brummel* (1890), *The Girl with the Green Eyes* (1902), and *The Truth* (1907) still remain important in stage literature, and in his own day created a demand for more American-written plays. It was Moody who gave this revival a positive program, with his honest examination of the real psychological bases of drama. In addition, both his theory and practice exerted vast influence: the poetic aspect of his work upon such writers as Mrs.

Josephine Preston Peabody Marks (*The Piper*, 1909-10) and Percy MacKaye (*Jeanne d'Arc*, 1906-7; *The Scarecrow*, 1908-9); and his realistic phase upon dramatists like Rachel Crothers (*A Man's World*, 1909; *He and She*, 1911) and Edward Sheldon (*The Nigger*, 1909; *The Boss*, 1911). From these new beginnings were to stem the modern serious drama in America. At the same time there was a deluge of popular comic plays such as William Gillette's *Too Much Johnson* (1894) and *Sherlock Holmes* (1899); George Ade's *The County Chairman* (1903); Langdon Mitchell's *The New York Idea* (1906); Albert E. Thomas's *Her Husband's Wife* (1910); John Manners' *Peg o' My Heart* (1912); Clare Kummer's *A Successful Calamity* (1917); Jesse Lynch Williams' sharply satirical *Why Marry?* (1917); Winchell Smith's *Lightnin'* (1918), with the famous character Bill Jones; Edward Milton Royle, Booth Tarkington, Richard Tully, Philip Moeller, represent the many craftsmen in dramatic romance.

The period produced an abundance of expository prose, much of it highly significant in terms of the development and recognition of American literature. Among the critical essayists that left their mark were Hamilton Wright Mabie; Edwin Percy Whipple, remembered for his optimistic estimates of early American authors in *American Literature and Other Papers* (1887); Edmund Clarence Stedman, whose *Poets of America* (2 v., 1885) and *A Library of American Literature* (11 v., 1888-90; ed. with Ellen Hutchinson) increased the general interest in native writing; Richard Henry Stoddard; Thomas Lounsbury, philologist and biographer of Cooper; George E. Woodberry, stimulating teacher, scholarly biographer of Poe and Hawthorne, and rather selective critic in *America in Literature* (1903); Frank Moore Colby, polished, witty, and ironic essayist; William Winter, dean of the drama critics. The more

formal literary critics were led by such dynamic and forceful writers as Brander Matthews, highly influential representative of the 'gentlemanly school'; Barrett Wendell, learned biographer of Cotton Mather and provocative commentator in *A Literary History of America* (1900); Bliss Perry, urbane and widely-cultured biographer, and analyst of *The American Mind* (1912) and *The American Spirit in Literature* (1918); William C. Brownell, independent and intellectual champion of rational criteria in criticism, interestingly demonstrated in *American Prose Masters* (1909); Paul Elmer More, the greatest of the conservative critics, showing breadth, solidity, and soundness of learning in the two *Shelburne Essays* series (14 v., 1904-36); Stuart P. Sherman, acute and pungent critic of catholic taste whose early conservatism and local patriotism in *On Contemporary Literature* (1917) became more liberal in *Americans* (1922); and James Huneker, influential, esoteric arch-impressionist.

In addition to a large number of conventional individual biographies, these years also produced two important biographical collections (*Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, ed. James G. Wilson and John Fiske, 6 v., 1886; and *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, ed. Ainsworth R. Spofford, 20 v. and suppl., 1898 f.) which prepared the way for the great *Dictionary of American Biography*, edited by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (20 v. and suppl., 1928-37).

In history John W. Draper (*The History of the Intellectual Development of Europe*, 1862; *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science*, 1874) and Andrew D. White (*The Warfare of Science and Theology*, 1896) were pioneers in the modern study of the history of ideas; Henry Charles Lea gained fame as a medievalist; Alfred Thayer Mahan put his mark upon all subsequent naval theory with *The Influence of Sea Power*

*upon History* (1890); Justin Winsor, John Fiske, Hubert Howe Bancroft, Herbert Baxter Adams, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., and Brooks Adams represented in varying degrees the advance of the scientific method; and Edward Eggleston and Theodore Roosevelt vigorously continued the romantic, didactic approach. And in philosophy a period of stimulated speculation centered about such men as Noah Porter, chief of the Scottish common-sense school; William T. Harris, Hegelian; John Fiske, Spencerian evolutionist; Charles S. Pierce, scientific iconoclast; Josiah Royce, monistic idealist; William James, "pragmatist"; J. Mark Baldwin, pansocialist; John Dewey, naturalist; George Santayana, speculative and retrospective rationalist; and F. J. E. Woodbridge, metaphysician.

1910—. American literature like American life in the present century has been a reluctant and rebellious heir to the preceding age, from which it received not only inherent strengths in which it could glory and constitutional weaknesses which it deplored, but also powerful acquired influences (most of them European, such as many aspects of 'realism' and 'naturalism'; psychological theories like Freud's; politico-social theories like Marx's; inventions of technique like Joyce's; and the intellectualist criticism) that have put to profound test the traditional native character. Thus, the real vitality of recent American literature has come from its exploration of the emotional possibilities of life, in a culture based upon the acceptance of certain re-affirmed or newly established moral and intellectual convictions, which, in turn, are distinctly affected by the American scene.

Perhaps the most fundamental issue, at least until the late thirties, was the half-psychological, half-metaphysical re-examination of men's purposes and springs of action in relation to life. The temper of the answers ranged from unthinking optimism, through considered acceptance of tradition, to almost

complete alienation and despair; but usually there was a notable individual dependence upon ready-made philosophies, ranging from the Greek-Christian to that of Marx, Spengler, or Veblen.

Inevitably, much of the popular writing begged the philosophical question, in romance or the new genre of sentimental realism. Thus, Kate Douglas Wiggin, Eleanor Porter (*Pollyanna*, 1913), Irving Bacheller, Kathleen Norris, Lloyd C. Douglas and others built best-seller, semi-moralistic fiction out of sweetness and light, amity, homeliness, and contentment. And in the theatre the pseudo-morality of Channing Pollock pulled at one set of the public's heartstrings while Kaufman and Hart's *You Can't Take It With You* (1936-7) tugged at another; and Philip Barry, master of charming conversational dialogue, came just short of the crucial problems with his doctrine of compromise in *Paris Bound* (1927), his intangible pseudo-philosophy in *Hotel Universe* (1930), his oversimple theology in *Here Come the Clowns* (1938), and his rather priggish praise of integrity in *The Philadelphia Story* (1939). It is also obvious that the vast realm of avowedly non-serious writing, such as the bedroom farces of Wilson Collison and Frank Craven, before World War I, the ribald prose fantasies of Thorne Smith, the merry comedies of Mark Reed and Arthur Kober, and the high-speed farces identified with George Abbott, did not deeply concern itself with men's fundamental purposes, at least explicitly. But beyond these often delightful but simple optimisms and escapes developed an increasing number of serious approaches which are the real heart of contemporary literature.

The old 'classic' tradition of faith in individual integrity—freed from the shackles of neo-classicism 'by a realistic appeal to personal experience—evolved a new significance in two directions: the idealistic and religious, and the humanistic. Among the essayists and

critics, Paul Elmer More represented the former trend, while Irving Babbitt, leader of the "New Humanist" group, energetically championed the latter in such manifestoes as *The New Laokoön* (1910) and *Rousseau and Romanticism* (1919). Essentially independent of these academicians were the novelists and poets who, in their own way, also reaffirmed the classic tradition. Edith Wharton,\* strongly influenced in both attitude and technique by Henry James, centered her attention upon the aesthetic and social adjustment of the individual, soon leaving her early ironic probing of aristocratic manners to write movingly about the tragedy of the person that is forced to break social law. Her powerful, direct novelette *Ethan Frome* (1911) illustrates her capacity to deal realistically with the purely tragic, while *The Age of Innocence* (1920) reveals her basic conviction that the only remedy for a degenerate society lies within the individual member. Somewhat similar to both James and Mrs. Wharton, in her fictional studies of domestic tragedy and of international social relationships and contrasts, was Ann Douglas Sedgwick (de Sélin-court), whose popular *Tante* (1911) and *The Little French Girl* (1924) show her power in handling the psychology of unusual temperaments. Dorothy Canfield Fisher, whose critical recognition came late, with *The Brimming Cup* (1921) and *The Deepening Stream* (1930), has also consistently contributed since about 1911 her wide learning and cosmopolitan experience to a liberalistic side of the humanistic tradition.

Perhaps the two most distinguished women novelists of the present century, Ellen Glasgow and Willa Cather, illustrate the continuation of the idealistic side of the classical tradition. Both have consistently emphasized the struggle of the strong but sensitive individual spirit against inimical forces of environment that threaten beauty and integrity—Miss Glasgow (see below) choosing as her back-



ground the long history of her native Virginia, and Miss Cather\* using the pioneer motif from different eras and areas of American development. The most satisfying of the latter's novels remain the earlier stories of non-English immigrants in the West of her own youth (*O Pioneers!*, 1913; *The Song of the Lark*, 1915; *My Antonia*, 1918)—all memorable for their vivid, unliterary characters and serenely stable heroines; her later books seem to have suffered somewhat from increasing spiritual conservatism. But, as artistic experiments in the vividly simple, her *Death Comes for the Archbishop* (1927) and *Shadows on the Rock* (1931) remain unsurpassed. Two novels with striking thematic likenesses to these last-mentioned of Miss Cather—Thornton Wilder's lyrical and metaphysical allegory, *The Bridge of San Luis Rey* (1927), and Hervey Allen's huge, epical *Anthony Adverse* (1933)—are practically the only successful masculine contributions to idealistic fiction of this period, and in the main both the idealistic and humanistic novel has continued to be associated with women writers, such as Pearl Buck. Characteristic of these novels as a whole has been their cosmopolitanism and their advocacy of spiritual or artistic self-dedication.

The outstanding poetic spokesman of the classic tradition is undoubtedly Robert Frost,\* anti-esthete and realistic observer of the customary in both man and nature. From the conventional lyrics of *A Boy's Will* (1913) to the wider variety represented by *Collected Poems* (1930; 1939) Frost's work has been notable for its simple, quiet and non-sensuous capture of a rich actuality that suddenly comes alive under his touch, with the double force of observation and implication. Humorous and liberal, without becoming slave to either view, he has depended upon personal discovery rather than authority, and his intense imaginative sympathy with the tragic in life ('sentiment salted with Stoicism') has

led to neither argument nor derision, but rather to a frugal, gallant faith in the humanity of man. And, although his poems may not reach the final range of genius, they have touched the heart of traditions old to America and revived them in the present day.

Much more spectacular than the traditionalists, and deeply influential upon later writing, were the new group of authors who, like Crane and Norris, were strongly influenced by such European thinkers as Spencer, Darwin, Nietzsche, Marx, Huxley, Tyndall, Haeckel, Freud, Spengler. These were the explorers of elemental overdrives—of the vast power of nature. In Jack London, romantic adventurer, "hopeless materialist," and ardent socialist, there arose a strange combination of sheer red-blooded action and scientific naturalism, which at its best (*The Call of the Wild*, 1903; *Martin Eden*, 1909) rises artistically above the basic adolescent glorification of barbaric strength and cunning (as in *The Sea Wolf*, 1904) through London's strong poetic prose style, his immense energy, his ability to capture the clean thrill of action, and his real concern over social evils (*The People of the Abyss*, 1903). Theodore Dreiser,\* like London and many others among the 'naturalistic' school, in his somber broodings over mankind has trod a path from individualism to socialism: *Sister Carrie* (1900) and *Jennie Gerhardt* (1911) portrayed man as a "wisp in the wind" of life, purposeless and at the mercy of conventional ethical codes; *The Financier* (1912) and *The Titan* (1914) added a pragmatic grandeur of the superman in a basic struggle for survival; and *An American Tragedy* (1925), with its behavioristic treatment of a youth caught in the toils of environment, pointed the way to Dreiser's later hopeful glances at socialism (*Tragic America*, 1931). On the other hand, Robinson Jeffers,\* technically the most impressive of modern poets, with an imaginative scope and emotional surge that few have

matched, has revealed an intense revulsion from society. From *Tamar and Other Poems* (1924) to the present he has expanded his theme of passionate individualism-at-any-price: a violent, cauterizing escape from the modern standardized pattern of living, toward the elemental, non-human silences and vastness of nature. But, though human life on the whole is pointless to Jeffers, there does remain in his poems a tragic dignity in the very tenacity and toughness of the human character. Similar to Jeffers in both technical experimentation and search for an elemental force, Hart Crane did dazzling and sometimes irresponsible things with language (based upon the "experiential nature" of poetry and the "associational logic of the poetic word"), and turned to American phenomena as symbols (often obscure) of modern unity and faith (*The Bridge*, 1930).

The advent of Freudian psychology, combined with post-war disillusion and the complexity of modern life, brought about in America a new type of psychological literature, perhaps best catalogued as 'subjective naturalism.' Here too the central theme was often bewilderment, revolt, or bitterness against civilization and the nature of man. Forerunners of the type existed in the early realists, but Edgar Lee Masters most conveniently marked the beginning of the concerted movement, with his brutally frank exposure of the hidden cankers and emotional ailments of a small Illinois village, in *Spoon River Anthology* (1915), a series of revelatory, ironic epitaphs supposedly spoken by the occupants of a cemetery and written in a colloquial, cadenced, unrhymed verse with powerful qualities of compression, suggestion, dramatic contrast, and even exaltation when it avoids a descent into mere prose. Sherwood Anderson,\* expressionistic story-teller who was, stylistically, probably the most influential prose writer of the period, rebelled even more specifically than Masters against the repres-

sions and standardization of society. The suspiciously autobiographical characters of his novels (*Windy McPherson's Son*, 1916; *Dark Laughter*, 1925) and his collections of tales (*Winesburg, Ohio*, 1919) suffer vaguely and with little directed vision from a profound dissatisfaction with the universe, finding what solace they can in a mystical, unhindered self-expression that is oftentimes closely connected with sex or the primal drives of nature. More recent writers that have shown characteristics of subjective naturalism are Conrad Aiken, poet and novelist (*Selected Poems*, 1929; *Blue Voyage*, 1927, *Great Circle*, 1933); Evelyn Scott (*The Narrow House*, 1921; *The Wave*, 1929); Vardis Fisher (*In Tragic Life*, 1932); Kay Boyle; William Faulkner (*The Sound and the Fury*, 1929; *Light in August*, 1932).

Closely allied to the 'subjective naturalists' were those post-war writers whose works mirror the pseudo-sophisticated struggle for personal social adjustment that dominated the twenties. Almost universally their medal of memories was struck with two faces: the first shrewd, 'liberal,' and sardonic; the other moody, dark, and tending toward the melodramatic or psychopathic. These two sides of the so-called 'jazz-age' left a definite imprint upon such novelists as Floyd Dell (*Moon-Calf*, 1920); F. Scott Fitzgerald (*The Great Gatsby*, 1925); Ben Hecht (*Erik Dorn*, 1921), and upon such playwrights as Rachel Crothers (*Let Us Be Gay*, 1929; *Susan and God*, 1937-8); Susan Glaspell (*The Verge*, 1921-2; *Alison's House*, 1930); Owen Davis (*Icebound*, 1923); George Kelley (*The Show-Off*, 1924; *Craig's Wife*, 1925-6); Sidney Howard (*Ned McCobb's Daughter*, 1926), Maxwell Anderson (*Saturday's Children*, 1927); Zoë Akins (*The Greeks Had a Word for It*, 1930; *The Old Maid*, 1935); Sidney Kingsley (*Dead End*, 1935-6; *The World We Make*, 1939); Lillian Hellman (*The Children's Hour*, 1934; *The Little*

Foxes, 1938-9; *Watch on the Rhine*, 1941); Clare Boothe (*The Women*, 1936; *Kiss the Boys Good-Bye*, 1938). The effect has, of course, been variously muted and transmuted by the individual tendencies of these authors. That is especially true for Maxwell Anderson, who, nevertheless, in collaboration with Laurence Stallings in the robust war-play *What Price Glory* (1924; 1926), dealt with 'the small man' in a conflict he is unable to idealize; and who in his later work—which is marked by a laudable experimentation with poetic drama (*Winterset*, 1935)—has based his tragedy upon the theme of "victory in defeat," a transcending ennoblement in the face of disaster (*Mary of Scotland*, 1933; *Key Largo*, 1939). Perhaps James Thurber, satirist, cartoonist, playwright (*The Male Animal*, 1940—with Elliott Nugent) and author of a peculiarly penetrating type of sketch-short story (*My World—and Welcome to It*, 1942), should also be included in this group, especially as the most explicit analyst of the 'war-of-the-sexes' theme that occupies so large a part of modern literature.

Another type of sensitive response to modern complexity involved an essentially romantic revelation of emotional inner fires. This appears to be basic in the 'subconsciously organic' verse of the scholar and poet William Ellery Leonard (*Two Lives*, 1922, a sonnet-sequence), in the sensitive, brief lyrics of "emotional irritation" in *The Collected Poems of Sara Teasdale* (1937), and in the dominantly emotional poems and sonnets (*Fatal Interview*, 1931) of Edna St. Vincent Millay. It also lay behind the hungry search for peace that ran like a gnawing pain through the novels of Thomas Wolfe,\* whose autobiographical heroes struggle against emotional deficiencies within themselves, until eventually (*You Can't Go Home Again*, 1940) by a "total renunciation of the errors men live by," Wolfe swept the way clear for a new

faith in the future promise of America. Quite the opposite from these self-contained disturbances, but equally romantic, were the escapisms of James Branch Cabell and Joseph Hergesheimer. Cabell, author of thirty-odd books of verse, essays, and fiction, is noted chiefly for his earlier latinated and cabalistic prose, used either in erotic *double entendre* (*Jurgen*, 1919) or as a vehicle for an esoteric fantasy which is invariably punctured upon the ironic prongs of actuality (*The Cream of the Jest*, 1917). *Beyond Life* (1919) and *Preface to the Past* (1936) contain Cabell's main artistic theories. Hergesheimer also seemed alienated from present-day reality in his penchant for the simplicity, boldness, and 'taste' of past 'aristocratic' virtues, which become in his novels ironically subject to the crassness of modern life (*Java Head*, 1919; *Balisand*, 1924); and his sensorily poignant style revealed a loving fascination with external beauty that (like Wolfe's) seemed too often content with the first meaning of things.

One of the most important artistic responses to the modern world was that which—unswervingly honest in portrayal of the mingled vices and virtues of man in an uncompromising universe—still persisted in a philosophical search for a faith beyond naturalism. Eldest 'seeker for the Grail' was Edward Arlington Robinson,\* whose central interest, despite strong criticism of the regimentation and materialism of society (*Dionysus in Doubt*, 1925), was with the spirit of a mankind beset by its own unstable character. Thus, although influenced by Hardy, Robinson's search for the "fearful truth"—no matter where it led—was more akin to Greek tragedy than to naturalism; and its non-didactic approach to the permanently human seems sometimes almost Shakespearean. In the midst of this tragic view of life, however, Robinson found a muted Transcendental hope: "the black and awful chaos of the night" lightened by "the

coming glory of the Light" (*Credo*, 1897). *The Man Against the Sky* (1916), which artistically examines different human attitudes toward universal destiny, culminates in the faith that "we may laugh and fight and sing,"

And of our transience here make offering  
To an orient Word that will not be erased.

Man's hope rests then in the movement of desire away from the immediate and material. "The world is not a 'prison-house,'" he once said, "but a kind of spiritual kindergarten where bewildered infants are trying to spell God with the wrong blocks." This transcendent faith in the midst of tragedy Robinson has re-affirmed as late as 1935 in the poetic narrative *King Jasper*.

Like Robinson, Eugene O'Neill\* has emphasized the relation of man, not to man, but to the universe. And, except for a few plays of social criticism (*The Hairy Ape*, 1922; *The Great God Brown*, 1926; *Marco Millions*, 1927-8) and the comedy of *Ah, Wilderness!* (1933), O'Neill's dramas have concentrated upon those forces and motivations that make men unhappy. Beneath all, to him, lay "the death of the old God and the failure of science and materialism to give any satisfactory new one for the surviving primitive religious instinct." Although this tremendous theme has often seemed to overtax his medium, and despite the fact that his thinking appears more emotional and mystical than intellectual, O'Neill's work has shown a definite if intermittent progress toward positive faith. His first naturalistic tragedy of frustration due to blind external forces, in *Beyond the Horizon* (1920), became a study of fear in *The Emperor Jones* (1920-1), a symbolic dread of the sea in *Anna Christie* (1921-2), and the thwarting of a hopeful spark of love through race distinctions in *All God's Chillun Got Wings* (1924) and through lust and passion in *Desire Under the Elms* (1924-5). Then

the search turned inward with the Freudian psychology of *The Great God Brown* and the subtle, nine-act *Strange Interlude* (1928); and after *Dynamo* (1929) had warned against accepting material power as divinity, a trilogy of morbid, destructive passion, *Mourning Becomes Electra* (1931), reached the level of tragic fulfillment, with a suggestion that expiational control lies within men. And finally, in the last play of this period, *Days Without End* (1934), the earlier mystical exaltation and optimism of *Lazarus Laughed* (1927) is identified with the traditional (Christian) disciplines of the race; and the search for spiritual peace seems resolved.

After twelve years of silence, O'Neill returned (*The Iceman Cometh*, 1946) in surface simplicity and naturalistic sordidness, with a group of Bowery derelicts hiding from themselves in unending drunkenness and "pipe-dreams," to drown an unacknowledged fear and shame from which the only release is brought by the Iceman Death.

Others besides Robinson and O'Neill have found an elusive gleam; for negation giving way to faith has been an increasingly common process in recent literature. Robert Emmet Sherwood, suave and clever dramatist noted for his careful gathering of material, is a good example of the cynical sophisticate (*Reunion in Vienna*, 1931-2) and disillusioned intellectual (*The Petrified Forest*, 1934-5; *Idiot's Delight*, 1936) that has moved from a futile pacifism to impassioned beligerency in the defence of human liberty (*Abe Lincoln in Illinois*, 1938-9; *There Shall Be No Night*, 1940, rev. 1943). The poet Wallace Stevens represents a similar shift from disillusion with modern life (*Harmonium*, 1923) to a faith in the power of man's imagination (*The Man with the Blue Guitar*, 1937), a dream shared with even greater intensity by Louise Bogan and Léonie Adams. A bit less convincing in terms of organic art

were the aloof resolutions made by the so-called 'expatriate' group, whose history has been admirably chronicled by Malcolm Cowley in *Exile's Return* (1934). T. S. Eliot's earlier flippant intellectual pessimism (*Prufrack and Other Observations*, 1917; *The Waste Land*, 1922; *The Hollow Men*, 1925) changed to veneration for an idealized British tradition (he became a naturalized British subject in 1927), shown in verse (*Ash-Wednesday*, 1930), in pageant-drama (*Murder in the Cathedral*, 1935) and increasingly in prose essays (*For Lancelot Andrewes*, 1928; *After Strange Gods*, 1934); and Archibald MacLeish's post-war poems of hopelessness (*The Hamlet of A. MacLeish*, 1928) found an antidote in social awareness (*New Found Land*, 1930; *A Time to Speak*, 1941, a collection of prose); but Ezra Pound, whose allusive, flexible *Cantos* (1925 ff.) deal mainly with the wreck of civilizations, has apparently become neither reconciled nor repatriated to American life. A good many other disillusioned intellectuals in the meantime found a positive program in social revolt, oftentimes combined with a growing faith in humanity.

The 'hard-boiled' or 'primitivist' school of prose writers came, like the expatriates, from what Gertrude Stein called the 'lost generation.' Ernest Hemingway,\* artistic leader of the group, is one of the most vivid writers of fiction in American literature. In most of his earlier work the negations and contradictions that are its backbone, seemingly lay outside America in both spirit and setting; now they appear almost internationally prophetic of the war and violence of a decade later. Following the war-born stories of *In Our Time* (1924; 1925) he seemed obsessed with a rigid, immobile embracing of disaster and the destructive element in man; and against violent death, maudlin drunkenness, 'dead love' and sensual sprees he generally pitted only a kind of benumbed stoicism, based upon physical endurance, physical satisfaction, and

hostility toward sham (*A Farewell to Arms*, 1929; *Death in the Afternoon*, 1932). However, in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940) there appeared an enriching return to a sense of the community of man—barely peeping through the underlying grip of destruction—which may indicate future positive statements. The chief followers in Hemingway's successful genres of affectedly unaffected naturalism and brutality were Erskine Caldwell, James M. Cain (*The Postman Always Rings Twice*, 1934), William Faulkner, James T. Farrell.

One final literary attitude toward man's place in life may be called a 'realism of acceptance.' Generally without recourse to specific philosophies, and avoiding vague optimism, a number of writers have faced modern existence with courage, determination and perspective. Of such are the better plays of Sidney Howard, such as *They Knew What They Wanted* (1924), *The Silver Cord* (1926) and *The Ghost of Yankee Doodle* (1937), and perhaps the lighter-weight comedies of manners by N. S. Behrman (*Rain from Heaven*, 1934). Representative among many novelists might be Ernest Poole (*The Harbor*, 1915); among the poets, John Hall Wheelock (*The Black Panther*, 1922), Elinor Wylie (*Collected Poems*, 1932; *Collected Prose*, 1933), Dr. William Carlos Williams (*Collected Poems*, 1938).

Naturally, America provided the setting for the great majority of the works so far discussed; but 'the American scene,' both good and bad, has also shared an equal thematic place in modern American literature with the examination of mankind's motives and purposes. This is particularly evident in three aspects: social and economic criticism; local or regional portraiture; and maturing awareness of our cultural individuality.

The most spectacular, energetic and attention-drawing section of recent literature has undoubtedly been that dealing with the political, economic, and social unrest within the

nation. In fact, it has for some authors and critics seemed to dominate or even eliminate other considerations and factors. And few writers after 1930 have remained untouched by it.<sup>1</sup> This contemporary social interest had its first stage, before World War I, in the 'muckraking movement' of journalistic exposure and protest, which is chronicled, along with modern liberal and radical movements, in the important *Autobiography* (1931) of Lincoln Steffens. It was at about the same time that Upton Sinclair began his long, prolific career as a pamphleteer, novelist, and politician, during which he has produced over 100 separate works, including some 50 novels which range from *The Jungle* (1906), a socialistic exposé of the meat-packing industry; through *King Coal* (1917), *The Goose-step* (1923), *Oill* (1927), *Boston* (1928), *The Flivver King* (1937), all criticizing various aspects of American life; to his most recent series of cycloramic 'Lanny Budd' novels, which gather together an enormous amount of accurate information about world history since the First World War. These last six books (*World's End*, *Between Two Worlds*, *Dragon's Teeth*, *Wide Is the Gate*, *Presidential Agent*, and *Dragon Harvest*: 1940-45), the fruit of Sinclair's indefatigable passion for details and his practiced craftsmanship in using the devices of narrative excitement, have received more serious critical acclaim than any of his other works, despite their typical episodic, manufactured structure and non-aesthetic defects.

From the same period came H. L. Mencken, influential and aggressive iconoclast, who became, as co-founder and editor of *The American Mercury* (1924—) and as a mercurial critic in the six series of *Prejudices* (1919-

27), the intellectual leader of numerous restless youthful thinkers of the twenties. His castigation of convention, sham, and dullness found its most able kindred spirit in Sinclair Lewis,\* vitriolic satirist of middle-class village life (*Main Street*, 1920; *Babbitt*, 1922) and of 'respectable' hypocrisy (*Elmer Gantry*, 1927; *Gideon Planish*, 1943). Typically 'American' in their brash gusto and moral earnestness, Lewis's books (with the possible exception of *Dodsworth*, 1929) seem primarily problem or thesis novels employing 'realistic' caricature to drive home their point (as in his gaudy but effective danger-signal against dictatorship, *It Can't Happen Here*, 1935); but unlike Upton Sinclair, Lewis has also been interested in people simply as human beings, so that his best works (as *Arrowsmith*, 1925) attain a character development that rises above mere puppetry. And the most 'social' of his novels, *Ann Vickers* (1933), is also the most patently 'psychological.'

Not all recent satire—and the age has inspired a great deal of it—has been as serious-faced as the photographic indictments of Lewis. The finest satiric craftsman of the century, Ring[old] Lardner, was just as 'puritan' in his icy dissection of human avarice and emptiness, and infinitely more savage in his pessimism; and yet, like Mark Twain, whom in many respects he resembled, he was popularly regarded as a humorist. Writing in an inspired transcription of the lowest level of the colloquial (*You Know Me Al*, 1916; *The Love Nest and Other Stories*, 1926), he denied his inanelly loquacious, egoistic, unstable characters the least shred of dignity, in love, passion, or even death—their only tragedy being that of blithe stupidity. But despite his talent and artistry, Lardner kidded his own work (*How to Write Short Stories*, 1924), ironically refused his own potentialities, and, aside from his negative anger, seemed in the end helpless before the deeper meanings of life. The satiric touch of the playwright

<sup>1</sup> The arrangement of authors under different topical heads in this essay obviously should not be construed as 'pigeonhole' finality. It is dictated by the demands of brevity and the attempt to show what seem to be major trends.

George S. Kaufman has been much lighter, generally verging upon farce or travesty, in his many collaborations—*Beggar on Horseback* (1924) with Marc Connelly; *The Royal Family* (1928) and *Stage Door* (1936) with Edna Ferber; *June Moon* (1929–30) with Lardner; *Of Thee I Sing* (1931) with Morris Ryskind and George and Ira Gershwin; *I'd Rather Be Right* (1937) and *The Man Who Came to Dinner* (1939) with Moss Hart. And Don Marquis (*archy and mehitabel*, 1927), e. e. cummings and Kenneth Fearing have exploited the most unusual possibilities of free verse in their jazzed but often serious satiric comments upon the American scene, while the *New Yorker* trio of S. J. Perelman, Dorothy Parker, and James Thurber, evolving a kind of wisdom touched by madness, have remained the most wittily amusing of the modern satirists. A wit of quite another cast lies in the ironic implications beneath the deceptively simple and low-pitched nostalgia of John P. Marquand's *The Late George Apley* (1937) and the polished craftsmanship of his *So Little Time* (1943). Marquand's subtle, sympathetic satire of Brahmin Boston and Victorian New England seems on the whole more artistically effective than the basic alienation of George Santayana's similar thesis novel, *The Last Puritan* (1935).

The more recent equivalent of the earlier literature of exposure and castigation has been that of documentary evidence and revolutionary protest, which ranges in approach from the broadly 'sociological' to the more radical 'proletarian' and doctrinaire 'Marxist' positions. Indicative of the strong note of rebellion in this work is the artistic experimentation that frequently has accompanied it in all the literary types. The broadest critical scope, aside from the ambitious novels of Upton Sinclair, is probably shown in John Dos Passos' icily rational trilogy *U. S. A.* (*The 42nd Parallel*, 1930; 1919, 1932; and *The Big Money*, 1936—in one v., 1938) which, climax-

ing his post-war sense of neurosis and alienation in *Three Soldiers* (1921) and his naturalistic disillusion with America in *Manhattan Transfer* (1925), has set out "to put the acid test to existing institutions and to strip the veils off them." In spite of the basic personal pessimism of this episodic trilogy, and its unrealistic exclusion of all middle ground, it stands as a profound creative diagnosis of a part of our cultural pattern; and especially in the last volume Dos Passos has shown a developed mastery of both his unusual framework technique and his symbolic characters. Since *U. S. A.* Dos Passos has undergone a personal re-orientation in social beliefs, admitting in *Adventures of a Young Man* (1939) the failure of the communistic hope that had marked the trilogy, and turning in *The Ground We Stand On* (1941) to a historical survey of American republican traditions. Two works similar to *U. S. A.* in their sweeping intent are the proletarian trilogy of Josephine Herbst (*Pity Is Not Enough*, 1933; *The Executioner Waits*, 1934; *Rope of Gold*, 1939) and Wallace Stegner's leisurely, detailed *Big Rock Candy Mountain* (1943), which traces one family through the first third of the present century in Canada and the U. S. James T. Farrell's *Studs Lonigan* trilogy (1932–35) likewise covers those turbulent three decades, but limits its naturalistic stream-of-consciousness treatment to the squalid urban environment of Chicago, as does also his more recent 'Danny O'Neill' tetralogy. Other representative protests against the urban or industrial environment are found in Elmer Rice's plays, the expressionistic *The Adding Machine* (1923) and the naturalistic *Street Scene* (1929); Waldo Frank's novel *The City Block* (1922); Albert Halper's *The Foundry* (1934) and *The Chute* (1937); and the verse of such experimental proletarian poets as Lola Ridge (*The Ghetto*, 1918); Horace Gregory (*Chorus for Survival*, 1935); Muriel Rukeyser (*U. S. 1*, 1938). Perhaps

the most doctrinaire proletarian group arose among the writers for the "Group Theatre" and "Theatre Union": Clifford Odets (*Waiting for Lefty*, 1935; *Awake and Sing*, 1935); Irwin Shaw (*The Gentle People*, 1939); Albert Maltz; George Sklar; John H. Lawson.

The racial and economic problems of the South have also produced a great deal of sociological and proletarian literature. A pioneer in the realistic handling of Southern social problems was Thomas S. Stribling; his *Birthright* (1922) and *Teeftallow* (1926—dramatized as *Rope*, 1928) boldly handled race prejudice and miscegenation, and his trilogy of *The Forge* (1931), *The Store* (1932) and *The Unfinished Cathedral* (1934) charted the rise and fall of a Southern middle-class family. Erskine Caldwell's macabre depictions of degradation and brutality among the sharecroppers in *Tobacco Road* (1932—dramatized by Jack Kirkland in 1933), *God's Little Acre* (1933) and the jolting short stories of *Kneel to the Rising Sun* (1935), like much of the work of William Faulkner (see below), are suspect as *tour de force* in naturalistic horror or grim humor, but do reach sociological implications in dealing with white degeneracy in certain areas of the South. The plays of Paul Green (*The Field God*, 1927; *The House of Connelly*, 1931) and the novels of Grace Lumpkin are much more specific upon the same questions, however; while the racial problem has had eminently serious treatment in the poems, novels and short stories of two negro writers, Langston Hughes and Richard Wright (*Native Son*, 1940) as well as in a noteworthy novel by Lillian Smith, *Strange Fruit* (1944).

As a major writer whose work has shown increasing interest in the social problems of America, John Steinbeck\* is outstanding—not only because of his artistry, but also because he has encompassed so many of the literary solutions for the modern dilemma, and has, in his blend of romance and natural-

ism, to some extent paralleled the American 'dream' of personal freedom. Against the curse of human frustration he has successively championed romantic power-bent individualism (*The Cup of Gold*, 1929), violent neopaganistic renunciation and bloody sacrifice (*To a God Unknown*, 1933), naïve, amoral primitivism (*Tortilla Flat*, 1935), sheer optimism (*In Dubious Battle*, 1936), personal ties with the soil (*Of Mice and Men*, 1937), humane lovingkindness and organized resistance (*The Grapes of Wrath*, 1939), and stubborn independence of spirit (*The Moon Is Down*, 1942). Never completely espousing proletarian collectivism, he has nevertheless advanced from primitivistic escape to a recognition of the need for social controls; and, always, the optimism just stressed in his work has been more than balanced by a realistic recognition of the actualities of human suffering. So much cannot be said for the impetuous, artless fantasy of William Saroyan's skeins of short sketches (*The Daring Young Man on the Flying Trapeze*, 1934; *My Name Is Aram*, 1940; *The Human Comedy*, 1943) and plays (*The Time of Your Life*, 1939), which, nevertheless, strike a bright note of faith in human nature.

The most persistent American literary antithesis to proletarian dissent has been that 'regionalism' which developed beyond the earlier local color impulse; for, either optimistic or pessimistic, it has constantly emphasized the uniquely American facets of our culture. It has given bone and sinew to the work of such Eastern writers as Robinson, Frost, Stephen Vincent Benét, Wilbert Snow (*Maine Coast*, 1923; etc.) and Robert P. Tristram Coffin (*Collected Poems*, 1939). And it has entered strongly into the prose of such Western authors as Willa Cather, Steinbeck, Saroyan, the popular Zane Grey and Stewart Edward White, and Oliver LaFarge (*Laughing Boy*, 1929), and the drama by Lynn Riggs, *Green Grow the Lilacs* (1931; later



made into the refreshing musical comedy (*Oklahoma*). But its most persistent effects are shown in the Mid-West and the South.

The Mid-West background, as we have seen, lay evident in Dreiser, Masters, Sherwood Anderson, and the Chicago naturalistic school, and it continued to exert its influence. Zona Gale's optimistic and satiric prose (*Friendship Village*, 1908; *Miss Lulu Bett*, 1920; *Yellow Gentians, and Blue*, 1927) stemmed from Wisconsin village life. (Nicholas) Vachel Lindsay's pamphleteering humanitarian civic crusading (*Adventures While Preaching the Gospel of Beauty*, 1914) spoke for the agrarian, frontier, democratic, evangelistic heritage of the section; and his orally-conceived experimentation in poetic movement and rhythm (*The Congo*, 1914; *The Chinese Nightingale*, 1917; *Collected Poems*, 1923, rev. 1925) was a deliberate attempt to bring poetry back to the folk level. Carl Sandburg\* emerged in 1914 as the most colloquially authentic interpreter of the harsh, brutal, energetic rudeness and the simple fancy and beauty of the Mid-West's industrial and agricultural life (*Chicago Poems*, 1916; *Cornhuskers*, 1918; *Smoke and Steel*, 1920). Ruth Suckow realistically delineated her native section both in novels (*Country People*, 1924; *The Folks*, 1934) and short stories (*Iowa Interiors*, 1926), as did Louis Bromfield (*The Green Bay Tree*, 1924; *The Farm*, 1933) and Phil Strong (*State Fair*, 1932), while Ole Rølvaag dealt with the tragedies of immigrant life in the Dakota territory (*Giants in the Earth*, 1927). And the poets John G. Neihardt, Lew Sarrett, and Paul Engle found material for expression in the traditions and life of the region.

Regional influences have been particularly potent in the South. Ellen Glasgow,\* for example, has written most of her novels directly around the changing life of her native Virginia, from the Civil War to the present; and although her balanced, humanistic treat-

ment has raised her work above the merely local color or problem novel category, she has filled in a complete cultural history of the old and new South, thematically summed up in *In This Our Life* (1941). Along the way she had seriously suggested the need for effete modern aristocracy to revitalize itself (*The Miller of Old Church*, 1911), for women to prepare themselves to take an active part in the world's work (*Virginia*, 1913); for all to face the realities and irony of life without refuge in decayed codes of gentility, sentimentality, and chivalry (*Barren Ground*, 1925; *The Romantic Comedians*, 1926), and for the modern disillusioned generations to draw once again upon the old pioneering faith of their forefathers (*Vein of Iron*, 1935). But the nobility of standard with which Miss Glasgow reversed a nostalgic past and scrutinized the present is not so evident in Wolfe's rejection of the modern South, Caldwell's brutal sniggering at it, and William Faulkner's deep-South negative, rebellious, pathological hatred of the Negro, the flapper, and Northern industrialism in his brilliant but difficult novels (*The Sound and the Fury*, 1929; *Light in August*, 1932; *Absalom! Absalom!*, 1936) and short stories (*These Thirteen*, 1931). And the neo-agrarian "Fugitive" group of poets and critics, John Crowe Ransom (*Chills and Fever*, 1924), Donald Davidson (*The Tall Men*, 1927), Robert Penn Warren (*Thirty-six Poems*, 1935) and Allen Tate, have used their experimental verse technique of complexity and indirection to champion a kind of pro-Southern regional chauvinism, most clearly outlined in their prose symposium, *I'll Take My Stand* (1930). An entirely different kind of pastoral regionalism is found in the traditional lyrics of Lizette W. Reese, and in the Florida novels of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings (*South Moon Under*, 1933; *The Yearling*, 1938).

The lore and mind of the Negro have formed almost a separate regional literature

as handled by the novelists Dubose Heyward (*Porgy*, 1925—dramatized, 1927; and adapted, with George Gershwin, as the opera *Porgy and Bess*, 1935) and Julia Peterkin (*Scarlet Sister Mary*, 1928); by the dramatist Paul Green (*In Abraham's Bosom*, 1927); by the short story writer Roark Bradford (*Ol' Man Adam an' His Chillun*, 1928—adapted by the dramatist Marc Connelly as *The Green Pastures*, 1930); and by such distinguished Negro poets as Claude McKay (*Harlem Shadows*, 1922), Dr. James Weldon Johnson (*God's Trombones*, 1927), Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes.

The modern resurgence of 'historical fiction' reveals a literary sense of American cultural maturity just as strongly as the regional studies. A few representatives of the many authors are Irving Bacheller, Joseph Hergesheimer, James Boyd (*Drums*, 1925), Edna Ferber (*Show Boat*, 1926; *Cimarron*, 1930), Elizabeth Maddox Roberts (*The Time of Man*, 1926), Walter D. Edmonds (*Drums along the Mohawk*, 1936), Harold L. Davis (*Honey in the Horn*, 1935), Margaret Mitchell (*Gone with the Wind*, 1936), Kenneth Roberts (*Northwest Passage*, 1937), Conrad Richter (*The Trees*, 1940), Joseph Pennell (*The History of Rome Hanks*, 1944), and such biographer-novelists as Gertrude Atherton, Esther Forbes, Frances Winwar and Howard Fast. Closely allied with both the regional and historical tendencies are such collections and studies as Carl Sandburg's *The American Songbag* (1927), John and Alan Lomax's *American Ballads and Folk-songs* (1934) and B. A. Botkin's great *A Treasury of American Folklore* (1944).

National maturity is evident too in the work of such historians as Charles and Mary Beard, Carl Becker, Samuel Eliot Morison, A. M. Schlesinger, Henry S. Commager, Dixon Ryan Fox, and James Truslow Adams (Adams acted as editor-in-chief of the monumental *Dictionary of American History*, 5 v.

and index, 1940). And in such literature of ideas as has been written by Walter Lippman, Vernon L. Parrington, James Harvey Robinson, Merle Curti, the American coming of mental age is at least forecast. It is perhaps more a sign of 'the age' than of any particular American development that science has assumed an outstanding and too often mistaught significance in literature—both as a field for 'serious' writing and as an aesthetic catalyst for imaginative authors. But the high caliber of literary journalism revealed by William Allen White, Heywood Brown, Vincent Sheean, Bert Leston Taylor, E. B. White, Franklin P. Adams, Raymond Clapper, Quentin Reynolds, and many others is a purely American achievement, and one that has met magnificently the demands of World War II, especially in the work of such recorders and commentators as W. L. White (*They Were Expendable*, 1942), Ernie Pyle (*Here Is Your War*, 1943) and John Hersey (*Into the Valley*, 1943; *A Bell for Adano*, 1944).

Biography and autobiography both have shown a keener sense of purpose and a sounder philosophic basis than heretofore, but there has at the same time been a good deal of popularized hack-work. From the debunking biographers of the twenties to the lyrical re-interpreters of the thirties and the painstaking actualists of the forties there was, however, a consistent effort to avoid sentimentality and 'whitewash,' and the showy balloon of Freudian psychoanalysis was soon deflated to more proper dimensions as an interesting though dangerous modern addition to the art of biography. And, most significant of all, modern biography learned from modern history the value of placing the individual in a proper perspective with his own times.

Of all the indications of American literary self-confidence, however, none is more important than the recent philological and artistic recognition of the American colloquial lore and language. Emerson, Whitman, Mark

Twain and some of the early realists had mined this rich vein of native ore, of course; but its systematic and full development has come relatively recently through such scholars as G. P. Krapp, such independent thinkers as H. L. Mencken (*The American Language*, 1919; 4th ed., 1936; Supplement I, 1945), and in the poetry of Frost, Sandburg, Stephen Vincent Benét, and the prose of Lardner, Hemingway, Dos Passos, Stephen Vincent Benét\* may literally be said to be the culmination of the latest classical period of American literature, for he mastered again the old secret of expressing not only the causes of things, but also their significance. In his short stories, novelettes and poems (*The Selected Works of Stephen Vincent Benét*, 2 v., 1942) are encompassed the most typically American social and humanistic approaches, always spoken in 'the voice of the people' with a self-confident, regional, and colloquial maturity. Significantly, he belonged to no literary cult, 'generation,' or group; and his brother William Rose Benét, poet-editor, summed up his individual qualities as "the persistent twinkle, the drawlingly American sense of humor, the keen appraisal of the follies and crimes of the time." His *John Brown's Body* (1928), a long poem employing a great variety of verse rhythms, and adapting narrative techniques heretofore generally used only in the novel, merits recognition as America's truest modern epic, incomplete part though it is of a projected series of works. Benét has used the poet's means for sharing his knowledge and love of all America, and for searching out the real value of American life.

It yet remains to consider briefly the technical experimentation and literary theorizing that have marked indelibly the modern period.<sup>2</sup> The practice of literary criticism, as such, has flourished; for not only has it been

afforded added material through research, and novel methods through the 'new psychology' and 'semantics,' but it has also been given more actual space for expression—in review sections, anthologies, university press publications, and innumerable journals. The beginning of the basic interest in clarifying critical theories was Joel E. Spingarn's popularization of Benedetto Croce's aestheticism, in *The New Criticism* (1911). Yet, of pure aestheticism there has been very little, for the American moralistic strain invariably complicated the major critics' positions. What seemed an important aesthetic tradition in T. S. Eliot (*The Sacred Wood*, 1920) now appears increasingly narrow and arbitrary, both in his work and in that of the allied 'intellectualists,' who had in addition imbibed freely at the semantic font of I. A. Richards and others; but among their work R. P. Blackmur's *The Double Agent* (1935), Allen Tate's *Reactionary Essays* (1936) and John Crowe Ransom's *The World's Body* (1938) deserve high mention. Meanwhile, the fading classical aestheticism of New Humanism lingered in Norman Foerster, and briefly touched Ivor Winters; and the aesthetic impressionism of George Jean Nathan and H. L. Mencken became much tamer in other hands. Mencken's violent 'iconoclastic conservatism,' however, has apparently passed on to Bernard De Voto. The Marxian radicals as well as the hyper-aesthetes found cogent correction at the hands of such liberals as Randolph Bourne (*The History of a Literary Radical*, 1920), Edmund Wilson (*Axel's Castle*, 1931) and Van Wyck Brooks (*The Opinions of Oliver Allston*, 1941). Brooks is most ably carrying on Lewis Mumford's historical-patriotic point of view with a growing series of able, appealing cultural-literary histories (*The Flowering of New England*, 1936; *New England: Indian Summer*, 1940; *The World of Washington Irving*, 1944; *Walt Whitman and His Contemporaries*, projected). Among the academic critics the older names of F. L. Pattee and John

<sup>2</sup>For a more detailed discussion of these topics the reader is referred to a companion volume, *A Dictionary of World Literature, Criticism-Forms-Technique*, ed. Joseph T. Shipley (1943).

Livingston Lowes are matched by such contemporary figures as F. O. Matthiessen, Theodore Spencer, Joseph Warren Beach.

In both theory and practice the recent 'new' literatures have tended to extol above all else technical novelty and formal originality. Although this has been a liberating and sometimes excitingly fruitful movement, it has too often created 'coterie-literature,' 'private languages,' and 'cults' that have separated 'art' from popular communication. This hyper-aestheticism is most noticeable in poetry, where the admirable experimentalism encouraged by such 'little magazines' as Harriet Monroe's discerning and well-balanced *Poetry*, a *Magazine of Verse* (1912 to date) later flew off on tangents of learned nonsense, esoteric exhibitionism, or verbal irresponsibility, which have tended to obscure the fine expression of which the writers sometimes seem capable. Probably the most famous group-program was that of the "Imagists"—instigated by the expatriate Ezra Pound, but soon taken over and codified by the forceful and energetic Amy Lowell (ed. *Some Imagist Poets*, 1915 ff.; *Selected Poems*, 1928), and represented in America by H[ilda] D[oolittle] (*Collected Poems*, 1925) and John Gould Fletcher (*Selected Poems*, 1938). A less doctrinaire but equally experimental use of the increasingly popular free verse or *vers libre* marked the rather extravagant and fantastic, or at times childlike, verse of Alfred Kreymborg, the subtly musical and subjectively psychological poems of Conrad Aiken (*Selected Poems*, 1929), the disciplined but unusual lineation and metrics of Marianne Moore's witty and ironic rhymes (*Selected Poems*, 1935), the deliberate typographical oddity of e. e. cummings' amused observations in verse (*Collected Poems*, 1938), and the attempt by Gertrude Stein to use words independently of their normal associations. The tendency toward 'private poetry,' seen in the aloof and secretive work of the expatriate Laura Riding, assumed various metaphysical characteristics

in the verse of William Carlos Williams, Wallace Stevens, Elinor Wylie, John Hall Wheelock, Louise Bogan, Léonie Adams, Genevieve Taggard. Metaphysical abstraction marked also the "Fugitive" group (named for their magazine, 1922-25) of Southern poets, John Crowe Ransom, Donald Davidson, Robert Penn Warren; and it was implicit in the dissonance, free-association, and allusiveness of Ezra Pound's *Cantos* and the 'objectivist' group that followed him, as well as the influential but difficult 'objective correlative' technique of T. S. Eliot, which uses privately-endowed words as symbols for whole groups of 'associated' ideas.

Drama, next to poetry, has seen the most sensational experimentalism during the modern period. Influenced by European advances, and nourished by the American branch of the 'little theatre' movement as well as some college playhouses and workshops, this technical searching has done a great deal to revive American drama. Foremost among the experimenters has been, of course, Eugene O'Neill,\* but the expressionism of Elmer Rice's *The Adding Machine* (1923), various staging techniques by writers for the 'social theatre' such as Irwin Shaw (*Bury the Dead*, 1936) and Clifford Odets (*Waiting for Lefty*, 1935), the poetic drama of Maxwell Anderson (*Winterset*, 1935), the fantasy of Sargis, and the bold 'undress' staging and fluid handling of time sequence by Thornton Wilder (*Our Town*, 1938; *The Skin of Our Teeth*, 1942) are important representative innovations.

In prose, structural departures have been more sweeping than stylistic ones. Several basic influences may be observed at work in both realms, however: First in importance is perhaps the journalistic training of so many prose writers, which has turned them to the accumulation of detail without much emphasis upon specific analysis and synthesis. Closely allied with this tendency are the deliberate cultivation of harshness, the exploita-

tion of colloquialism and idiom, and the swaggering avoidance of 'grand style,' which have become almost a cult. A slightly further step in the same direction has created a fetish of artlessness, which has reached its present culmination in the work of Saroyan. From another direction the early symbolistic tendencies have led on one hand to Gertrude Stein's "moment to moment emphasis in what is happening" in her important *Three Lives* (1909) and to her later futile attempt to empty literature of literary content, and on the other to such Jamesian developments of the static situation as Willa Cather's "novel d'ameubl  " and Thornton Wilder's reconstructions in retrospect. Symbolism has in addition combined with a Freudian renewal of the stream-of-consciousness device (subjective realism) to form one of the most typical experimental conventions, seen most clearly in the fiction of Conrad Aiken, Kay Boyle, Evelyn Scott, William Faulkner, Vardis Fisher. Favorite devices to achieve this have been the dream-sequence, the mental 'flash-back,' the undirected reverie, the echo of dead voices, the ironic or symbolic insertion of material apparently having no direct bearing upon the 'plot.' Probably the most successful and representative experimentalist in the novel is Dos Passos, with his panoramic framework of 'Biographies,' 'The Camera Eye,' and 'News-reels' in U. S. A.

Few writers have, like Wilbur Daniel Steele (*Urkey Island*, 1926), achieved their prose reputation entirely in the traditional short story, but significant advances in the form have been made in the last twenty years—first in the shadow of the Russian psychological sketch and later independently along the lines evolved in the novel. The rather transient nature of the mediums in which short stories usually first appear has led to their critical neglect, but some of the wittiest and even most polished writing of the modern period has been in that form, particularly in the often disdained 'popular' magazines.

The same stigma of transiency and popularity rests upon the great body of recent detective fiction, but likewise some of the most effective prose writers of today are doing at least a part of their work in that field.

Two entirely new mediums, the radio and motion picture, as yet have not achieved any body of real literature, but they will require increasing serious attention in the future. The screenwriting of such literary figures as Ben Hecht, Sidney Howard, Robert Sherwood, Preston Sturges contains genuine artistic merit; and, aside from the polished scripts of Arch Oboler (*Oboler Omnibus*, 1945) and the experiments of Archibald MacLeish (*Air Raid*, 1938), radio has already uncovered a fine and true artist in Norman Corwin, whose best radio plays have been published in *Thirteen by Corwin* (1942).

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EMERSON C. SHUCK

#### U. S. AND CANADIAN FOLK LITERATURE.

THE BASIC and dominant strain in the folk literature of the United States and Canada is the same and is chiefly of Scotch, Irish and English origin. American Indian folklore was rich, as is shown by the vigor of its survivals in the small groups of Indians still alive, but it is disappearing with the Indian, leaving

lamentably few traces in our national folklore. (See North American.) Also African folklore (*q.v.*) is rich, but on arrival in North America, it received far more influence than it gave, and the chief Negro contribution to our national folklore has been his manner of interpretation of our Scotch, Irish, English material, and his adaptation of it to its New World environment. A few continental European strains have been transplanted over fairly large regions, and have taken root and grown in New World soil, like the French folklore of eastern Canada and New Orleans, the Spanish in southwestern U. S. A., the Scandinavian of the north midwest, and the German in Pennsylvania, but these strains have remained largely regional and have exerted little influence on our national folklore outside their own territory. Other, smaller European strains survive locally, but usually assimilate and disappear into our national folklore, especially in big cities, where such groups are usually found.

With such a basis and admixture of other elements, for the most part transplanted, our folklore is fast taking root in the new soil, adapting itself to its new environment, fusing its diverse elements, undergoing the natural changes that time continually brings to all forms of culture, and, most important, creating its own new contributions as a natural product of this new combination of human and environmental elements. But these processes are still in the phase of robust and rapid change characteristic of the early period or youth of anything that grows, for our national folklore is barely 300 years old, a mere moment in the long world history of cultural evolution. This same shortness of time explains the uniformity of our folklore, which has not yet had time to develop very profound regional differences; besides, our population moves about freely, from coast to coast, and has developed as typical of its civilization the concept of "standardization," which has deterred regional developments. Some, indeed,

believe that our folklore is being smothered to death in its youth by our highly developed transportation facilities, radio, movies, and other forms of "standard" entertainment, abundant printing, literacy, education, and the like, and our transition from a rural-regional to an industrial-urban life.

In folk narrative, we have practically nothing left of mythology. Of legend and tradition, abundant new material has appeared. In the north woods, in the south, along the rivers of the midwest and on the great plains and deserts of the far west, legendary heroes have grown, like Davy Crockett, Mike Fink, Buffalo Bill, Jesse James, Roy Bean, Pecos Bill, Paul Bunyan, Febold Feboldson, John Henry, Johnny Applesseed, eloquently reflecting our pioneer spirit and ideals in their deeds of great strength and daring, their frontier resourcefulness, and their plain, democratic philosophy of life. In their early efforts to shape the future course of things in our land, sometimes with moral overtones, some of these heroes have acquired a certain aura of deification, and the traditional narration of their deeds has developed into what might be called, in a certain sense, a nascent mythology. As everywhere in the world, also in North America the Devil, witches, ghosts, fireballs and Jack-o-lanterns, and other creatures of human fancy have given rise to a rich stock of legendary accounts. Likewise, peculiar land formations, bodies of water, old abandoned buildings and haunted houses, plants, famous battles, hidden treasures, and the like have inspired among us numerous traditions. Among our folktales, our sense of realistic humor has made by far the most popular that type of jest or anecdote of lying or exaggeration often called the "tall tale," as of the pumpkin vine that grew so fast it wore out its pumpkins by dragging them along the ground, or Babe, Paul Bunyan's blue ox, whose ears are so far from his muzzle he can't hear himself snort. The more incredible these are, the better we like them. They base their

subject matter on any typical scene of our life: huge or fast growing plants (potatoes, beans, etc.), animals of extraordinary qualities or size (dogs, mosquitoes, etc.), unusual weather phenomena (sudden changes in temperature, rain, snow, etc.), remarkable hunters, fools, and an infinite variety of materials. Of secondary popularity are animal tales: many new and many of European and even worldwide currency (Tarbaby, Mr. Fox, Brer Rabbit, Playing godfather, etc.). Magic, religious and romantic tales, like Cinderella, the dragonslayer, Sleeping Beauty, magic objects, supernatural helpers, Christ and St. Peter, Patient Griselda, taming the shrew, seem to be disappearing from oral circulation and are known chiefly through books.

In the broad field of folk music, poetry, dance, game, and drama, most popular is the wealth of Anglo-American ballad material, some old, like *Barbara Allen*, others new, like *John Henry*, which is known among Negroes and whites alike. Perhaps more prolific, though often more restricted in their sphere of popularity, are our folksongs. There are songs of sailors, lumberjacks, miners, hoboes, farmers, cowboys, and of the mountains, especially the southern Appalachians, many of which have become known far and wide by their radio popularity, like *Cripple Creek*, *Shortnin' Bread*, etc. The folk dance is less vigorous, though some forms, like the square dance, still thrive. Folk drama seems to have vanished almost completely, except in the southwestern U. S. A., where a Spanish-Mexican tradition of the Shepherds' play, etc., still thrives. Many rhymes and games are current, especially among children: counting out rhymes, like *Eenie, meenie, mynie, mo*; rhymes of ridicule, like *Smarty, smarty, had a party*; play-party games, like *Hog drovers*, and many more.

Materials in folk speech, and its special forms of proverb and riddle, are of ordinary abundance. In pronunciation, morphology

and syntax, there are regional peculiarities, notably among the less literate classes, though total differences from one dialect area to another are not great and there is considerable uniformity in folk speech as in other types of folklore. There is a wealth of colorful material in place names, person names, nicknames, comparisons, and vocabularies of particular groups. A large portion of the proverbs and riddles are of international stock. The riddle question, which offers a good medium for our expression of humor, is quite popular: What's the difference between Joan of Arc and Noah's Ark? Joan was *maid* of Orleans; Noah's was *made* of wood.

The interrelations between folklore and literature are close. Thus the Devil crops up in written tales everywhere from Irving's *The Devil and Tom Walker* through Poe's *Never Bet the Devil Your Head* to Stephen Vincent Benét's *The Devil and Daniel Webster*. Radio borrows freely from folklore. Hillbilly bands and composers (e.g., Lamar Stringfield's *Southern Mountain Suite* uses *Cripple Creek*) work in folk tunes; "gag" writers employ well-known folk jest-patterns; script writers build radio dramas of folk legends of pioneer heroes. Conversely, radio material may have enough popular appeal to catch on and be taken up by the folk. . . . There is little likelihood that folklore, the prime source, will run dry.

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RALPH STEELE BOGGS.

URDU—See Indian.

URUGUAYAN—See Spanish American.

UYGUR—See Turkish.

VANNETAIS—See Breton.

VEDIC—See Indian.

VENDA—See African.

VENETIAN—See Italian.

VENEZUELAN—See Spanish American.

VERACRUZ—See Mexican.

WALLACHIAN—See Romanian.

WARRAU—See South American Indian.

## WELSH

EXCEPT FOR the Greek and Latin, the Celtic literatures are the oldest in Europe, and among the living literatures of the world few have as long a continuous history. For Welsh the earliest manuscript evidence is three stanzas (*englynion*) written in the first half of the 9th c., and ten more added in the next, in a Latin manuscript of Juvenius which is now in the University Library, Cambridge. The ten form a complete religious poem, but the three seem to be lyric fragments once inserted in a prose tale that is now lost. Such poetry could not have been written without a considerable period of literary preparation back of it, and for this we have some evidence. Nennius records a tradition, dating from the 8th c. or earlier, that in the time of Ida son of Eobba (547-559) Talhaern, "father of the Muse," and Neirin and Taliesin and Bluchbard and Cian . . . "*simul in uno tempore in poemate Britannico claruerunt*." Bluchbard is otherwise unknown (unless the name intended be Llywarch, which is doubtful), and Talhae[a]rn is practically so, but Neirin must be Aneirin\* whose poem, *Y Gododdin*, has come down to us in a later manuscript. Extensive research has confirmed the belief that this is what it purports to be, a genuine poem of the 6th or very early 7th c., although the existing text has been rearranged and modernized. It is a series of eulogies for the warriors slain by the Angles in the Battle

of Catterth, probably Catterick in Yorkshire. In a few words Aneirin makes each of them live for us, for "the bards of the world assess the men of valor (Beird byt barnant wyr o gallon)." "Short were their lives, long the yearning of their kinsmen for them (Byrr eu hoedyl, hir eu hoet ar eu carant)." "They shall be honored until the end of the world (Hyt orfen byt etnyc vydant)."

In *Y Gododdin* Taliesin's\* name is coupled with that of Aneirin, and we have in the early manuscripts a considerable body of poetry attributed to him. Many of these poems are clearly late—some even as late as the time of the Normans—and are merely versified renderings of works taught in the monastic schools; others use the name of Taliesin to give weight to vaticinations designed to keep up the spirit of the Welsh. But there are a number of others addressed to Urien Rheged and his son Owain (the Yvain of Arthurian romance) or to Gwallawg, another king mentioned by Nennius, which seem to be genuine productions of the 6th c. The poems of this group are intensely patriotic in spirit, but somewhat pedestrian in tone. Later tradition associates with these poets the names of two others, Myrddin (Merlin) and Llywarch the Old (Llywarch Hên). Myrddin was by tradition a prince of the North (*Y Gogledd*), a prophet as well as a poet. The poems attributed to him may contain some early material,



but there is nothing in them that, in its present form, seems to be older than the 9th c.

Llywarch\* the Old may have lived in the 6th c. where tradition places him, but none of the poetry associated with his name belongs to that period. By the 9th he seems to have become the hero of a saga, the prose parts of which are lost, leaving only some of the poems. One series is concerned with the death in battle of Llywarch's twenty-four sons, leaving him to a lonely, helpless old age; another series centering about the death of Cynddylan Lord of Pengwern is put into the mouth of Cynddylan's sister Heledd. She feels that her words have brought about his downfall and the destruction of the good life she had known; "Long the course of the sun; longer my memories (Hir hwyl heul; hwy vyghouyon)." The Llywarch Hên poems are mostly in the *englyn* form, and belong to Powys in north-east Wales, rather than to Cymric Scotland (Y Gogledd) as do the genuine poems of Aneirin and Taliesin and the poems attributed to Myrddin. These four poets, together with a few minor ones about whom very little is known, are commonly called the *Cynfeirdd* (Primitive Bards). Their works have come down to us in four early manuscripts, the so-called "Four Ancient Books of Wales." These are *The Black Book of Carmarthen* (the oldest part ca. 1160), *The Book of Aneirin* (ca. 1250), *The Book of Taliesin* (ca. 1275), and *The Red Book of Hergest* (ca. 1375 and later). There is also a *White Book of Rhydderch* (ca. 1275) which contains mostly prose. Until the contents of these and other manuscripts have been more thoroughly studied and classified by Welsh scholars, it is idle to attempt to pronounce upon most of the material. It was once assumed that no Welsh poetry from the centuries between the 6th and the 12th has been preserved to us. But now Professor Ifor Williams dates the Llywarch Hên poetry about 850 and the *Arymes Prydein* (*Prophecy of*

*Britain*) about 930. Probably much of the gnomic poetry and nature poetry which is so plentiful in the early manuscripts belongs to this period, and further study of the extant texts will doubtless do more to fill the gap.

*The Bards of the Princes.* The editors of the *Myvyrian Archaiology* gave to the group of poets who filled the centuries between 1081 and 1282 the name of *Gogyneirdd* or "fairly early poets," but it seems more appropriate to call them "Bards of the princes," since the court poets set the pattern for all the others. Many of these poets were of noble birth; the others were landholders, or at least freemen, for villeins and bondmen were not admitted to the order. In some families the craft was handed down from father to son for generations. The apprentice was subjected to a long course of training in the bardic traditions and the practice of his art; when, in the opinion of the *pencerdd* (chief poet), he had reached a satisfactory degree of proficiency, he paid the appropriate fee and was admitted to the order. His position was now secure, for both law and custom defined his privileges, as well as his duties. The status and the perquisites of the *bardd teulu* (family poet) are set down in the laws of Howel the Good (d. ca. 950); the *pencerdd*, if present, took precedence of him, but was not a regular member of the household. The laws prescribed that the poet's first songs should be "of God, and of the king who owns the palace"; provision was also made for a song to the queen should she desire it. The "poem to the king" is the commonest type, and was usually a panegyric (*arwyrain*) or an elegy (*marwnad*); that to God might be a *marwysgafn*, or "death-bed song." The poem to the queen or her daughter was the *rhieingerdd* or "maiden song." All of the grammatical codes distinguish between the *gwreic da* who must not be addressed with words of love and the *rhiein* who may be, but there was so little real feeling in the poems to the latter that the

same type came to be used for both. Provision was also made for poems to nuns. When the princes replaced the kings, these types of poetry went on unchanged.

The compositions of these court poets were formal, aristocratic, learned, and pompous. Proud of their art and of their high calling, which only the select might practice, they were deliberately obscure. Their vocabulary was large, and archaic; it was composed chiefly of nouns and adjectives; many of them compound, and these were piled one upon another with few connecting verbs and with little indication of the grammatical syntax, which, for the most part, had to be supplied by the hearers. They used elaborate alliteration, and many rhymes, both internal and final. Their poetry was definitely designed to be chanted, not to be read.

The first of the Gogynfeirdd whose work has come down to us is Meilyr, who in 1081 lamented the death of the usurper Trahaearn, slain in the Battle of Mynydd Carn. This battle put the rightful heir, Gruffydd ap Cynan, upon the throne of Gwynedd, and some have considered that the influence of the poets he brought back with him from his exile in Ireland is largely responsible for the outburst of lyric poetry in Wales in the succeeding years. Meilyr later became household bard to the victor, and upon Gruffydd's death in 1137 wrote a lament for him which shows a great advance over his early work; we have also his own *marwysgafn*. His son Gwalchmai, a warrior as well as chief bard of Gwynedd, was a much better poet. He wrote to Owain Gwynedd (son of Gruffydd ap Cynan) and to his sons, the best known of his poems being the one on the Battle of Tal Moelfre in 1157, from which Thomas Gray took his *Triumphs of Owain*. He wrote a eulogy, and later an elegy, to Madog ap Maredudd of Powys, a poem—not a very flattering one—to his own wife Efa, and a religious poem, *The Dream*. But most agreeable to our present-day tastes

is his *Gorhoffed*, a title which has been defined as meaning something between "exultation" and "personal fancy." The *gorhoffed* was the most personal of the forms used by the Gogynfeirdd, a form not prescribed by the rules. In this one Gwalchmai shows a charming appreciation of the peaceful aspects of nature—"Seagulls playing on the bed of the waters (Gwylain yn gware ar wely lliant)," and "The nightingale of May that sleeps in the morning from weariness (Eos Fei foreuhun lud)"—while he is in the midst of a military campaign. The poetic traditions of the family were carried on by Gwalchmai's two sons, Meilyr and Einion, both of whom have left us poems.

Cynddelw\* "The Great Poet (Brydydd Mawr)" was by his contemporaries esteemed the foremost poet of the period. He was household bard to Madog ap Maredudd, Prince of Powys, but he wrote also to various other noblemen, including Madog's bitter enemy Owain Gwynedd, to two of Owain's sons, and to his grandson Llywelyn the Great. Besides the poems addressed to them he has several *rhieingerddi*, poetic but artificial, the usual "poem to God" and also a "death-bed song," but he is happiest when he is gloating over the "broken flesh after the morning battle (A gwedy boreugat briwgig)" or the human entrails hanging upon the thorn bushes ("Gwelais wedi cad coludd ar ddrain"). Another distinguished poet is Llywarch ap Llywelyn, usually called "Prydydd y Moch (Poet of the Swine?)." Most of his poems are to the princes of the period, many of them to Llywelyn the Great who died in 1240; but he has one to God and one "To the Hot Iron," the ordeal of which he was forced to undergo to clear himself of the charge of having murdered Madog ap Owain Gwynedd, the same Madog to whom later legends credited the discovery of America. Two of the best poets of the period, Hywel ap Owain Gwynedd and Owain Cyfeiliog, were not professional poets

but warrior princes; perhaps it is on this account that their poems are somewhat less artificial than those of their contemporaries. Hywel has left us a number of love poems, less stilted than the more formal *rhieingerddi*, the best of them being *The Choice*. His *Gorhoffed* is both a boast of his prowess and an expression of delight in the beauties of the country. When, after a romantic career, he was slain in battle in 1170, his foster-brother, Peryf ap Cadifor, wrote a moving lament for him. Owain Cyfeiliog (d. 1197) was a prominent figure in the military and political history of his time. His *Hirlas Horn* is written in the style of the *Gododdin*, but it is a personal lament for two of his warriors who had been killed in the battle of the preceding day; the other poem attributed to him describes a royal circuit which he made through Powys.

The last of the Welsh princes, Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, was the center of a group of poets, as his grandfather, Llywelyn the Great, had been. Llygad Gwr wrote poems to him, and when he was slain in 1282 both Bleddyn the Poet (Fardd) and Gruffydd Son of the Red Judge (ab yr Ynad Coch) lamented him in elegies. That of Gruffydd, with its bitter cry, "O God! that the sea might cover the land; why are we left to wait? (Och hyt attat ti, Duw, na daw mor tros dir! Pabeth yn gedir y ohiryaw?)" is the last great poem of the Gogynfeirdd. Although there is no truth in the legend that King Edward I slaughtered all the Welsh bards, the fall of the princes deprived them of their patrons and their audiences. Some noblemen still kept household bards as the princes had done, but with the subjugation of Wales and the shift in interest from war to the arts of peace the old spirit died out. The new poetry which developed in the next century was very different in character.

*Medieval Prose.* In medieval Wales, prose was an inferior literary form, cultivated only

by story-tellers of the lower class. Ordinarily it had no fixed form. The *cyfarwydd* learned the characters of a tale, and an outline of the action, but each time he told the story he did so in his own words, a practice that, in the more remote districts, has persisted down to modern times. The only parts which he attempted to reproduce literally were the interspersed lyrics, the metrical form of which was fixed; these were sometimes written down to assist the memory, while the prose was not. Thus we have preserved the lyrics of the Llywarch Hên story, but the prose that must have connected them has been lost; for the Tristan story, several manuscripts contain the lyrics, and one has also brief prose links, but they are in a late form, while the poetry is more archaic. The practice of writing down the whole story is by some traced to the influence of Continental minstrels who followed Rhys ap Tewdwr when he returned from his exile in Brittany in 1079. (The tradition of his exile is firmly fixed, and even includes the statement that he brought "The System of the Round Table" with him; but modern scholarship tends to discredit it.) But even when the stories are written down they are apt to vary from one manuscript to another, for Welsh scribes were inclined to reproduce the substance, rather than the words, of the text they were copying. It is thus not surprising that all early Welsh prose is anonymous, and that it shows no signs of the elaborate style that marked the poetry of the period.

Traces of the early practice can be found in the tale of *How Kullhwch found Olwen*, which exists in part in the *White Book* and complete in the *Red Book*. In places we have, instead of the finished story, merely suggestive memoranda to be expanded by the narrator. Probably earlier in subject matter, although later in form, are *The Four Branches of the Mabinogion* (*Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*): "Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed," "Branwen, daughter of Lear," "Manawydan, son of Lear," and

"Math the son of Mathonwy." These are found in both the *White Book* and the *Red Book*, and brief fragments of *Branwen* and *Manawydan* occur in a still earlier manuscript (ca. 1225). The subject matter of the *Four Branches* is old Celtic myth, probably from the period before the introduction of Christianity; parallels to some features of the tales have been found in Ireland. *The Meeting of Lludd and Llevelys* (*Red Book*, a fragment in the *White Book*) likewise contains traditional matter, although some critics consider it a late composition; it appears first (before 1250) as an insertion in one of the Welsh texts of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, but it probably existed independently before it was used there. *Maxen's Dream*, although based ultimately upon history, gives us a romantic account of the marriage of Elen of Carnarvon to Magnus Maximus, the Roman emperor who defeated Gratian in 383 and was himself defeated by the younger Theodosius in 388. *Rhonabwy's Dream*, as it now stands, cannot be older than the time of Madog ap Maredudd (1132-1160), but the inner story probably contains much earlier material; the concluding paragraph seems to indicate that the tale was used as a test piece, designed to train the memory of the apprentice story-teller. Three other stories, *The Lady of the Fountain*, *Geraint the son of Erbin*, and *Peredur the son of Efwrc*, are usually included, although incorrectly, under the title *Mabinogion*. They are almost certainly (although some scholars still deny this) influenced by the *Yvain*, *Erec*, and *Story of the Grail* of Chrétien de Troyes, but they contain also native material which is not derived from him; this is most apparent in the *Peredur*, which exists in a number of versions.

The Norman conquest of Wales introduced the Welsh to Continental literature, and as time went on much of this was translated. From the Latin came Biblical legends, Saints' lives, the *Elucidarium* and *Imago Mundi* of

Honorius of Autun, the *Distichs* of Cato, *The Seven Sages of Rome*, the *Fables* of Odo of Cheriton, and the like. From the French came translations of *The Song of Roland*, *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, *The Chronicle of Turpin*, *Otuel*, *Amis and Amiles*, *Bevis of Hampton*, *Perlesvaus*, and *The Quest of the Holy Grail*. The *History* of Geoffrey of Monmouth was accepted as authentic and was very popular; at least five different versions of it are still in existence. In the *Red Book* and some other manuscripts it is combined with a translation of the *History of the Destruction of Troy* by Dares Phrygius, and with the *Chronicle of the Princes* (probably written first in Latin), to give a continuous history of the Welsh people from its beginnings to the end of the 13th c. *The Life of Gruffydd ap Cynan*, now known only in Welsh, is probably based upon a Latin original, as are the *Laws* of Hywel the Good.

Of original prose, aside from the romances already mentioned and a few saints' lives, there is very little. The *Red Book* (not the earliest part) contains a medical treatise, *The Physicians of Myddfau* (*Meddygon Myddfau*) which purports to be the work of Rhiwallon, the most famous member of a 13th c. medical family. It contains also a handbook of grammar and prosody which goes under the names of Einion the Priest (*Offeiriad*) and Dafydd Ddu, the Teacher from Hiraddug; this latter work was a powerful influence in keeping alive the traditions of the Gogynfeirdd during the 14th and 15th c. This is the period, too, when most of the Triads—groupings of memorable things in threes, as an aid to the memory (as also in the *Bible*, *Proverbs* 30, 16-33)—were first written down, some of them after a long course of oral transmission. Toward the end of the Middle Ages we find the *Areithiau* (from Latin *oratio*), often fathered upon authors that had no connection with them, works like *Araith Iolo Goch* and *Araith Ieuan Brydydd Hir*.

They are school exercises in elaborate artificial prose, sometimes parodies of romances or retellings of other stories, and sometimes lists of "Likes (Dewisbethau)" and "Dislikes (Casbethau)." In general, the prose of the later Middle Ages is of little importance.

*The Age of the Cywydd.* After the fall of the Princes and the society that had supported the Gogynfeirdd, poetry languished for nearly a century. When it revived it had changed its character. The Gogynfeirdd were largely of North Wales, which has always been conservative; the new poetry appeared in the South, which has always been more ready to accept new things, and which at this period was under a strong Norman influence. Foreshadowings of a new style appear in the work of Hywel ab Einion Lygliw (fl. ca. 1330-70), almost the last of the Gogynfeirdd; his poem to Myfanwy of Dinas Bran is technically a *rhieingerdd*, but it is more personal and seems to be more sincere than most poems of the type. The transition is not yet complete in the work of the new poets, Dafydd ap Gwilym, Gruffudd Gryg, Llewelyn Goch ap Meurig Hên, and Iolo Goch. Their odes, in substance and in style, are quite in the tradition of the Bards of the Princes, but they write chiefly on lighter themes, and in a new meter, the *cywydd*.

This consists of lines of seven syllables, each containing one of the forms of internal consonance or *cynghanedd*; these rhyme in pairs, the rhyme syllable being stressed in one line of the couplet and unstressed in the other. It is not a simple meter according to our standards, but it is much simpler than the *awdl* or the *englyn*, which had been the favored forms of the early poets. It appears to be a meter which had been used by poets of the lower class (no examples of whose work have come down to us) and which was now, with the decline of the more formal school, raised to the dignity of literature. It is artistic enough to give the poet full scope for

his abilities, yet not so mechanical as to hamper him unduly. It is flexible enough so that it can be adapted to various moods and various themes; even narrative poetry can be written in it. For more than two hundred years this metrical form dominated Welsh poetry, so that it is not inappropriate to call this period "The Age of the Cywydd."

The new poets probably did not feel any more deeply than their predecessors had felt, but they were much less restrained in expressing their feelings, and much more specific in describing them; and, in doing so, they used a language and a style much nearer to those of every-day life. The *marwnad* now expresses a sense of personal rather than of national loss; the love poetry, which has now become one of the popular forms, seems to be written more from personal inclination than as part of the duty of a poet laureate. South Wales at this period was in the current of European thought, and it is not difficult to trace in this new poetry the influence of the poems of the goliards, of the poetry of the troubadours, and even of the bourgeois poetry of Flanders and Northern France. But many of the elements in the work of the writers of the *cywydd* were already part of the native tradition. Some may be found in the work of the Gogynfeirdd, and if we had some of the work of their less aristocratic contemporaries it is very probable that we should find more.

The leader, and possibly the founder, of this new school is Dafydd ap Gwilym.\* Aside from his odes and *englynion*, which are in the tradition of the Gogynfeirdd, he has eulogies, elegies, and other poems that are on the old themes but in the new form. His poems to ladies break completely away from the traditional *rhieingerdd*. They are entirely too informal; and, although they may be addressed to Morfudd or Dyddgu, each of these names represents a whole series of loves. It is probably not going too far to assume that any blond lady is addressed as Morfudd, any dark

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Even more than he loved women Dafydd loved the beauties of nature. The troubadours used nature to introduce their love poems; Dafydd used love to introduce his nature poems. Few poets of the Middle Ages have observed nature as closely or have described it with as much sympathy as he. Under a thin veneer of Christianity he is a joyous pagan, believing that "Three things are loved throughout the world, Woman, fair weather, and health (Tripheth a gerir drwy'r byd, Gwraig, a hinon, ac iechid.)" and that one may "win heaven in the fresh green grove (ynhill nef ny llwyn ir)." So infectious is the enthusiasm with which he preaches this philosophy, and so skillful his fitting of verse to the thought, that he takes a high place among the poets of the world. The one thing he lacks is high seriousness; he therefore never touches the depth of pathos which his friend Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hên reached in his elegy for Lleucu Llwyd. This is conventional in form, a fact that has caused some to see in it only a literary exercise; in his *Confessional Ode* Llywelyn reckoned this "false song (*geuwawd*)" among his transgressions; but it is one of the most moving poems of the Welsh Middle Ages, so that it is difficult to believe that it is not sincere. Gruffudd Gryg, another member of the group, broadened the scope of the new poetry by writing on such subjects as Miserliness, Pride, and Envy, but

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poets of this time. He appears to have had some connection with the Church, and his patrons were the Scudamores of Hereford; through them he is connected with Owen Glendower, one of whose daughters married a Scudamore. His poem with the refrain, "I hope for what is to come (Gobeithiaw a ddaw ydd wyf)," seems to refer to the national hopes that were aroused by Glendower's struggle, but most of his poems were on religious or moral subjects. His poetic creed was "The bard's estate is to study the world (Ystad bardd, astudio byd);" his main themes were "the uncertainty of wealth, health, strength, honor, and life, and the certainty of death and the grave, the final judgment, heaven and hell." Siôn conducted a poetic debate with Rhys Goch over the nature of poetic inspiration (the *Awen*), a subject that Rhys had already debated with Llywelyn ap y Moel. Siôn said that there were two: the Heavenly Muse, and the lying Muse of the Welsh poets, who came "from the furnace of a hellish nature."

Besides broadening the content of Welsh poetry, Siôn introduced an innovation in metrics. Some of his poems, although written in *cynghanedd*, are divided into sections eight or ten lines long with a refrain repeated at the end of every section, so that they are practically in stanza form. Even more modern in form are the poems attributed to Rhys Goch ap Rhiccert, which many anthologies and literary histories place in this period. They have an undeniable poetic quality; but they are now known to be the productions of a much later age, by Edward Williams.\*

The "rebellion" of Owen Glendower, which began as a private feud but developed into a national fight for freedom, did much to shift the emphasis in poetry from the love and nature themes of Dafydd ap Gwilym and his followers back to the earlier, more heroic, models. This, and the Wars of the Roses which followed, also brought into

prominence another form, the poetical prophecy or *cywydd brud*. The word *brud* is derived from the name Brutus and meant originally a prophecy of the return of the rightful line of Britain as presented by Geoffrey of Monmouth. With this came to be mingled obscure allegorical prophecies in the style of Merlin; in time, these animal allegories came to play a very large part. At the beginning of the Wars of the Roses, Wales was divided. The South, under the influence of Sir William Herbert (later Earl of Pembroke), looked upon Edward IV as the true heir of the old Welsh princes because of his descent from Gwladys Du, daughter of Llewelyn the Great; North Wales, under the influence of the Tudors, to whom most of the chiefs were related, was largely Lancastrian. But when Henry Tudor presented himself as the national champion of Wales rather than as heir to the Lancastrian claims, much of the South, too, rallied around him. The *cywydd brud*, suitable for oral transmission among what is today called "the underground," was used to stir up national feeling. There is little of poetic value in most of these *cywyddau*, but among the patriotic odes two, the *Patrick Ode* and the *Ode to St. David*, stand out.

Lewys Glyn Cothi was an ardent Lancastrian; he wrote poems to the Tudors Jasper, Edmund, and Henry. He was, not a *bardd teulu* but a *clerwr*, or wandering poet, making his living by going from one patron to another. As a result a large proportion of his poetry consists of poems of praise or congratulation, addressed to various noblemen and filled with genealogical details. He wrote no love poems. Three poems stand out in his work: his ode attacking the inhabitants of Chester who had seized his property and driven him from the city, his satire on the Saxons of Flint who preferred an English piper to the Welsh poet, and his lament over his five year old son, which is as poignant

today as when it was written. Guto'r Glyn, like Lewys, was a *clerwr*, a profession that he seems to have combined with his trade of sheep and cattle merchant. He has a number of patriotic poems, in one of which he urges the Earl of Pembroke to pardon the defeated Lancastrians, unite all Wales, and drive the Saxons out of the country, but in general he was not an heroic figure. He worked himself by flattery from monastery to monastery and from one gentleman's seat to another's—"He knew how to praise" said Siôn Tudur—and his main interest was in his material comfort. Not a single love poem by him has been found; the only women that interested him were those ladies that cared for him and made him comfortable when he was suffering from rheumatism. He has only one religious poem—written, as he tells us, because the Abbot of Valle Crucis (with whom he had taken refuge when he was old and blind) bade him "praise God before men," and "give part of his gift to the King of Heaven for once." On behalf of the same abbot he wrote a poem seeking the loan of a manuscript of the *Greal*, the Welsh translation of the French *Queste*. Very different from these two conventional poets is Tudur Penllyn, who writes to praise the romantic adventurous life that the Lancastrian fugitives lived in the good greenwood.

But not all the poets of this period were interested chiefly in the content of their poetry; some were primarily craftsmen. Maredudd ap Rhys has one *cywydd brud*, but he is better known as "the poet of the open air" because of his *Song to the Wind* and his two poems to Ifan ap Tudur, one asking for the gift of a fishing net and the other thanking him for it. Maredudd's pupil was Dafydd ab Edmwnd,\* and with him the classical school of poetry reached its highest point of development. Gruffudd ab Nicolas, urged by his kinsman the poet Llawdden who feared that poetasters were debasing the poetic art, se-

cured in 1451 a royal warrant from King Henry VI, pursuant to which he held an eisteddfod at Carmarthen. At this eisteddfod Dafydd, then about twenty-five, was awarded a silver chair for his codification of "the twenty-four metres." Except for two that he invented to replace two others that had become obsolete, these metres were all old and quite familiar, but the sanction of this eisteddfod and succeeding eisteddfodau made them official. The bards of Glamorgan, under the leadership of Gwilym Tew and Llawdden, protested that this system was not the old one, and in the course of time worked out the "Glamorgan system (Dosbarth Morgannwg)" which, it is said, they finally accepted at their own eisteddfod of Bewpyr in 1681. But Dafydd's twenty-four metres, and the rules for cynghanedd, which although not formally codified until a little later were already developed much as we know them, form the basis of classical poetry.

The themes of this poetry were fixed by tradition, if not by statute. The "poems to God" of the Gogynfeirdd were now represented by *cywyddau* (or sometimes *awdlau*) *duwiol*. The "poems to the king" were replaced by addresses to patrons of lower rank. These might be in the form of odes, but were usually either *cywyddau moliant* (poems of praise) or *cywyddau marwnad* (elegies); either form was apt to involve the poet in a long series of genealogical details, for the bards were also the genealogists. The *Red Book* grammar prescribes who shall be praised, and for what qualities a person of each class shall be praised; the bardic rules added the necessary provision that no one might sing more than four songs to any one man in a single year unless the subject asked for more. The *cywydd gofyn*, or poem of asking, often took the form of a *cywydd dyfalu*, an elaborate pictorial description of some article that the poet desired. The poet was, however, forbidden to address to any one a poem asking

for a horse or a greyhound or any other valuable object without first securing the permission of its owner. The *cywydd diolch* expressed his thanks after the gift was received. *Cywyddau ymryson* were the poems used in the bardic quarrels, which were sometimes bitter but more often, we may assume, were merely opportunities for the poets to display their abilities or to discuss some point of interest. The *cywyddau brud* were the political poems in prophetic or allegorical form. The *cywyddau serch* were the love poems, evidently looked upon as an inferior form, for the candidate that had not yet received a bardic degree and was therefore not permitted the regular practice of his art with its remunerations, was permitted "to sing to girls or to describe some trivial thing in order to show his inventiveness."

Limited thus in his choice of subject matter and method of treatment, and fettered by strict metrical rules, the poet could display his ability only by doing better what had already been done many times before. The rules had the same effect, both for good and for evil, that the rules of the neo-classicists had upon English literature, but to an even greater degree, since these rules were much stricter. Any man that knew his business could write competent poetry with an occasional good line, but only a genius could rise much above the general level. Of more than a hundred and fifty writers of the *cywydd* whose work has come down to us from this period, only a few of those who wrote after the movement had reached its full development are today read for the poetic value of their work. One of these few is Tudur Aled,\* a nephew and a disciple of Dafydd ab Edmwnd; he followed his master's lead by winning, at the Eisteddfod of Caerwys in 1523, a bardic chair for his compilation of the rules of *cynganedd*. Another of Dafydd's disciples was Gutun Owain, whose poems give us good pictures of life in the abbeys of Basingwerk and

Strata Florida. He was a historian and a genealogist as well as a poet, and was one of the commission appointed by Henry VII to search out his pedigree in order to prove that the Tudors, as heirs of Brutus, were the lawful sovereigns of Britain.

A disciple of Tudur Aled was Gruffudd Hiraethog; he, in turn, had four disciples whom he characterized as follows: "Gwilym Cynwal is poetical, Simwnt Fychan is careful, Siôn Tudur is learned, but there is nothing that is unknown to William Llŷn." The last is the best of the four—a master of *cynganedd*, and particularly successful with the elegiac poem, but a modern in his interest in the new learning of the Renaissance. Siôn Tudur translated a number of the *Psalms* into the *cywydd* metre and wrote a poem to Dr. Morgan on his translation of the *Bible*, which had been printed in 1588. He has a number of poems of the traditional type, but he is at his best as a satirist of social inequalities. The bards who formerly praised warriors and men of learning had now, he thought, become as materialistic as the rest of the world, and sang to the war-profiteers rather than to men of true worth. Gwilym Cynwal is known chiefly for his long bardic controversy with Edmwnd Prys, one of the pupils of Siôn Tudur. The poetry produced by the dispute was not of a high order, but the questions discussed were the perennial ones: true poetry versus pagan poetry—the same questions Siôn Cent and Rhys Goch had debated, and the 20th c. was to debate again—and the relative merit of the traditional learning of the bards and the new learning taught in the universities. Simwnt Fychan was at heart a grammarian rather than a poet. His *Ode to exhibit the twenty-four measures to Mr. Pierce Mostyn of Dalacre*, which gained him the highest degree at the second Caerwys Eisteddfod in 1568, was printed in the grammars of Siôn Dafydd Rhys and of Siôn Rhydderch, and has been described as "a masterpiece of

*cynganedd* and not devoid of ideas." He also wrote a grammar and made a collection of pedigrees.

Siôn Phylip, a disciple of both Gruffudd Hiraethog and William Llŷn, was one of the five "Phylipiaid Ardudwy," all poets; he was *bardd teulu* to the families of Nannau and Cors y Gedol. He is not greatly inferior to Dafydd Nanmor in his handling of the old forms and the *cywydd* metre; his form is classical but he is decidedly romantic in his fresh view of his subjects and in his extension of the personal note. William Middleton (Gwilym Canoldref) was a captain in the British Navy, and while serving "apud Scutum Insulam Occidentalium Indorum" he translated all of the *Psalms* into the *cywydd* metre; he also wrote excellent odes and in 1593 published a textbook on the bardic art, which up to this time had been jealously guarded and handed down as a great treasure from master to pupil. Thomas Prys of Plas Iolyn, son of a Lord Lieutenant of Wales, was a friend of Middleton and, like him, a sea-captain. He was not a professional bard and he has none of the professional's feeling for the dignity of his art, although after he had retired and settled down on the family estate he wrote some fairly conventional poetry. His style is simple, many of his words are colloquial, not dignified, and he even has couplets of English words written in *cynganedd*. He has a number of poems describing low life in London—one *To show that London is Hell*, and another *To show how, between loving the girls and playing at dice, a man was cheated of his money when he first came to London*; still another recounts the misadventures he suffered when he bought a privateer and set out against the Spaniards. Even when he writes in the conventional forms, he takes them none too seriously. When he praises "Honest John Salisbury" it is for such things as "helping the dice on the sly" when he plays backgammon;

even his elegies are not free from the mocking tone. The fact that the *cywydd* could be used for poems like these shows that the old bardic tradition was dying; the poets of the next century continued to write *cywyddau*, and some tried to keep up the old traditions; but new metrical forms were coming in, and the attention shifts to them and to prose.

*The Renaissance.* In supporting Henry Tudor, Wales had, for once, chosen the winning side, but she soon found that the Tudor policy of uniformity under a strong centralized government was as fatal to her national life as the enmity of the Saxons had been. Welshmen learned that if they were to make their way in the world it must be as part of the larger life of England; the substitution of inheritance by primogeniture for that by gavelkind, furthermore, forced many younger sons to leave home. The statutes of 1535 and 1542 gave them the rights of English citizenship, of which many took advantage. Captain Thomas Price and Captain William Middleton have already been mentioned. Elis Gruffydd served for many years at Calais and elsewhere in France, and the last part of his *History of the World* (still in manuscript) is valuable because it narrates things that he himself witnessed. But Welsh literature of the period, aside from the *cywydd*, which still clung to old bardic traditions, was largely a literature of translation, designed to give to the Welsh the benefits of the Renaissance and the Reformation. William Salisbury declared that his *Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe* (1547) was "moche necessary to all such Welshmen as wil spedily learne the englishe tongue," and he dedicated it to Henry VII in accordance with the King's expressed desire that "our welbeloued subiects in Wales may the sooner attayne and learne our mere englysch tongue." (It contains the famous definition of the *onion* as "the herb that women put to their eyes when their husbands die, to make them cry.") To help the cause of Protestant-

ism, Parliament in 1563 ordered the Welsh bishops to translate into Welsh both the *Bible* and the *Book of Common Prayer*, and to place a copy in every church in the Principality. The work was undertaken by Richard Davies, Bishop of St. Asaph and later of St. David's, who had taken refuge in Geneva during the Marian persecutions. The *Lliver Gweddi Gyffredin* (1567), which is based upon the second *Prayer Book* of Edward II, is largely his work, and with minor revisions is the text in use today. Since the tradition of Welsh prose had been broken, Davies modeled his work upon the only living tradition, that of the poets as he had learned it from his master Gruffudd Hiraethog. He was one of the translators of the English "Bishops' Bible," but for the Welsh *New Testament* (also published in 1567) he relied largely upon his friend Salesbury who had already (1551) published a translation of the liturgical *Gospels* and *Epistles*. Salesbury was influenced by the Latinized style of the universities, and in his attempt to make the Welsh approach the Latin he introduced a number of spurious forms, some of which have survived to this day; to preserve the original meaning of the words he omitted many of the mutations, but obviously he expected any reader to supply these. Read as he meant the text to be read, it is often clear and effective prose. It may have been disagreement over matters of style that caused Davies and Salesbury to give up their project of making a translation of the whole *Bible*. The first complete version was finished in 1588 by William Morgan (later made Bishop of St. Asaph) with the help of Archdeacon Edmwnd Prys and several of the bishops. The *Old Testament* is translated direct from the Hebrew, but the *New* is a revision of Salesbury's text. The whole *Bible* was revised in 1620 by Morgan's successor at St. Asaph, Dr. Richard Parry, who in many cases substituted for Morgan's Hebraisms the readings of the English *Bible*

of 1611. This revision has remained the standard text down to the present day. Bishop Parry had the assistance of his brother-in-law, the scholar and lexicographer Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd, and they too based their style upon the literary tradition of the bards rather than upon colloquial speech. So likewise did Maurice Kyffin, often called "The Father of Welsh Prose" for his *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegyrr* (1595), a translation of Bishop Jewel's *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*; Kyffin had received his training under William Llŷn and was a thoroughly competent poet in the old metres.

A number of authors attempted to keep alive a knowledge of these old poetic forms. Dr. Gruffydd Robert, who had fled to Italy with the coming of the Reformation, published in Milan in 1567 and later his *Dosparth Byrr ar y rhann gyntaf i ramedig cynraeg* in which, in a series of charming dialogues in the Platonic style, he presents the facts of Welsh grammar and then, with pretended reluctance, an explanation of the strict metres, "seeing that poetical Welshmen are craving so much for it." To illustrate his explanations he quotes freely from the old poets. Dr. Siôn Dafydd Rhys published a similar work (except that the rules are in Latin) in 1592; where he could not find a suitable illustration for some point of prosody, he made up one of his own. Other illustrations of the bardic art are William Middleton's *Bardhoniaeth neu Brydydhiaeth* (1593), the *Grammatica Britannica* of Henry Salesbury (1593), and the *Egluryn Phraethineb* of Henry Parry or Perri (1595), which is based to a considerable extent upon William Salesbury's adaptation of the Latin Donatus.

During the 17th c. Wales had her full share of didactic literature, both translated and original. Most of it, although it was influential in shaping the thought of the people, has little permanent literary value. Among the exceptions is the *Book of the Three Birds*.

(*Llyfr y Tri Aderyn*, 1653) of the mystic Morgan Llwyd,\* which is still ranked as one of the Welsh classics. It is an allegory, deriving its symbolism from the works of the German Jakob Boehme, but it contains also Llwyd's thoughts upon the condition of England and Wales. One reason for its popularity is that it contains a large number of proverbs and pithy sayings that appeal to its readers: "Every man has enough cleverness to deceive himself"; "Tomorrow is too late for many because today was too soon"; "The gimlet of instruction must go before the hammer of regulation, lest the wood be split or the nail be bent"; and the like. Another popular book of the period was Charles Edwards's *The Unfeigned Faith* (*Y Ffydd Ddi-fvant*, 1671; an earlier draft had appeared in 1666 as *Hanes y Ffydd*), a sort of Church history with a strong Protestant tinge. But the most important work of Edwards was in connection with the Welsh Trust founded by Thomas Gouge. The objects of this trust were the establishing of Charity Schools for the Welsh, and "the printing and buying of Welsh books for free distribution among the poor." Edwards and Stephen Hughes were the two men chiefly responsible for the many books published by the Trust, among them a *New Testament* in 1672 and *Bibles* in 1677 and 1690. Hughes was also one of a group responsible for making the first translation (1688) of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, which became a very popular book among the Welsh.

Early in the next century came *The Visions of the Sleeping Bard* (*Gweledigaethau y Bardd Cwse*, 1703), by Ellis Wynne\* "of Glasynys," which has been so popular that nearly thirty editions of it have been required. The three visions, "The Course of the World," "Death," and "Hell," the suggestion for which came from the *Sueños* of Quevedo, are a series of satires on the evils that Wynne saw about him. He has changed the spirit of Quevedo to one of grim earnestness, and has

so thoroughly adapted the coloring to his own country and age that it is virtually an original work. The book is distinguished by the vividness of its descriptions and the nobility of its style, by the rich and vigorous Welsh in which it is written. Another classic of this period is *The Mirror of the Primitive Ages* (*Drych y Prif Oesoedd*) of Theophilus Evans, published first in 1716 and in a much enlarged and improved form in 1740. The book no longer counts as history, but it was the first work that gave the Welshman any picture of the early story of his own nation, and it proved so popular that five editions were called for before the end of the century, and fourteen more in the next. Evans's object was to arouse the patriotism of his fellow-countrymen, but the book's popularity is due also to the way he makes the past live again for us; in story-telling, he is a consummate artist. The Rev. Griffith Jones of Llanddowror deserves mention in this century, not for his publications, although they were numerous, but for the influence he exerted through his circulating schools, or, as he called them, Schools of Piety. Begun in a small way in 1730, before Jones's death in 1761 two hundred and eighteen such schools had been established and more than 158,000 students had come under their influence. Instruction in these schools was distinctly Protestant and Evangelical, and it was imparted in Welsh; these, and the Sunday Schools which Thomas Charles later established on their model, taught the nation to read Welsh and so kept the language alive. The ability to read created a demand for books. New editions of the *Bible*, each of 15,000 copies, were required in 1746 and 1752. Only 173 Welsh books are recorded in the period between 1588 and 1700, but in the next century over 1,200 were published. The literary value of many of these was small—although there were good books among them—but their presence in every cottage, and the ability of their owners to read them,

made the Welsh peasantry among the most literate in Europe.

*The Free Metres.* About the time of the Renaissance, a different set of metrical forms began to emerge, forms that resemble those of English or medieval Latin poetry instead of being constructed in accordance with the rules of *cynghanedd*. Probably this type of verse had long been cultivated by those with little poetic training, but not being recognized by the bardic fraternity its course was obscured, much as the accentual metres were in classical Rome. Now, with the decline of the professional poets, these forms came into the open, just as earlier the *cywydd* had when attention shifted from the *Gogynfeirdd* to the less pretentious poets. By the time of the Civil War these "free" metres had taken precedence over the traditional "strict" ones, and even after the classical revival of the 18th c. they shared the field. The name which they now bear was given them by Gruffydd Robert who, in his *Dosparth Byrr* (1567) speaks of "the free metres which the inartistic people are accustomed to use in singing carols, *cwndidau*, or festival rhymes." He says they are called free because their verses are not bound to keep to the rules of *cynghanedd*. The carols of which Robert speaks were, at this period, poems on a religious or moral subject (something like the Manx *carvels*) composed to be sung on some festival day; the *cwndidau* were very similar. To this period belong, too, some of the *penillion*, those lyric stanzas that have been preserved largely by oral tradition, and contain much real poetry.

As Gruffydd Robert indicates, these free metres were used in group singing, which doubtless influenced their form; for singing the strict metres is an art in itself. A large number of these poems are anonymous; their authors were persons of so little note that their names have not been handed down to us. Among those we do know, one of the

most interesting is Richard Hughes ("Dic Huws," ca. 1530-1618). He was one of the Welshmen that served in the expedition against Cadiz in 1596. Also, in 1599, he was granted an annuity of £50 a year as "Footman Extraordinary" to Queen Elizabeth. He wrote a number of *englynion*, one addressed to the queen when she was ill, several on the Gunpowder Treason, and one to Tom Coryate, but the bulk of his work is love poetry in the spirit and the manner that the Cavaliers were later to adopt, as a stanza of it will show:

O wir drymder kanu'r wy'  
Nid o nwy' na maswedd,  
Ond un modd â'r alarch gwyn  
Yn chwynfan cyn ei ddiwedd.

Out of true sadness do I sing  
Not out of animation or gaiety,  
But in the same manner as the white swan  
Lamenting before his end.

The mss. also contain a number of poems attributed to Llewelyn ap Hwlkyn o Fôn, some of which are so much like the work of Hughes that Professor Ifor Williams believes they are his. For example:

Ag o collai f'oes am hon  
'Rwy'n ddigon bodlon iddi.  
Er i glanach meinir syth  
Nid allwn byth i golli.

And if I lose my life for her  
I am well enough satisfied with her.  
For a fairer upright maid  
I could never lose it.

It was out of some of the other poems attributed to Llewelyn that Iolo Morgannwg (Edward Williams\*) created the poetry that he presented as the work of "Rhys Goch ap Rhiccert."

It was in the simplest of the free metres, as handed down by popular tradition, that Rhys Pritchard,\* "The Old Vicar," composed those poems that, after his death, were published as *The Welshmen's Candle* (*Canwyll y Cymry*) or *The Morning Star* (*Y Seren Foreu*). He had noticed, he said, that his parishioners soon forgot his sermons but they remembered his verses, so he put his teaching into the simplest words and cast it into verse form. These verses were quoted and copied widely, so that they were already well known when Stephen Hughes collected and published the first of them in 1656 (1646?). Only slightly more elaborate were the meters used by Archdeacon Edmwnd Prys (1541-1623) for his translation of the *Psalms*. The Act of Uniformity of 1548 permitted the singing of any *Psalms* or prayer taken from the *Bible*, either before or after the service or before or after the sermon, and this custom of psalm-singing, brought from Geneva by the Marian exiles, became particularly popular among the Puritans. The English had the *Psalms* of Sternhold and Hopkins, but the Welsh version by William Middleton (published in 1603) was in the strict meters and not suited to congregational singing. Edward Kyffin, had begun a translation into the free meters, "to be sung to the tune used in the Church of England," but when he died he had finished only about fifty of these, only thirteen of which were published (1603). Prys undertook to translate them all, working directly from the Hebrew, and it is said that as he finished the translation of each *Psalms* he taught it to his congregation and had them try singing it. The whole collection was published in 1621, bound up with the *Welsh Book of Common Prayer*.

The same free meters were used by Morgan Llwyd\* who, besides his prose works, wrote a number of poems in Welsh and English. Llwyd supported the Parliament and later was on the side of the Fifth Monarchy, but

most of the other poets of the time, men like Rowland Vaughan and William Phylip, were Royalists. So was Huw Morus\* who, while the Puritans were in power, concealed his Royalist sentiments under cover of allegory, and escaped trouble. He wrote some poems in the classical form, but the best part of his work is written in the free metres, which he made almost as elaborate and as difficult as the strict metres had been. His friend Edward Morris (1607?-89), a drover by profession, wrote Christmas carols and other poems in the free metres, as well as poems of the older type; Owen Gruffydd (1643-1730), another poet whose work was for the most part in the new forms although for some he used the old, wrote chiefly on religious and moral subjects.

The century that followed the Civil War was pre-eminently a period of minor poets. Few of the gentry were now patrons of literature; poets had to find a new audience and new means of support. Among those that attempted a solution of the problem were the publishers of the Welsh almanacs, the first of which appeared in 1680. Besides the material usually found in other almanacs, these generally contained a digest of some work of a historical or geographical nature; the remainder of the volume, which might run to fifty pages, was filled out with poems. Many of these were ephemeral, but others were the work of good poets; some even employed the classical metres. These almanacs were sold very cheaply, and therefore the stamp tax of 1712 put a heavy burden upon their publishers; to escape it some renamed them *Cyfeillion* (*Friends*) and had them printed in Dublin, or gave them a fictitious Dublin imprint and sold them without the stamp. Siôn Robert used to sell 15,000 or 20,000 copies of his *Cyfeillion* every year.

Another form popular at this time was the ballad. This was modeled upon the English broadside ballad—the subject might be anything from "The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus"



to a love romance or the latest murder—but the poems were usually printed in small pamphlets of six or eight pages, each booklet containing from two to four ballads. These were sold to hawkers who peddled them from house to house, or sang them at country fairs to advertise their wares, a practice that has persisted almost to the present century. North Wales was the ballad country; two of the most active of the publishers were David Jones of Trefriw (where he was sexton for Evan Evans) and Huw Jones of Llangwm. David Jones also published more ambitious works. He scoured the country for material and for subscribers, and in 1759 published an *Anthology of Wales* (*Blodeugerdd Cymru*; 2d ed. 1779) which contained many poems by Huw Morus, Edward Morris, and Owen Gruffydd; in 1766 he published the *Pleasant Companion* (*Cydymaith Diddan*), which included three poems by Dafydd ap Gwilym. Huw Jones published *Select Songs* (*Dewisol Ganiadau*) in 1759, and in 1763 *Family Entertainment* (*Diddanwch Teuluaid*), which contained the works of Goronwy Owen, Lewis and Richard Morris, Huw Huws "Y Bardd Coch," and others. Ellis Roberts "The Cooper," whose name has become a synonym for a bad poet but who was not so bad as he was painted, was very popular; he printed about seventy different "things," as he called them, but his project to issue by subscription a collected volume of his works, which should sell for a shilling, fell through. Individually these ballad writers were not important, but collectively they are. At this time, also, chap-books were published containing tales in prose, but even the prose tales were often called ballads.

The interlude (*anterliwt*) was sometimes no more than a ballad in dialogue, but more often the name was applied to an elementary form of drama. Companies of men toured the country, acting upon improvised stages, with very simple costumes. After a performance

was finished the hat was passed, and copies of the play were offered to the audience; these were usually in the form of duodecimo booklets selling for about sixpence. The more elaborate of the plays had both a plot and a sub-plot. The characters in the first were abstract vices and virtues, or personifications such as King, Bishop, or Justice. The sub-plot supplied the comic element, and its characters were taken from everyday life: The Landlord (usually called *The Miser*), The Farmer, The Inn-Keeper and his Wife, The Tinker, The Poor Widow, and so forth. By far the best of the interlude writers was Twm o'r Nant (Thomas Edwards, 1738–1810); Ellis the Cooper was one of the most prolific. These plays, although popular with the common people, were opposed by the Church as immoral, while the educated looked down upon them as vulgar.

This is the period, too, of the great religious revival that swept over Wales under the influence of men like Howell Harris (1714–73) and Daniel Rowlands (1713–90) of Llangethio. Technically the revival was within the Church, for the Wesleyan Methodists did not separate from it until 1800, and the Calvinist Methodists until 1811. But the established Church had shown little care for the religious condition of Wales, while the revivalists addressed the people in their own language and were powerful preachers. The religious enthusiasm that they aroused often found its expression in hymns. William Williams,\* "Pantycelyn," was the greatest of all the hymn writers; he was also the author of *Theomemphus*, which has been called the epic of the Non-Conformist movement. Another great hymn writer was Ann Griffiths (1776–1805). She used to compose hymns which she sang about the house, but she would never write them down—"They are not worthy; I sing them only for my own pleasure." After her death some of them were written down from the recollection of a serv-

ant girl. Many others of the best and most popular Welsh hymns date from this period.

*The Classical Revival.* The classical current (the strict metres) never completely died out in Wales. In 1710 David Lewys printed *Flores Poetarum Britannicorum*, an anthology of the classical poets, which he believed to be the work of Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd; to it he prefixed a reprint of William Middleton's *Llyfr Barddoniaeth*. In 1727 Siôn Rhydderch, the publisher of a series of almanacs, printed a grammar and prosody that was based upon that of Siôn Dafydd Rhys. The poems in the strict metres that Twm o'r Nant included in his *Gardd o Gerddi* (1790) indicate that he knew more about the art than he could have derived from books, and Iolo Morganwg is supposed to have had access to the oral traditions of Glamorgan through a succession of local bards. But the greatest influence in the literary revival was that of the Morris brothers of Anglesea. Lewis, William, and Richard were all assiduous collectors and transcribers of old mss., and Lewis ("Llewelyn Ddu o Fôn") wrote odes, *cywyddau*, and verses that were not great poetry but were better than those of most of his contemporaries. Richard saw through the press the *Welsh Bibles* of 1746 and 1752, and assisted with that of 1770. He was the real founder of the Cymmrodorion Society, through which many of the Welsh in London were given an interest in the antiquities of their country; for it he subscribed for fifty copies of Rice Jones's *Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru* (1773), a collection of the poems of the great classical poets. The Morris brothers also encouraged and helped Evan Evans, "Teuan Brydydd Hir" (1731-89), a poet of considerable ability, but best known for his publication in 1762 of *Some Specimens of the Poetry of the Ancient Welsh Bards*, which included Welsh texts with English translations and a *De Bardis Dissertatio* in Latin.

A much greater poet who was encouraged

by them was Goronwy Owen.\* Goronwy despised the Welsh poetry of his day, all "popular poets, good or bad," and admired the English classicists and Milton. In Welsh, *The Sleeping Bard* influenced him greatly. Through Lewis Morris and Evan Evans he became acquainted with the Welsh classical poets and the Gogynfeirdd, whom he took as his models, although he was enough of a modern to write a *cywydd gofyn* asking for a postal frank. He deliberately ransacked Dr. John Davies's *Dictionary* (1632) for obsolete words, thinking that he could bring them back into use, but this makes his poems such hard reading that Lewis Morris had to furnish them with explanatory notes. His simple poem of longing for his native Mona, recalling how the Israelites could not sing the Lord's song in a strange land, and how they wept when they remembered Zion, and "Mona is like Zion to me (Mal Seion yw Môn i mi)," is worth all the bombast and fustian of his more pretentious poetry.

In September, 1751, Richard Morris and several other Welshmen in London founded The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, one object of which was "to preserve and illustrate the ancient remains of Welsh literature, and to promote its cultivation in the present day." The society laid down a most ambitious program of subjects to be discussed at its meetings; it also aided in the formation of subsidiary societies throughout the Principality. In 1771 a number of the members, led by Owen Jones, "Owain Myfyr," a Welshman who had come up to London and made a fortune, founded the Gwyneddigion Society "because the Cymmrodorion did not sing *penillion*." Secret societies were very popular in London at this time, and many of the London Welsh belonged to both of these. For a time, while the Cymmrodorion were in eclipse because of financial difficulties, the Gwyneddigion and the still later Cymreigyddion had to carry on alone. Through these

societies Owain Myfyr developed a passion for Welsh literature. He employed William Owen [Pughe] to assist him in collecting mss.; and in 1789 they published the first edition of the poems of Dafydd ap Gwilym, to which Edward Williams,\* "Iolo Morganwg," contributed a number, the authenticity of which is still a subject of discussion. In 1801-07 the three men published a great collection of still earlier literature to which, since Owain Myfyr paid all the expenses, they gave the name of *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*. Myfyr is said to have assisted Pughe (as he was later to call himself) with his *Heroic Elegies and other Pieces of Llywarc Hen* (1794, though dated 1792), his *Dictionary* (1793-1803), and *The Cambrian Register* (1795, 1796, 1818). *The Cambro-Briton* (1818-20) was edited by John Humphreys Parry, another London Welshman. Both of these magazines, as well as the *Greal*, the organ of the Gwyneddigion, reprinted old texts; the first two included also material in English.

These societies were also responsible for the revival of the Eisteddfod, which had come to be no more than a meeting at a tavern of a few poetically inclined persons. When Richard Morris died in 1779, the Cymmrodorion offered a medal for the best memorial ode. There was no general understanding at this time as to what constituted an ode; the judges selected a poem in the strict metres, but the society at large voted for one in metre without *cynghanedd*. When the name "ode" came to be interpreted more strictly, this second type developed into the long poem in the free metres to which the name *prydddest* was given. The dispute over the relative merit of the two forms has been quieted somewhat by awarding a suitably carved bardic chair for the best ode, and a bardic crown for the best *prydddest*, and by asserting that the two forms are of equal dignity, an assumption which the

ardent supporters of the old metres are reluctant to admit.

The Cymmrodorion and Gwyneddigion societies offered prizes for other poetic contests, to be held in Wales, and they encouraged local eisteddfodau. The eisteddfod held at Carmarthen in 1819 passed a resolution freeing the bards from the metrical bonds imposed upon them by that of 1451. At this same eisteddfod, in which Iolo Morganwg took a prominent part, "The Gorsedd of the Bards of the Island of Britain" with its three degrees of ovate, bard, and druid (which seem to have been largely fabricated from Henry Rowlands' *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*, 1723) was united with the eisteddfod. At the eisteddfod of Carnarvon in 1862 it was resolved that a national meeting should be held annually, alternately in North and in South Wales. A national Eisteddfod Association, founded to regulate matters connected with these gatherings, held its first meeting in 1881.

The Chapel and the Eisteddfod, between them, were responsible for educating the Welsh to a point where even Lord Lingen, chairman of the committee that presented the notorious "Blue Book" report in 1846, had to admit "The Welshman possesses a mastery of his own language far beyond that which an Englishman of the same degree possesses over his." The Sunday School taught him to read Welsh, even if the regular schools ignored it, and presented him with an admirable prose model in the *Bible*. If he was interested in poetry, there was a good chance that some local minister could help him with that. If he was interested in any form of literary composition he could submit his work to the local eisteddfod, have it criticized, and compare it with the work of his neighbors. If he had any success in the local contests he might go on to others, and ultimately to the National. There was little chance that literary ability—if of the conventional kind—would go

unrecognized in Wales. Poetry was the favored medium, and it seems to have been the ambition of every farmer and artisan to publish a collection of poems, if only in a six-penny pamphlet. Much that was published might better have been allowed to die, but there was a surprising knowledge and love of literature, even of the strict metres, among the Welsh, and many eminent writers got their start through the eisteddfod.

For the greater part of the century, this was dominated by the Nonconformist clergy; it was not unusual for the majority of judges in a literary contest to be clergymen. The clerical influence is shown in the choice of subjects assigned: "Brotherly Love," "The Destruction of Jerusalem," "Hope," "Belshazzar's Feast," "Man," "The Welsh Bible," "The Missionary," "The Pascal Lamb," "The Welsh Pulpit," "Self-sacrifice," with a sprinkling of topics like "The Regency of George IV," "The Visit of George to Anglesey," "Queen Victoria." The decision of the judges was too often based upon moral rather than upon aesthetic grounds, and if by some chance a romantic subject like "Arthur of the Round Table" was assigned, they were capable of awarding the prize to such a perfectly appalling work as the "epic" (1897) of the Rev. T. Mafonwy Davies. Even toward the end of the century Eifion Wyn's poem on "The Shepherd" was rejected because it mentioned none but earthly shepherds. It is sometimes enlightening to read the adjudications in the light of the poems themselves. When we add to this deadening influence the burden of the Goronwy Owen tradition, which lay heavy on eisteddfodic circles, it is no wonder that so little of the poetry of the 19th c. is of interest today. In the strict metres there are striking passages, like those arresting *englynion* with which Eben Fardd (Ebenezer Thomas, 1802-1863) begins his youthful *Ode on the Destruction of Jerusalem*,

A! dinistr! dinistr yn donnau—chwalodd  
Uchelion ragfurau,  
A thirion byrth yr hen bau,  
Caersalem sicr ei seiliau.

Cref iawn oedd ac ar fynyddau—dilyth  
Adeilwyd ei chaerau;  
Yn ei bri hon wnai barhau  
Yn addurn byd, flynyddau.

(O destruction! destruction in waves has swallowed the lofty ramparts, and the fair gates of the old country, Jerusalem with her firm foundations. Very strong she was and on mountains immovable her walls were builded; in her glory she abode, an adornment to the world, for years); but there is seldom a good poem. In the free metres there are occasional delightful lines such as those in which Mynyddog (Richard Davies, 1833-1877) describes *The Eclipse of the Sun*:

Mae Duw fel pe'n rho'i cwr ei law  
Cydrhwng y byd a'r haul tanbeidiol,  
I dynu sylw'r dyn uwch law  
Ei bryder a'i ofalïon bydol.

(It is as though God were placing the edge of His hand between the world and the blazing sun to raise man's attention above his anxiety and his worldly cares); but for the most part the output of the century is banal and uninteresting. Professor T. Gwynn Jones attributes this to the drabness of the daily life of the time and to the fact that the mass of the people now had neither the religious fervor of the preceding century nor the simple faith of the Middle Ages, but only a painful orthodoxy. Nineteenth c. Wales had no poets of doubt like Tennyson, Arnold, Clough, none of revolt like Swinburne. One may add that what literary criticism the Welsh had at the time tended to emphasize trivialities at the expense of the larger aspects of poetry.

Two men, Islwyn and Ceiriog, rise above the general level of the century. William Thomas,\* "Islwyn," wrote a great deal of undistinguished verse in both forms and on the usual themes, but his most distinctive and best work is found in his long blank verse poem *The Storm*, and in his two poems on *Night*, one in the free meters and one in the strict, in which he couples his mystic theology with his love of nature. John Ceiriog Hughes\* had a passionate love of freedom and an ardent yearning for Wales, both of which he expressed in lyrics of great charm, many of them written to be sung to old tunes. Among the Welsh poets of America, besides Goronwy Owen who in his later years was "Professor of Humanity" in William and Mary College, we may mention Eos Glan Twrch (John Edwards, 1806-87), Dafydd R. Jones (1832-1916), and Index (David Rhys Williams, 1851-1931); the last is best known for his dramas and his whimsical stories, and as editor, for 26 years, of the Welsh-American paper *Y Drych*.

About the beginning of the present century, poetry began to feel the influence of the University of Wales, and particularly of John Morris Jones,\* Professor of Welsh in University College, Bangor. Thoroughly at home in the work of the great classical poets and familiar with a number of the great foreign literatures, he turned to both of these sources for new life to infuse into Welsh poetry. Besides being an inspiring teacher of literature and an excellent poet, he frequently served as judge of the poetical competitions of the eisteddfod, and he edited the critical quarterly *Y Beirniad* (1911-20) for the Welsh Societies of the National Colleges. The new movement first attracted general attention in the year 1902. In that year the national eisteddfod was held in the college town of Bangor, and one of the two judges of the poetry contests was Professor Jones, who published in *Y Traethodydd* for the same year a

révolutionary platform for the new poetic movement. Moreover, the subjects assigned this year for the chair and the crown contests were "The Passing of Arthur" and "Tristan and Iseult," whereas the year before they had been "The Revivalist" and "The Prince of Peace." There was some protest against these subjects on the ground that they were not ones which the ordinary poet knew anything about; it was only by reading books in the college library that one learned about Arthur and Tristan and Iseult. Of the ten poems submitted for the chair eight were of the conventional kind: "soliloquies, meditations, essays on the influence of Arthur, Arthur yet alive, and so forth," and the judges expressed sympathy for the contestants who found difficulty in adjusting themselves to the new conditions. But of the other two one was the *Ymadawiad Arthur* of T. Gwynn Jones, a truly great romantic poem, and the judges showed their discernment by awarding it the prize. Of the eleven submitted for the crown they selected three as worthy and awarded first place to the *Trystan ac Esysyllt* of R. Silyn Roberts. That of W. J. Gruffydd\* they placed second, not only because of its immaturity (it has since been revised) but also because, in the words of Elfed who wrote the adjudication, "The poet has attempted to sing of love against morality, and this is not poetically legitimate; the subject for a modest, serious poet is love against fate." The winning poems were, as usual, published in the *Eisteddfod Transactions* for the year, and a volume of "second best" poems was also printed, containing the *Ymadawiad Arthur* of Alafon (Owen Griffith Owen) and the *Trystan ac Esysyllt* of Gruffydd; the third commended Tristan poem, that of Gwili (John Jenkins), has since been published. The successes of this one year did not establish the new school in power, but they did open the way for its development.

Even before the Bangor eisteddfod, Roberts

and Gruffydd had published a joint volume of *Lyrics (Telynegion, 1900)*, the fruit of a summer of collaboration; the poems are in the free metres, and some are translations from Latin, German, Spanish and English. Roberts's second volume, published in 1904, reprints *Tristan and Iseult* and adds other poems; the dedication is to Professors J. Morris Jones and W. Lewis Jones (the latter the Professor of English literature at Bangor and a specialist in Arthurian romance) and expresses his indebtedness to both. Gruffydd (called by T. Gwynn Jones\* "half of my soul") reprinted his *Tristan and Iseult* in 1906 in a volume with a number of other poems in the free metres. His next volume (1923) included two poems that had won prizes at the London eisteddfod of 1909. In recent years he has written mostly in prose, and it is said that he has explained that he finds it difficult to write poetry that will measure up to his own critical standards. T. H. Parry-Williams has been a professor at University College, Aberystwyth, since 1920 and is the author of *Elfennau Barddoniaeth*, an explanation of the poetic art (the free metres only) illustrated by examples from the works of contemporary poets. In 1912 he won both chair and crown at the National Eisteddfod and repeated this success in 1915; he has also written some excellent shorter poems. He is an academic poet—too academic to suit some people—and he enjoys analyzing his own thoughts, in poetry, or in prose somewhat of the type of the English familiar essay. Equally distinguished is his cousin R. Williams Parry whose ode on *Summer* won the chair in 1910. The customary criticism is to call him a pagan, but he is a pagan in the same sense that Dafydd ap Gwilym was: he finds the world so beautiful that he is not going to spoil his pleasure in it by "thinking sad thoughts and remembering the crucifying above Jerusalem (myfyrio chwith a chofio y croeshoelio uwch Caersalem)." Recently he

has turned from the strict forms of his earlier poems to the free metres, and he is one of those that have introduced the sonnet into Welsh. Some of his recent poems show that he is not unmindful of the problems of his own day. In his one published volume, he expresses his indebtedness to his literary master, Thomas Gwynn Jones, and to the stimulation of the lectures of John Morris Jones and the close friendship with men like W. J. Gruffydd, Silyn Roberts, J. J. Williams. This new poetry is the production of a definite group of poets, most of whom are connected with the university. Among the signs of their break with the past is the fact that they have discarded the old custom of using "bardic names," and write under their own.

But although these "New Poets" appeal to an academic audience they have not wholly caught the popular fancy, which still prefers the simple sentimental poets of the old school. Some years ago one of the Welsh papers asked its readers to vote for the "most popular" living poet. Elfed (Rev. Howel Elvet Lewis, b. 1860) was in first place by a large margin, and Eifion Wyn was second. Pedrog (Rev. John Owen Williams) was a poor third, followed by Crwys, Cynan, Meurin (Robert John Rowlands), and Cadfan (Rev. John Cadvan Davies). T. Gwynn Jones in eighth place, with less than one third as many votes as Elfed, led the academic poets, followed by R. Williams Parry, John Morris Jones, and J. J. Williams; Gruffydd was near the bottom of the list and Parry-Williams was not mentioned at all. Of the first three, all poets of the 19th c. who held over into the 20th, Eifion Wyn (Eliseus H. Williams, 1867-1926) has the greatest poetic gift. He has written good poetry in the strict meters, but his popularity has come from his simple lyrics, like the *Flower Sunday Lullaby (Hwiangerdd Sul y Blodau)* and *Ora pro Nobis*. Both of these appeared first in that "second best" volume of the 1902 eisteddfod, for although J. T.

Job, one of the judges in the lyric contest, became downright maudlin in his praise of them and declared that he had "wept a flood of tears" when he read the former, he and Watcyn Wyn (Watkin H. Williams) awarded the prize to some facile sentimentalism which they declared would live, but which seems not to have done so. Eifion Wyn is in the tradition of Ceiriog, representing it at its best. Before Crwys (Rev. W. Crwys Williams, b. 1875), the present archdruid, published his third volume of poems in 1935, he had seen five editions of the first (1920) and three of the second (1924). By the time the fourth collection appeared, in 1944, twenty thousand copies of the first three had been sold—an amazing record in view of the small number of persons that read Welsh—and the demand was still unsatisfied. Among his crowns is one awarded by the San Francisco International Eisteddfod of 1915 for a poem on Abraham Lincoln; he also won a gold medal at the Pittsburgh International Eisteddfod of 1913. His *Church Bell* (*Cloch y Llan*) has been called the most popular poem in the language. His *Gwerin Cymru* (*The Welsh Peasantry*), which won the national crown in 1911, although not the "veritable gem" that it has been called, has some substance, but many of his shorter poems resemble those which the local clergyman sends to the "Poets' Corner" of the local newspaper.

Cynan (Rev. Albert Evans Jones) belongs to a very different school. He was a chaplain during the First World War, and many of his poems were written in dugouts and dressing stations. His *Cottager's Son* (*Mab y Bwthyn*), which won the crown in 1920, contains some powerful pictures of the ugly side of war and of London after the war, which are contrasted with the peace among the Welsh mountains. He tried another war poem the next year and was given only second place, one of the judges admitting that the chief point against him was that he continued to

write about the war when everybody else wanted to forget it. So he turned to the missionaries and Father Damien and won a crown in 1923, won the chair in 1924 with his poem on *The Unknown God*, and another crown in 1931 for a poem on *The Crowd*, the memories of an old football player now a missionary in the South Seas. The first collection of his poems was awarded a prize at the National Eisteddfod of 1920; a second collection was published in 1927. Another war poet was Hedd Wyn (Ellis H. Evans, 1887–1917) whose poetic reputation was doubtless enhanced by the fact he was killed while fighting with the Royal Welsh Fusiliers in Flanders just a few weeks before the Eisteddfod of 1917 awarded him the chair for his poem on *The Hero* (*Yr Arwr*); but he is a mystic with something of the Greek about him, and with considerable poetic talent. A collection of his poems (*Cerddi'r Bugail*) was published in 1918, and was reprinted with additional material in 1931. Very different is the Rev. Thomas Evan Nicholas (b. 1879), whose five volumes of poems are full of hatred of war as well as of the existing economic order, and whose public protests against these led to his arrest during each World War.

In 1924 E. Prosser Rhys, who had already attracted some attention by the slender volume of verse that he had published in the previous year in collaboration with J. T. Jones, submitted to the National Eisteddfod a mildly erotic poem on *Memory* (*Adgof*). Apparently it was the only one of the nineteen submitted that had any poetic quality and the judges, after much doubt and hesitation (duly recorded in the adjudications) lest it "corrupt the nation's young mind for many years to come" by familiarizing it with sins "which the average Welshman (I hope) knows nothing about" finally with many apologies awarded it the crown. In spite of the conviction of the judges that the poem was not fit

to be printed and that the nation would spew it out of its mouth, the enterprising Eisteddfod Committee capitalized upon the publicity by printing the poem as usual in the *Transactions*, printing the prize-winning poems without the adjudications in a shilling pamphlet, and having the poem translated into English and published by itself to sell for sixpence. The poem displays an immaturity which Rhys was afterward to outgrow, but most of his energy in his later years was devoted to his publishing business and to editing *Y Faner*. Another poet whose reputation is due chiefly to the eisteddfod is Caradoc Prichard (formerly Richards). He won three crowns in succession (1927, 1928, 1929), the judges confessing to some difficulty in understanding the earlier poems but recognizing the work of a true poet. In 1937 he published a volume of *Early Song* (*Canu Cynnar*) in which the first two prize poems *The Marriage* (*Y Priodas*) and *Penance* (*Penyd*) were combined into one with only slight changes. Besides some short poems of no great distinction, the volume contained the third crown poem and an ode, *The Return of Arthur*, which failed to win the chair in 1934. In 1939 Prichard submitted for the crown another poem which the judges pronounced "magnificent" but rejected because they could not see the relation between the assigned subject, "The Tumults of Earth," and a poem on suicide as the road to reach the Tower of Peace.

There are many other contemporary poets who deserve more than a passing mention, among them Wil Ifan (William Evans, b. 1883), Iorwerth C. Peate (b. 1901), W. Roger Hughes, D. Gwenallt Jones, I. D. Hooson, G. J. Williams, and B. T. Hopkins. Much good poetry still lies uncollected in the periodicals, for the Welsh reading public is so small that the publication of a volume, especially in war time, is a venture. In recent years some of the young poets have decided that Welsh poetry is dying because it has lost

touch with the things of daily life and they have attempted to bring about a "Revival" by writing of Communist Russia, Republican Spain, and "Machines" in limping free verse, breaking with all the old traditions.

*The Novel and Short Story.* The novel has never been an important form in Wales. The Welsh nature does not take kindly to it—partly perhaps because the name *ffugchwedl* indicates that it is a "fictitious story" and the teaching of the old bards was that no man of letters writes anything but the strict truth—and the Welsh clergy have until recently been opposed to novel reading. For two thirds of the last century its place was taken by the *cofiant*, "a history of the life and death of [someone] as a man, as a Christian, and as a minister of the Gospel." Usually considered to be the first novel is *The Bard or the Welsh Hermit* (*Y Bardd neu y Meudwy Gymreig*, 1830) by Cawrdaf (W. E. Jones), but it is mainly, as the title page tells us, "an account of the interesting and instructive travels which the Bard took in company with Providence." In 1853 Gwilym Hiraethog (William Rees) published his *Aelwyd f'Evwythyr Robert*, which leans heavily upon *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, tales from which are read and discussed about Uncle Robert's fireplace. The "Temperance Eisteddfod" of 1854, inspired by the success of *Uncle Tom*, offered a prize for the best novel the hero of which should be a reformed drunkard. Six novels were submitted, and the lives of three of the reformed drunkards were printed within the year. One of these was *Llywelyn Parri*, by Llew Llywfo (Lewis William Lewis), concerning which Eben Fardd, the judge, expressed the expectation that it was likely to kindle as much zeal for the freeing of the drunkards as *Uncle Tom* had for the freeing of the slaves. From this time on novels, both didactic and historical, appeared frequently. More interesting than most is the satirical *Wil Brydydd y Coed* by Brutus (David Owen) which appeared seri-



ally in *Yr Haul*, edited by Owen, and which was left unfinished at the author's death in 1866. There is general agreement that Wales's one great novelist is Daniel Owen.\* When his *Rhys Lewis* was written he presented it as "The Autobiography (*Hunangofiant*) of the Minister of Bethel," and so correct were its sentiments that it appeared serially (1882-85) in *Y Drysorfa*, the monthly magazine of the Calvinistic Methodists. Two of Owen's later novels were first printed in *Y Cymro*. Since his time there has been no novelist of the first rank.

This history of the short story is even briefer. The *Mabinogion* and kindred stories of the Middle Ages had no successors, and in the 19th c. the form shared the unpopularity of the novel. The *Stories of the Hearth* (*Straean y Pentan*) of Daniel Owen, presented as true stories with "nothing in any of them that will lower the moral tone of the reader," are anecdotes rather than short stories. Those of R. Dewi Williams and R. Hughes Williams have been praised for their pictures of the life of the people, but modern standards find them lacking. In recent years a good many people have learned the trick of writing the short story. Much that they produce is undistinguished, but a number have done good work. Foremost among these is Kate Roberts, who has been compared, in ability as well as in manner, with Katherine Mansfield.

*The Drama.* The drama, too, long suffered from the opposition of the clergy, and when, in the latter part of the last century, attempts were made to present a dramatized version of parts of *Rhys Lewis*, these were suppressed by the religious organizations. Today the opponents of the drama are no longer in power, and prizes are offered at the eisteddfod for writing and for performing plays; large numbers of plays are written and many communities have their own dramatic companies, but the drama has not yet risen above the amateur

level. The Welsh themselves are puzzled as to why they have had such indifferent success with the stage, since they consider themselves a dramatic people. Great preachers can paint a scene such as the Last Judgment so dramatically that their congregations are spell-bound, but no one seems to have been able to secure the same effect from the stage. Elphin (R. A. Griffith) hinted at one reason when he said, "Welsh sermons are often living dramas, while what we call Welsh drama is only dead sermons." Another difficulty is that there are not enough professional companies acting in Welsh, so that a playwright does not gain sufficient practical experience in the theatre. Some plays are good literature, but have not been wholly successful upon the stage: the successful fusion of the two arts has not yet been accomplished.

*The Essay and Literary Criticism.* Until recently Welsh prose (aside from the *Mabinogion*) has been largely didactic, and it was something of an innovation when Owen M. Edwards\* began publishing; in 1889, accounts of his travels written in a simple style and intended to be read for the mere pleasure derived from them. Something of the same sort was attempted (1899 ff.) by Eluned Morgan, daughter of Lewis Jones, who was one of the pioneers of the Welsh colony in Patagonia (*Y Wladfa*) and its historian. Others, too, followed his lead, and more recently W. J. Gruffydd has written his *Old Memories* (*Hen Atgofion*) in the same spirit. T. H. Parry-Williams has developed with success the essay after the English model and has written interestingly on such subjects as telegraph-poles, fish-worms, and his old motor-cycle.

Literary criticism in the 19th c. is to be found mostly in the adjudications of the eisteddfod or in essays written in the same spirit. It concerns itself chiefly with pointing out deviations from the strict metrical rules of the ancient bardic code and from the

equally strict moral code of post-revival Wales. A new spirit appears in the writings of Emrys ap Iwân (Robert Ambrose Jones, 1851-1906), who has been called "the first Welsh writer to use the word 'pure' without a moral meaning." His admixture of French blood and his Continental education gave him a broader outlook, and he strove to free Welsh life and Welsh literature from its narrow provincialism; whatever he wrote, whether literary criticism, social criticism, or sermons, was expressed in admirable Welsh prose. His critical mantle has fallen upon Professor T. Gwynn Jones\*; Jones's criticism is largely informal, much of it contributed in installments to newspapers, but he has the knack of getting to the heart of the matter in a few words. Saunders Lewis (who has also written poems, plays, and a novel) is a stimulating critic, but his personal prejudices sometimes throw his criticism out of perspective. The leading figure in contemporary criticism is W. J. Gruffydd,\* Professor of Welsh Literature in University College, Cardiff. Besides his contributions to literature and the work incident to his professorship, he has edited since 1922 the quarterly *Y Llenor*, which prints poems and stories as well as critical articles and reviews. His objections to what he calls "our narrow Puritanism" once led a printer to add to one of his books the protesting footnote, "I am obliged to differ from the author in this sentiment. True puritanism is the salt of the earth to save it from corruption. J.E.S.," but in his criticism Gruffydd is still something of a Puritan. His aim seems to be to place Welsh scholarship and current Welsh litera-

ture upon a level on which it can meet all others on equal terms and with no apologies. In some fields they have already reached this level; in several others they are rapidly approaching it.

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JOHN J. PARRY.

WEND—See Lusatian.

WITOTO—See South American Indian.

WOLOF—See African.

YAGHAN—See South American Indian.

YARURO—See South American Indian.

## YIDDISH

THE Jewish people, scattered the world over, may be divided into two main groups: Ashkenazim, and Sephardim. Ashkenazim are those whose ancestors came from Germany, or from Central or Eastern Europe. Sephardim are the descendants of Spanish, Portuguese, and Provençal Jews. Some ninety per cent of all Jews are Ashkenazim.

Besides variations in ritual and custom, the Ashkenazim differ from the Sephardim also in language. The former speak Yiddish; the latter, Judesmo. Prior to World War II, over ten million, about two-thirds of all the Jews, spoke Yiddish. Yiddish was the result of a fusion of several German dialects with Hebrew—the language of worship and study—and previous speech habits. Later, the Slavic languages, too, began to have their effect upon Yiddish, so that it became a blend of Germanic, Hebraic, and Slavic elements.

Yiddish literature is practically as old as the language, and has accompanied the Ashkenazic branch of Jewry on all its migrations, for some eight centuries.

*Oral and Manuscript Literature (to the end of the 15 c.).* Upon its birth, Yiddish found the field held by Hebrew literature. The Jewish people had a Hebrew-Aramaic literature, primarily sacred in character and edifying in function, consisting of the *Scriptures*, the *Talmud*, and post-Talmudic literature. The primacy of Hebrew literature provided the Yiddish with a ready source of content, and to a lesser extent of form. But it also circumscribed its field. Yiddish literature came to be, in the first place, a literature of entertainment, for all strata of the people. Secondly, it served to educate those that had no access to Hebrew literature: the untutored, whose knowledge of Hebrew was limited; and the women, who usually fell into this category. The title-pages of Yiddish books often

bear a rhymed advertisement "interesting and entertaining for women and maidens." The scholar would look upon the perusal of such books as a waste of time that should be devoted to the study of the holy books.

Didactic literature in Yiddish was the direct offshoot of Hebrew literature, or had its rise under the influence of that literature. Its second source was the pious folklore, which attempted to show the way of life by means of tales, fables, and proverbs. The literature of entertainment, on the other hand, drew its material from the worldly flesh-and-blood folklore dealing with human motives, and from the non-Jewish literatures of the surroundings. Primarily, old Yiddish literature was indebted to the German heroic epic and the literature of chivalry; similarly, traces of the influence of the German folk-song and folk-drama appear. For a short time, the influence of Italian literature, and indirectly of Provençal literature, was felt.

But Jewish life was different from that of the surrounding non-Jewish world, and Jewish leadership saw in this purposive difference the sole guarantee of cultural survival. Literature was conceived of as an ethical agency, with edifying purposes. Its entertaining aspect was tolerated only on such occasions as a family celebration, or a festival. Jewish leadership looked askance particularly at the adoption of the free subject matter of the epic and courtly literature. Since, however, the inherent interest of these stories prevailed over Rabbinic censure, the need arose for a new type of book to counteract the influence of the alien elements. An attempt was made to render the didactic literature as interesting as the entertainment literature. Thus the competition with foreign subject-matter led to a rise in the quality of the native literary output.

The oldest Yiddish manuscripts extant deal

with popular medicine, or are translations of parts of the *Bible* and the prayers. No more than a hundred such manuscripts have reached us. The chief bearers, however, of old Yiddish literature were the singers and the jesters. The former entertained their audience by singing songs and parts of larger works in rhyme, and reading, as a recitative, stories of heroism or unusual events, which sometimes ran on through several evenings. The latter enacted playlets, sang comical songs, told jokes. The singer adapted his technique and a considerable part of his repertory from the German gleeman. Most of this has been lost; yet we know that practically all the works of the German gleeman epic reached the Jewish public, with various modifications. These consisted usually in substituting Jewish for Christian allusions; in the shortening of the story; in the omission of details of chivalrous or gory scenes. More radical modifications, which, however, affected only some of the works, were the introduction of Jewish traits, the camouflaging of the surroundings of the hero to the extent of having the Jewish audience think of him as a Jew; the dwelling upon the tragic moments, upon the tribulations of the hero, his wanderings and homelessness, briefly, upon all that could evoke sympathy.

The most popular works in the repertory of the singer were *Dietrich von Bern*; *Meister Hildebrand*; *Herzog Ernst*; *Floris and Blanche-fleur*. The Yiddish Arthurian romance, *Artus Hof*, fared best of all the works in the repertory of the singer. This 14th c. work is extant in three mss. and eight printed editions; it is a version of Wirnt von Gravenberg's *Wigalois*.

In addition to exploiting the gleeman's repertory, the singer created original material, based upon Jewish sources. For that purpose the *Bible* was utilized, with all the exegetical and homiletical material that had come to adorn it. Typical of this sort of work is the *Shmuel Bukh*, of the 14th or 15th c. The unknown author creates a Yiddish national

epic, a Davidiad, blending the old Jewish subject matter with the technique of the gleeman, with traits of the current mode of Jewish life and the taste of the period. The texts of *Samuel I* and *II* form the basis of the book, but in addition to details from the Talmudic and Midrashic literature, it is enhanced with many original elements—details of battles, elaborations of erotic scenes, entire new episodes—in the spirit of the courtly romance.

The *Shmuel Bukh* enjoyed great popularity, and a number of poetic paraphrases, in the same strophe, of various Biblical books—*Joshua*, *Judges*, *Kings*, *Jonah*, *David*—made their appearance.

Second in popularity to the *Shmuel Bukh* is the poem *Akeydas Yitskhok* (*The Sacrifice of Isaac*) or *Yidisher Shtam* (*Jewish Roots*), of the 15th c. Telling of Abraham's struggle with Satan on his way to sacrifice Isaac, the poem is popular, naive in tone, pervaded by a religious pathos and a tender sentimental lyricism.

Fewer of the short lyric songs are extant. They fall into two categories: poems in praise of God and the holidays, and rhymed versions of the Jewish creed; and secular didactic poems, generally contemplations of life and human nature. Practically all of those lyrics are the products of the professional: the singer and the writer. The names of two such professionals after the mid 15th c. have come down to us: Menakhem Oldendorf and Zalmen Sofer.

Closely associated with the lyrics of the professional are the beginnings of the theatre in Yiddish, for the jesters were both actors and creators of the dramatic repertory. In addition to bridal songs, serious and comic monologues, they presented short playlets, didactic and satirical. The dance of death, possibly of Jewish origin in Spain, was particularly popular. At this time, too, came the development of the Purim play.

The later Middle Ages were a period of

intensive creation of legend. The life of every prominent personality was overspread with a veil of fantastic, colorful, subtly moralizing legends. The great religious figures, R. Gershon of Mayence, Rashi, Judah the Pious, are the subjects of entire legend-cycles. Old communities like Mayence, Regensburg, Worms, Speyer, have their local legends. These stories reflect a life of constant fear of expulsion, blood accusations, massacres, and ineradicable faith in the ability to survive all afflictions. In addition to the new and more complex transfiguration of Talmudic and Midrashic legends, new materials from foreign sources, such as *Di zibn wayzn mayster* (*The Seven Sages*); a collection of fifteen Hindu tales on the fickleness of women; and the tale of the *Prince and the Dervish*, a version of the life of Buddha, were adapted and judaized.

*The Folk Book.* As in many another literature, the 16th and early 17th c. witnessed a multiform creativity in Yiddish. The printed Yiddish book, which found a highly literate public, freed that public from dependence upon the arrival of the singer or the jester, and rendered superfluous the copyist. The folk book was born; it spread rapidly, and Yiddish literature became a folk literature with hundreds of thousands of readers. Concurrently, the anonymity of the previous period gave way to the highly individual personalities of great writers and folk teachers. The most interesting of these in the early 16th c. was Eliyohu Bokher (or Elias Levita\*).

Poet and scholar, Elias Levita was an intermediary between the Jewish world and the humanists, teaching Hebrew to non-Jews and propagating the liberal humanist ideas among the Jews. He had a scientific interest in Yiddish, and wrote his poetic works in that language only. Besides a few lampoons, and a splendid translation of the *Psalms*, two of his romances are extant—the *Bovo Bukh* and *Paris un Viene*, adaptations of Italian ro-

mances rendered in ottava rima. Eliyohu Bokher did not take seriously the remarkable adventures that he narrated. To him they were a flight of the fancy and an opportunity for displaying his skill in verse, in a playful popular narrative, interspersed with saws, jests, Talmudic allusions; descriptions of combat are interrupted with ironic remarks. The author, presumably following the tradition of the singer, in reality derided that tradition. The *Bovo Bukh*, written in Padua in 1507, testifies to a merry and frolicsome poet, who amuses himself, somewhat like Cervantes, over the claptrap of court heroism and the traditional singer's art.

The *Bovo Bukh* enjoyed immense popularity, supplanting the previous works of the singers. Later, it became transformed into the prose *Bovo-Maase*, which has been published hundreds of times, and, blending with the word *bobe*, grandmother, became the general term for a fantastic tale, an old wives' tale. Levita's other work, *Paris un Viene*, a more realistic romance, pregnant with reflections upon life and interspersed with lyrical passages, did not become popular.

Most characteristic of the 16th c. is the story in prose, the short tale, in which folklore and subject matter taken from Hebrew literature prevail over foreign elements. The anonymous *Maase Brie Vezimre* (*Tale of Brie and Zimre*), a glorification of a love that is stronger than death, is the gem of that genre. In addition, we have from the beginning of the 16th c. three tales named after three cities: Danzig, Worms, and Mayence. The first two are stories of marital life, the last tells of a contest between two step-brothers for the hand of the most beautiful maiden in Mayence.

The tales of the novelist, the adaptations of foreign stories, the prose versions of the works of the singers, yielded a rich harvest of fiction. A selection of this literature, comprising 259 stories, was compiled at the end of the 16th c.

under the title *Maase Bukh* (pub. Basel, 1602). Most of the stories are Talmudic legends, embellished with new details, the newly created legend cycle of medieval saints, and the lives of outstanding personalities, ancient and medieval. The book exalts faith and martyrdom, as well as mercy and goodness in daily life. The naive, simple, pious tone of the stories is combined with dramatic suspense, colorful fancy, and a reflection of life in the ghetto. The book was immensely popular; we know of ten editions between 1602 and 1727. [The book was translated into German several times, and in 1934 into English by Moses Gaster.] Although it was, in a manner of speaking, a summary of the earlier belletristic creation, it became a storehouse of material for further variants of folktales, religiously tinged fantastic stories.

Beside the belletristic literature, indirectly didactic, we have a body of strictly didactic literature, comprising a wide range of interests, from glossaries to ethical works. The oldest and most important book in the former group is the *Mirkoves Hamishine* (Cracow, 1534), a concordance to the Bible. In 1544 two translations of the *Pentateuch* appeared simultaneously, one in Augsburg and one in Konstanz. They were followed by a new edition, in Cremona, 1560, based upon the Augsburg edition with interpolations of passages from the Jewish commentators. In 1579 the *Song of Songs* and in 1590 a paraphrase of the *Book of Esther* were published in Cracow.

In this type of literature, two distinct needs intertwine: (1) to help the teacher translate the Bible correctly for his pupils, and (2) to produce a reader combining the text of the Bible with the most indispensable comments. We have therefore two types of work. The *Seyfer Hamagid* (Prague, 1596), a translation of the prophets and the Hagiographa with selected comments, has in mind the teacher and the student; while the *Taytch Khumesh*

(Prague, 1602) and the *Taytch Esrim Vearba* aim at the other group.

In this period came also the rise of ethical literature, which applies the ethical religious principles of Judaism to all aspects of daily life. It is pragmatism, concrete, pictorial. Whereas its Hebrew model is brief, frequently austere and matter of fact, the Yiddish ethical work is more persuasive, milder, more intimate. Its aim is not to frighten, but to persuade. It is intended for the woman as well as the uneducated man. Replete with parable and instructive anecdotes, these books are a blend of reprimand and practical advice, text interpretation and flashes of poetic creation, aiming to entertain while directing.

Some of the most interesting or most popular of these books are the *Seyfer Mides* (*Book of Conduct*; Isny, 1542), recommending the golden mean as a surest guide in life; and the *Sam Khayim* (*Elixir of Life*; Prague, 1609), a booklet in rhymes, protesting the misuse of power on the part of community leaders. The poetess Rifke Tiktiner directs her appeal to the woman exclusively, in her *Meynekes Rifke* (Prague, 1609). Similarly, the popular and captivating *Brantshpigl* (*Burning Mirror*, 1602) has become a woman's book. The most popular Yiddish ethical work of the 17th c., the *Lev Tov* (*Good Heart*; Prague, 1620), found until recently in practically every Jewish home, was of sterner kidney. Highly emotional and ardently religious, the book, intended for both men and women, deals extensively with the upbringing of children and with family life.

The *Tseno Ureno* (*Go Out and See*), the most popular (in its first hundred years it went through some 30 editions) and influential work of all Yiddish literature up to the 19th c., was the result of the victory of homiletics over exposition, and the transition of the spiritual hegemony from Germany to Poland. Its author, Jacob Ashkenazi,\* was a great Talmudist and marvelous stylist; the work he

produced is only superficially a Bible translation. In reality it is a very unique paraphrase of that material, wherein the Biblical passage is merely a peg for a whole framework of commentary, legend, saw, parable, admonition, and general ethical reflection. It is a kind of anthology of the people's literary creation from the Bible to the days of the author (end of the 16th c.), bearing on ethico-religious matters and Biblical passages; a mosaic with frequent transition from topic to topic, but with unity of idea, tone, and temper. It became the Bible of the women. For 300 years practically every Jewish woman, on the Sabbath, read the weekly portion of the Bible in the *Tseno Ureno* and from it drew all her conception of Jewishness. The work thus had a tremendous influence on conduct and ideas, on the Yiddish language and Yiddish style.

In 1544 an attempt, characteristic of the Reformation period, was made to introduce prayers in Yiddish. However, the Yiddish prayerbook, published by Joseph bar Yokor, was not a success. On the other hand, the *Tkhine*, the supplementary devotional prayer in Yiddish, rapidly gained a place. The *Tkhine*, frequently composed by a woman, is concrete, intimately personal, touching and eloquent, suffused with a pious humility and womanly tenderness. The first collection dates from 1590; production continued to the middle of the 19th c.

The *Tkhine*, a poem in prose, borders on religious poetry, which flourished in that period, as in the work of Jacob Toeplitz, known as the pious Rabbi Jacob; Rifke Tiktiner, the authoress of the popular *Simkhas-Toyre-Lid*; and Taube Pan. A number of the religious poems were incorporated in the various local rituals. Some purely worldly works, too, were invested in a religious garb, e.g. the mordant epigrams and songs of the misogynist Seligman Ulma in his *Tsukhtshpigl* (*The Mirror of Manners*; 1610).

Of the secular poetry, the most important

was the historical poem, describing an expulsion, a massacre, a conflagration, an epidemic, or other important event in the life of the community. The historical poem follows a definite scheme: a prelude praising God, or praying for help in the assumed task; then a fairly detailed description of the event, giving vent to sorrow at the suffering and anger at the tormentors, ending with the expression of hope for the speedy advent of the Messiah. The best representative of this type of poem is the *Vints Hans Lid* (1616), describing the attack upon Frankfort Jewry led by Vincent Fettmilch, the expulsion, and the subsequent triumphant return. This poem was read at the annual celebration of the local Purim in Frankfort.

The historical works in prose were a continuation of the fiction and the ethical works. Their aims were didactic and ethico-religious, and they did not distinguish between historical fact and legend. The most popular of these—second only to the *Tsene Ureno* and *Lev Tov*—was the *Yosifen* (Zurich, 1546), an adaptation of the Hebrew version of the *Antiquities* of Josephus with additions from other works. Two themes mainly engaged the attention of this literature: persecutions, and expulsions.

The drama is poorly represented in the literature of this period. Besides Purim plays we know only of one comedy *A Shpil fun Taubn Yeklayn*, *Zayn Wayb Kendlayn*, *un Zayne Zindlekh Fayn* (*A Play About the Deaf Yeklayn, His Wife Kendlayn, and His Sons*; end of the 16th c.).

*To the Mid 18th Century.* The 17th c. was a critical period in Jewish history. Western and Central European Jewry were seriously affected by the Thirty Years War, and the Chmielnicki massacres of 1648–49 brought disaster upon Eastern European Jewry. A messianic movement which had its rise in Asia Minor spread rapidly through practically all Ashkenazic communities, for decades im-

posing its stamp upon Jewish life and thought. Mysticism and asceticism were in the ascendant, and Judaism was shielded with a rigorous conservatism. Reflections of these events we find in Yiddish literature, but no new literary forms make their appearance.

The center of interest was no longer the *Bible*, but the *Zohar*, the sacred book of mysticism. A collection of 50 stories about the heroes of Jewish mystic lore appeared in 1691. The *Nakhlas Tsvi*, known as "Taytch Zohar," an ethical work of the Cabbalist Tsvi Hirsh Khotch, became a favorite. Of great interest in the work of the Cabbalists is their opposition to the spiritual aristocracy, the Talmudic scholars, and their defense of the ordinary folk. On the whole, however, the period was one of melancholy and cowering piety, best expressed in the widespread ethical work *Kav Hayosher* (1705-6), threatening hellish pains for the least transgression. A happy exception is the *Simkhas Hanefesh* (*Joy of the Soul*), which will be discussed later. The two rationalistically inspired anti-homiletical translations of the *Bible*, of Blitz and Witzenhäusen, are entirely contrary to the spirit of the times.

The poetry of the period consists chiefly of laments over persecutions and expulsions, with the exception of the enthusiastic and flamboyant paean celebrating the pseudo-messiah Sabbatai Zvi, *Ayn Sheyn Nay Lid fun Meshiakli* (*A Fine New Song about the Messiah*; 1686). Also the tradition of divine songs continues, with such works as *A gots-forkhtik Lid* (*A Pious Song*), and *Zeymer Lkoved Shabes* (*A Song in Honor of the Sabbath*). The folk song tradition finds expression in paraphrases of *Had Gadya* (an Aramaic piece on the pattern of *The House That Jack Built*) and in various satires on social abuses, the most important of which is the anonymous *Bashraybung fun Ashknaz un Polyak*, a comparison of Polish, German, and Prague Jews.

In the art of narrative, there was a continuation of the *Maase Bukh* in the *Maase Nisim*, a collection of 25 legends of Worms by the local beadle. The best work of the period, however, *The Memoirs of Glikl Haml*, remained in manuscript until the end of the 19th c. These memoirs contain the life history of a prominent Jewish woman, who was steeped in Jewish lore, and possessed of keen powers of observation and great skill in description. The work is a first class literary and historical monument, vividly presenting details of workaday life against a background of the stirring historical events of the period. These events stimulated interest in history, and a number of chronicles made their appearance. The most important historical work of the period is *Sheyris Yisroel* (*The Remnant of Israel*; 1741) of Menakhem Amelander, a history of the Jews from the destruction of the second temple to the time of the author.

Indicative of a new range of interests are the various travelogues, books on geography, arithmetic, and household medicine.

In spite of the excessive piety and the segregation from the world, a Yiddish theatre of professionals and amateurs—Purim players and Yeshiva students—flourished. From the early 18th c. we have a number of complete texts of *Akhashveyresh-shpil* or *Mordkhe un Ester shpil*, besides many works on Biblical themes such as the "Sale of Joseph," "Sacrifice of Isaac."

Amsterdam, the center of Yiddish book production, saw also the first Yiddish newspaper (1686), *Di Dinstogshe Kurantn*, and *Fraytogshe Kurantn*, a semiweekly publication on the level of the contemporary Dutch periodicals.

To 1864. A. *The Decline in Western Europe*. Yiddish literature, beginning in Western Europe, was transplanted to Eastern Europe. For centuries a live contact was maintained between East and West: books and authors traveled in both directions. In the



second half of the 18th c., however, only the last shoots of Yiddish literature were left in Western Europe, and in the 19th c. the realm of literary productivity in Yiddish is Eastern Europe only.

The beginning of the period of decline coincided with the beginning of the exodus from the ghetto. The diffusion of secular sciences was rapid; all forms of assimilation were intensified, especially linguistic assimilation. The enlightenment movement became, against its will, increasingly an assimilation movement. Disparagingly, some of the Jewish intelligentsia dubbed Yiddish "jargon," and attempted to discredit it in the eyes of their people. [Even as a medium of propagating their own ideas, they eschewed Yiddish.] Consequently we have in Western Europe at this time only a Yiddish "concubine" literature. With the exception of two bourgeois comedies, Euchel's *Reb Henekh oder vos tut men dermit* and Wolfssohn's *Leichtsinn und Frömmerei*, which had an influence upon some aspects of later Yiddish drama, the literature of the period was limited to translations (*Robinson Crusoe*, 1765), memoirs, and dialect parodies.

B. *The Literature of Hassidism*. Israel Baal Shem Tov (Master of the Good Name), the founder of the Hassidic movement, was a contemporary of Moses Mendelssohn, the father of the Haskalah. These two movements imposed their stamp upon the Yiddish literature of our period, with Hassidism exerting a wholly positive influence, and the rationalist Haskalah, as indicated above, a partly negative and partly invigorating and constructive influence.

Hassidism brought into traditional Judaism a joy and affirmation of life, an optimistic and pantheistic conception of the world and a new dignity of the individual. This religious-democratic movement raised the common uneducated man to the rank of the scholar, the Talmudist. Hassidism employed Yiddish to a

much larger extent than any previous religious school; famous Hassidic Rabbis indited Yiddish prayers, and propounded their teachings in that language, imparting to it a pliancy of expression. On the other hand, it furnished a mighty impetus for renewed folk creativity: new stories, songs, saws, and parables came into existence. Another hero was added to the lists in the folk tale—the Hassidic Rabbi. Around this hero, Jewish folk fantasy wove an entire fabric of wonder tales, the best-known among them being the collection *Shivkhey Besht* (*Praises of the Besht*; 1815).

The foundation of Hassidic literature was laid by the Baal Shem Tov himself; with his parables and tales he raised storytelling to a rank equal to that of expounding the law. His disciples repeated his parables, adages, and tales, evolving a new type of poetic creation. Among the Hassidic Rabbis were men of marked literary ability, such as the Maggid (preacher) of Mezritch, one of the finest fabulists, and the ardent Levi Yitskhok of Barditchef, who attained to legendary fame for his kindness and gentleness, a poet of tender lyricism and exalted pantheism.

The dreamer and mystic R. Nakhman of Bratslav (1772–1810) was undoubtedly one of the greatest of storytellers among Jews. In the stories that he told his followers, we find misty visions and also clear symbols. Some elements he borrowed from folklore, but the construction of the story, the flight of fancy, the exquisite form, and the ethico-mystical idea are highly original. A romantic longing pervades his symbolic tales, which points to a kinship with the romanticists of his day, of whom he apparently knew nothing. The tales were published posthumously in 1815 by his disciple Nathan.

Hassidism helped Eastern European Jewry to look deeply into its own self and to gain a new vitality, which found expression in word, music, and dance.

C. *The Literature of the Haskalah*. The

Haskalah made its way from West to East by way of Galicia and Poland. Its aim was the reconstruction of Jewish life on freer principles, and the emancipation of the individual from the yoke of tradition. From Germany, the Haskalah also brought the desire to abandon Yiddish in favor of the vernacular, but in Eastern Europe it was constrained to use Yiddish as a medium for propagating its ideas. Besides, a folk intelligentsia began to rise, with a true devotion to Yiddish. To propagate its ideas, the Haskalah produced a literature of enlightenment; to combat the old forms of life, a literature of combat. In the former we have a continuation of the didactic ethical book; the latter consists in the main of satirical works. The Haskalah literature showed a predilection for dramatic form, but only so as to record life faithfully and to carry on the debate with greater ease. The literature in story form produced by the Haskalah is replete with realistic details as well as tendential exaggerations and publicistic digressions.

Moses Mendelssohn and his disciples translated the *Bible* into German. Mendel Levin, a leading spirit among the Maskilim, stopped his translation of the *Bible* into colloquial Yiddish because of violent opposition by the foes of Yiddish. Nevertheless the new literary language took root, displacing older, petrified forms, but successfully repelling the attempts at "refining" the language through the introduction of German words. Simultaneously, the custom of printing Yiddish books in the type known as "woman's script" was discarded; this form was replaced by the square type.

The literature of combat is infinitely richer and more diversified than the literature of enlightenment. The keenest satire was aimed at the "courts" of the Hassidic Rabbis and their followers. In 1815 appeared anonymously an excellent Tartuffe comedy of mordant wit, *Di Genarte Velt* (*The Deceived World*). Joseph Perl in his artful *Mgale Tmitrin*,

modeled after Ulrich von Hutten's satirical *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* (*Letters of Obscure Men*), presents a correspondence between 26 people, comprising 151 letters written in the spirit and style of devout Hassidim. So successful was the imitation that the Hassidim themselves were divided on the question of the genuineness of the work.

Isaac Ber Levinson, the "Mendelssohn of Russian Jewry," wrote his *Hefker Velt* (*Lawless World*), a social satire against the abuses of the poor on the part of the community leaders. The didactic comedy *Teyator fun Khasidim* of Ephraim Fishlzon was in reality no drama, but an anti-Hassidic satire in the form of discussions. The anonymous satirical poem *Tloes Hamorim* (*Trials of the Teachers*; 1836) presented a gloomy picture of traditional education.

The first great Haskalah storyteller was Yisroel Aksenfeld, an attorney in Odessa, who devoted his literary abilities to combatting Hassidism. In him, the naturalist often prevails over the satirist. His stories have some of the traits of chronicles; his types are patterned after living models. He was a prolific writer of novels and stories, but most of them remained in manuscript, although even so, fairly widespread among the Maskilim, who retained the old practice of copying manuscripts, just as in the period before printing. His dramatic works, first published and given as readings, recently enjoyed a considerable vogue. This pioneer of the modern Yiddish novel had a marked influence upon Mendele Moikher Sforim.\*

Although Galicia and the Ukraine furnished the majority of Haskalah writers, Dr. Shloime Ettinger, a Polish Jew, was the most gifted representative of the period. Brought up amid German culture, a student of Hebrew and Polish, Ettinger was the first to write Yiddish not because of a cultural mission, but owing to an inner need of self-revelation. To him, art is for art's sake, and

Yiddish is for its own sake. Consequently, he devoted attention to polishing and refining his language, introducing into it a large number of neologisms. He is the first Yiddish Haskalah lyricist who sings of nature and his own moods. His sagacious fables and charming epigrams are animated and witty. His character and milieu comedy, *Serkele*, had an influence upon Gotlober, Goldfaden and Jacob Gordin's *Mirele Efros*.

The first Haskalah writer who had scores of thousands of readers was Isaac Meyer Dick\* of Vilna, who was at the zenith of his popularity in the 1850's and 60's. His stories always have a moral like the traditional ethical works and, as in the older books, he apostrophized his "dear reader," and discussed with her the problems of rearing children and of family life, and castigated her weakness for jewelry and luxury. He propagated the ideals of the Haskalah, which he managed to align with "human interest." A synthesis of the old *maggid* (preacher) and the modern storyteller, full of tenderness and kindly humor, Dick, with his hundreds of booklets, formed a bridge between the centuries-old narrative literature and the later artistic realism.

Beside the intellectualist Haskalah poetry, there continued a stream of folk poetry in the tradition of the old singers. The middle of the 19th c. saw the rise of two folk poets of more than mean ability, the roving Bohemians Berl Broder and Velvel Zbarazher. The former established in Brody a cabaret troupe, the *Broder Zingers*, for whom he also created a repertory, consisting of melancholy-joyous songs about the lot of the common man and the solace of nature. The wandering troupe popularized these songs throughout Galicia, Poland, and the Ukraine. Velvel Zbarazher was a more colorful personality and an artist of greater accomplishment. In the taverns of Rumania and Bessarabia, and toward the end of his life in Vienna and Constantinople, he sang of wine and love, of the eternal quest for

peace, and the futility of life. Haskalah motifs of the intelligentsia, and the workaday needs of the common man, old minstrelsy and modern art, were united in these two poets, the last in the long chain of minstrels.

Several poets formed the transition between the folk song and individual poetry. The most important of these was Mikhel Gordon (1823-92), who in his poetry criticized the Jewish mode of living, and wrote, in a language combining rhythm and lucidity, ballads and anguished elegies of the lives of the poor. His brother-in-law J. L. Gordon, the distinguished Hebrew poet, in his *Sikhas Khulin* (*Obiter Dicta*) wrote on Haskalah and social motives. The most popular folk singer, however, was the last jester in Yiddish poetry, Elyokum Zunser (1835-1913). From the wedding-halls of the wealthy his songs found their way to the people, and were in the mouths of hundreds of thousands. Zunser is didactic; he sang for the Haskalah, and later, for Zionism. His poetry is narrative, frequently personifying things; it generally assumes the form of the ballad. The romantic, nationalist poetry of Goldfaden is more skilled, more intellectual and individual.

By the middle of the 19th c. Yiddish literature had already a very large and avid reading public, but was seriously handicapped for lack of a press, which the Russian government would not tolerate. It was not until 1862 that the *Koyl Mevasser* (*The Voice of the Messenger*) began to appear in Odessa, which soon became the center of Yiddish literature. Immediately thereafter a number of writers of note made their appearance; and many works of the previous period were reprinted.

*The Years of the Great Rise, 1864-1914.* The last eighty years divide into two unequal parts: the first fifty years, the period of the three "classics" and of a great development; and the last thirty years, from the outbreak of World War I, a period of geographical

expansion and spiritual dislocation. The year 1864 is the date of the appearance of the first of the Yiddish "classics," S. J. Abramovitch, known as Mendele Moikher Sforim,\* the central figure in Yiddish literature in the last third of the 19th c. The main tendency in that literature, realism, was his tendency; its foremost achievement, namely, the fixing of a style, a model of form, technique, and language, was his achievement. All contemporary literary figures can be grouped around him, as adherents, disciples, or opponents.

For his first twenty creative years, Mendele Moikher Sforim was militant and satirical. Gradually he became serene, turning from satire to humor, from voicing a social tendency to erecting a monument to a world that had passed. His social satire was never directed against Hassidism and did not touch upon religious sentiment, but rebuked the men of influence for their oppression of the masses and criticized economic ruthlessness, provincial helplessness and complacency, spiritual narrowness and unworldliness. All these Haskalah motives emerge in concrete form, for they are combined with a realistic description of characters, without the exaggeration that had marked the previous period. And not only in form, but ideologically, too, Mendele outgrew his times. In addition to describing the public figures that exploit the masses, he created the figure of Shloime Veker, the forerunner of the revolutionary movement among Russian Jews. *Di Klyatche (The Mare; 1873)*, gives us a manifestation of the nationalist ideas that were typical of the period. Hence, the author also occupies a prominent position in the history of Jewish social life; in truth, the close connection between literature and social life, the parallel developments and the mutual influences of literary creativity and social tendency, form the basic trait of the period.

Mendele Moikher Sforim was a synthesist. He created the model town Kabtsansk (Pau-

pertown), wherein he depicted typical situations of the small Jewish township. All ages, all social strata, the home, the synagogue, the bathhouse, the poorhouse, the moods and outlook upon life, the manner of dress and gesticulation, are woven into his creation. The type of the larger city is Glupsk (Simpletown), which reflects life in the larger centers of Jewry.

This rigorous realism, which deals with a practically static life, must lead to impairment in the narrative itself. And this is the shortcoming in Mendele's works, which is compensated by masterly delineation of individual characters and situations, institutions and customs, and detailed and remarkably unique descriptions of nature. This concentration on details of mode and concreteness of type was adopted by his disciples; it became a trait in the realistic trend of Yiddish literature. Mendele is also the chief of those that determined the language of modern Yiddish literature. He also transmitted to his disciples a sense of the great responsibility of the writer's vocation, not to permit the estrangement of literature from life. Mendele was, as it were, the focal point of the 19th c.: the summary of the Haskalah trends, the realization of the aims of Mendel Levin, the acme of social satire and of plastic synthetic realism, the heir of the quaint ethical book as well as the old folk-book, and simultaneously the fashioner of the new style and the head of the ramified realistic school.

Together with Mendele, I. J. Linetsky (1839-1916) began his literary career as a keen observer of life and mordant satirist; his *Dos Poylishe Yingl (The Polish Boy)* is one of the most vehement attacks on Hassidic life. The book made a strong impression, but the author's literary talents did not show further development. Jacob Dinezon, at first opposed to Mendele's artistic realism, developed a more primitive and somewhat melodramatic folk art, as in *Der Shvartser Yungermantschik*

(*The Swarthy Young Man*, 1877), but later succumbed to his opponent, and in his *Her-shele* and *Yosele* gave us examples of a far more polished art than in his earlier works. The less cultivated reader found his mental pabulum in the "highly interesting" unrealistic Hollywood novels of Shomer, with their bizarre intrigues between a *Yeshiva-Bokher* (a student of a Talmudical college) and a princess, and the many trials that afforded an opportunity for the gentle reader to shed a tear over her own bitter lot.

Pioneers of the new spirit in the field of poetry were S. Frug\* in Russia and Morris Rosenfeld\* in America. A poet of considerable standing in Russian, Frug attained to a mastery in fashioning the sonorous Yiddish verse in his gracefully facile melodious songs, in spite of his complaint about the commonness of the uncultivated Yiddish language. The burden of his song is the bitter lot of his people, the dream of a happy future in the ancestral land, lyrical descriptions of nature, as well as the pathos of the social struggle. A man of many facets, he lacked a distinct physiognomy of his own. Far more profound and influential was Morris Rosenfeld. Whereas Morris Vinchefsky, and later Edelstadt and Bovshover, describe in their poetry the hard life of the immigrant in the sweatshop, intending a call to battle against the existing order, we find in Rosenfeld the very sigh and tear of the worker. Here, social and individual poetry fuse, for the lot of the worker, chained to his machine, is the lot of the poet, who conveys his pain and bitterness, his protest and despair. National motifs, too, are near to the heart of the worker-poet, as he sings of present Jewish homelessness and past greatness. The crudity of some of his poems, and a certain inelegance of language, are compensated for by the ardor of his sentiments, the unequaled freshness of some of his pictures.

Abraham Goldfaden,\* the founder of the

first modern professional Yiddish theatre, was director, stage manager, composer, dramatist. In his operettas he set the style of subsequent theatrical productions: comedies ridiculing undesirable traits in Jewish life; and nationalist romantic dramas. The former present grotesque and entertaining exaggerations, the legacy of the Purim play and the continuation of the art of the "Brody Minstrels," with an admixture of enlightenment ideas and a humorous realistic description of life. The latter offer a popular, anachronistic, melodramatically sentimental interpretation of Jewish history in which the heroic and the comic intertwine. But the blend of tears and laughter, and even more the beautiful melodies, made his plays favorites with the public. This pioneer of the Yiddish theatre, rejecting the realistic method of Mendele, adjusted himself to the taste of the public, thereby opening the door for a subsequent vulgarization of the stage.

The pogroms of 1881 brought about a complete change in the social ideology of Russian Jews. From Haskalah they turned to nationalism; the Jewish intelligentsia, instead of seeking the "world," began coming back "home." A movement developed aimed at solidifying the position of the Yiddish language and literature, in order to reach the masses of Jewry. It succeeded in attracting to Yiddish literature a number of Jewish writers in Hebrew and Russian. At the same time the beginnings of literary criticism in Yiddish appeared. The works of writers of an earlier period were published, and a number of new writers made their debut in the almanacs that began publication towards the end of the 1880's: Sholem Aleikhem's *Yidishe Folksbiblyotek* and Spector's *Hoyz fraynt*.

Mordecai Spector\* (1858-1925) is humorously sentimental. In his novels and numerous stories, written in a tone of quiet resignation, we find a profound love of the poor heroes, unlimited sympathy for the woman

and the child, and an intimate knowledge of the Jewish mode of life. Spector was faithful to Mendele's technique of detailed description, nevertheless, his style was colorless, as was the life of his heroes.

Sholem Aleikhem,\* second of the "classics," also leans on Mendele. He adopted from him many of the traits of language and style, and even situations and characters. But despite the faithful relationship of master and disciple, Sholem Aleikhem was original in language and style, in his manner of description, and in his humor. His favorite form was the monologue, then the dialogue and the epistolary form; only the autobiographical *Funem Yarid* (*From the Fair*) is written in the third person. His language is colloquial, with a dazzling wealth of idiom. In the case of many common sayings, it is difficult to determine whether Sholem Aleikhem borrowed them from the people or the people adopted them from him. His style is dynamic, shunning leisurely description of detail, and applying the impressionist technique of setting off clearly one single trait, usually the most comical, as the most characteristic. By this method, some of the characters in his best works were elevated to the rank of a symbol.

Sholem Aleikhem is equally great in two dimensions, breadth, and depth. His characters are drawn from all strata of the Jewish milieu: from the township of Kasrilevke, or the East Side of New York. The individual is never dissociated from the group. The depth consists in a unique, casual manner of analyzing the experiences of the soul and telescoping the most pronounced stages of an inner conflict. His works therefore furnish inexhaustible material for the sociologist and the psychologist. The critical reader will find in them the largest number of Jewish types, characters, symbols, and gain insight into the depth of the soul; the unsophisticated reader will enjoy the jests and comical situations. From about 1895 to 1920, a reader of

Yiddish that had not read at least parts of Sholem Aleikhem was a rarity. Even those that could not read Yiddish knew him; it was customary to read his works at Jewish family celebrations. His incomparable popularity rests on his manifold humor: the hearty careless laughter, a laughter through tears, a subtle humor cloaked in a lyric veil; and his coarsely grotesque situations. The humorous genius of a poor and sorely tried people, which heretofore manifested itself only in witticism and adage, scintillates through Sholem Aleikhem in hundreds of characters which can be grouped about four main figures: (1) the inhabitant of Kasrilevke, the poor but happy Jew with a new zest for life; (2) Menakhem Mendel, the *luftmensch*, the ne'er-do-well with an incurable optimism; (3) Teyve the Dairyman, the philosopher with a profound love of the entire world; and (4) Motl Peyse, son of the cantor, a child with unusual ability to see the life about him, who is fortunate because he is an orphan.

J. L. Peretz,\* the third "classic," affected Yiddish literature and Jewish society in a different manner. He manifested a remarkable versatility, with restless transitions and contradictory turns, furnishing models for various literary trends and styles. His poetry shows a marked influence of Heine and Chamisso. In the short stories of his early, realistic period, he is free of Mendele's minute details and Sholem Aleikhem's eloquence, and attains to preciseness and economy of expression in delineating characters and indicating situations. He is sarcastic in his works dealing with Haskalah motives, but sentimental in his stories about women and poor folk. In his radical period, when he published the *Yom Tov Bleilekh* (*Holiday Leaves*, 1894-95), he was an enlightener of the people and a popularizer. Later, he idealized the Hassidic Rabbis as models of the future. The tendency to symbolism unites with folklorism, resulting in the impeccable and profound

stories, *Folkstimlikhe Geshikhtn*. In his incisive impressionistic feuilletons, Peretz fought for genuine free thought. The Jewish roots of his creativity derive from the age-old ethical tendency in literature, from the unceasing quest of God and truth, from the contradiction between the reckless life of the rationalist radical and the adamant personalities of the earlier periods of tradition. Peretz's literary technique is West European, but in his second period of creativity he also employs the technique of the folktale; thus a straight line runs from Nakhman of Bratslav to Peretz's romantic-symbolic stories. Peretz is a religious seeker, an optimistic voluntarist, a prophetic, a revolutionary reformer of a world that does not satisfy.

Peretz' readers came mostly from the radical workers and youth groups, from among the intelligentsia rather than the common folk. It is characteristic of the period in which literature and social life are intimately linked, that Peretz was in the last 15 years of his life the central figure not only of modern Jewish literature, but also of that sector of Jewish society that sought to modernize Jewish life through Yiddish and aspired to a national-cultural renaissance in all the lands of the diaspora.

Threads of influence lead from Peretz to practically all young authors who made their debut in those years. He had a paternal attitude toward aspirants, and was early dubbed "the father of Yiddish literature." Just as the last third of the 19th c. was the Mendele epoch, so the first two decades of this are the Peretz epoch. In his publications a number of prominent Yiddish writers made their first appearance: Reisen, Pinski, Yehoash. He directly influenced Sholem Ash and Nomberg. The New-Hassidic and folkloristic trends are associated with his name, as well as various subsequent romantic and symbolist tendencies.

The triad, Mendele, Sholem Aleikhem, and

Peretz, is a happy combination of complementary temperaments. Mendele presented the typical and the characteristic in order to combat it, and partly to erect a monument to it; Sholem Aleikhem presented the comical and humorous directly and with no ulterior motive; Peretz abstracted the uncommon from the past as a model for the future. Mendele is static, Peretz and Sholem Aleikhem are dynamic. The last leans upon Mendele, whereas Peretz occupies a lateral position. The reader has to make an effort to read Mendele and Peretz, he feels free and relieved in reading Sholem Aleikhem. But all three united the reading public into a unique family; and, because of these three, Yiddish literature assumed the central and centripetal function of linking the past with the present, the common folk with the intelligentsia, the Jews of one district with the Jews throughout the world.

For a considerable time, Yiddish literature in the United States was not under the aegis of the triad. Here other influences were operative: the necessity of organizing the immigrant and worker gave many works a propagandistic character; and the thirst of the culturally retarded reader for books resulted in the flourishing of a quasi-literature that for a while impeded the rise of genuinely literary production. The outstanding prose writers of the period were Z. Libin, presenting with repressed sympathy photographically realistic pictures of the life of the worker; Leon Kobrin, with a tendency to individualize, and dwelling upon the relations between the sexes; B. Gorin, with descriptions of the mode of life in the old and the new homes; Abe Cahan, who in addition to his journalistic activity wrote stories with socialistic propaganda tendencies.

In 1883, the Yiddish theatre was forbidden in Russia. In America the theatre attracted a raw public, seeking escape from a hard and humdrum life. Nevertheless Jacob Gordin

succeeded in elevating the theatre with his more than 60 plays, mostly adaptations of foreign themes, but to some extent also plays of the Jewish mode of life, such as *Mirele Efros* and others, which met with favor everywhere.

The years between 1899 and 1914 were years of unusual development. Jewish social life, pervaded with Zionist, socialist, and autonomist ideas, became the field of various ideological issues and party organizations, which affected the dominant moods in Yiddish literature. Full of renascent hopes, this literature became particularly turbulent in 1905-6, only to sink into a mood of temporary despair after the failure of the revolution of 1905, and to emerge with renewed hope together with the strengthened Yiddishist movement. In Vilna the *Literarische Monatsschrift* (*Literary Monthly*) appeared, to be followed by the *Pinkes* (*Record*), "an annual for the history of Yiddish literature and language, folklore, criticism, and bibliography"; and the monthly *Di Yidishe Velt* (*The Jewish World*) (edited, like the *Pinkes*, by S. Niger) became a literary center for American Jews as well. Scores of new authors appeared, journalism made rapid strides, the essay was cultivated assiduously, trends and literary schools branched out in many directions.

Folklorism, in particular, was very strong. Sholem Aleikhem discovered Mark Varshafsky, author of some 50 "true folksongs," which soon became so popular that they found their way into the treasury of traditional folksong. In the school of Peretz' refined folk art we have to include Berl Shafir, with his poems and stories about happy paupers; A. Litwin, with stories about silent heroes; and, above all, S. Ansky, who wrote a series of splendid folkstories, and whose drama, *Der Dibuk*, is based upon folklore.

The effect of the folksong was more powerful and of longer duration than that of the folktale. Thus, in the poetry of Abraham

Reisen,\* we can see for a long time the thread that runs from the folksong; his short stories, dealing with the common folk, are direct in manner and remarkable for economy of word. Reisen's poems are brief, simple, clear, singing revelations of his mood, with great sympathy for the lonely, the oppressed—distant echoes of *Weltschmerz*. This perspicuity of form and simplicity of theme have made Reisen one of the most popular poets.

Abraham Lyessin,\* at about the same time, was the first to deepen and individualize the social revolutionary lyric and combine it with national pathos. He saw in the young and enthusiastic underground workers of the revolutionary movement the continuation of the Jewish spirit of martyrdom. Like Lyessin, Yehoash, who began writing in the 1890's, attained to true mastery later, with his national romantic ballads, fables, and intellectualistic lyrics. Influences of German and English poetry, rather than of earlier Yiddish poets, are pronounced in him. David Einhorn's *Shtille Gezangn* (*Silent Songs*), with romantic elegiac longing for the rapidly passing small town, and idyllic love motifs, is characteristic of the mood of resignation after the setback of 1905. His individual tone and captivating rhythm give way to rhetoric in his *Tsu a Yidisher Tokliter* (*To a Jewish Girl*). Similarly Z. Segalovitch glorifies the beauty of the small town, and S. J. Imber in his *Esterke* retains the tenderness of folk-poetry.

In spite of the rapid strides of poetry, the main accomplishment of the period is in prose. The short story dominates the field at first, with the novel making its appearance later. Reisen's short stories, dealing with workaday problems and simple conflicts of the soul, possess a humor that hardly dares to smile, and a lyric pity tinged with pessimism: the state of man is not so high after all. Sholem Ash,\* who also began with the short story but later went over to the psychological



novel of milieu, is much more hopeful. He has a deep-seated love of nature, and affection for the small town, of which he sees only the positive aspects. S. Niger named him the "prophet of the earth," for he glorifies the ordinary and exalts the every-day to festive rank. In Sholem Ash, Mendele's predilection for detailed pictures combined with Peretz' tendency toward the romantic and the exalted. H. D. Nomberg (1876-1927), the third in this triad of novelists and short story writers, employs penetrating psychological analysis in his description of dissatisfied intellectuals, probing into the recesses of their souls. His psychological approach combines with a cool lyricism, clarity of style, and mastery of construction, which have earned for him a prominent place in Yiddish literature, although he wrote little and in one vein.

The powerful and primitively elemental works of J. M. Vaysenberg (1881-1937) may be considered a protest against Ash's romantic flirting and Nomberg's dispassionate probing and analyzing. Himself a laborer, he presented, in his stories of impeccable naturalism and concrete plastic portraiture, types of workers that exhibit only the brutal in man. The first stories of another laborer, Yoine Rosenfeld, were autobiographical and realistic, later he was inclined towards psychological analysis. I. D. Berkovitch, a local color realist, depicts—to use Niger's expression—usual people in unusual circumstances.

The development of the drama was slower than that of the novel and the lyric. David Pinski,\* who began in the 1890's with stories of the life of the worker, wrote a number of plays depicting the conflicts attendant upon the decay of the traditional patriarchal family. Sholem Ash, too, began with family plays and later made several attempts in the field of the historical play and of comedy. In these plays the dramatic element itself is inferior to the lyric elements. Sholem Aleikhem and A. Reisen, also, wrote a number of successful

plays. Peretz Hirshbein began with realistic plays, went over to Maeterlinckian plays of mood and finally found his heroes, as well as himself, among the simple village Jews and their natural environment. On the whole, there is less continuity in the Yiddish drama than in poetry or fiction. The thread between the Theatre of Goldfaden and the better drama has been severed; the chasm between the professional theatre and the literary drama yawns wide.

Literary criticism, at first, formed no distinct branch of Yiddish literature. Practically all editors of periodicals were also literary critics. The first literary critic par excellence was Baal Makhshoves (1873-1924). He came from the outside world with refined esthetic criteria, remaining a devout servant of the Yiddish word. An adherent of Taine's view of literature, he applied the environmental method in interpreting literature, primarily to realistic works. In this period S. Niger,\* too, made his debut as a critic of promise, excelling in detailed analysis, scrupulousness, reserve.

The great wave of Eastern European immigration after 1905 brought to the United States men schooled in the turbulent and provoking ideas of the period. These brought new life and a modern outlook into Yiddish literature in America. Many writers arrived, some of them with their reputations established abroad, others to make their debut in this land. Some of the latter, in 1908, formed a group, "Yunge," of militant beginners, dissatisfied with the state of Yiddish literature in America, with its dependence upon the newspaper and upon social groupings. They emphasized the inherent value of literature; they sought to render it more refined, more artistic, of greater diversity. They published several miscellanies of *Shriftn* (*Writings*, edited by David Ignatoff), and essentially went along with—but in some respects anticipated—the development of Yiddish litera-

ture in Eastern Europe. Lacking a uniform program, the group soon split into various trends. Its main literary productions came after 1914.

Thus, in the half century from 1864 to 1914, Yiddish literature became European, diverse, worldly. Its main trend was toward realism, although the romantic bent became increasingly noticeable, and trends towards symbolism and modernism manifested themselves. Its main center was in Eastern Europe, with a new, parallel development in America, nonetheless preserving its uniform character. It played a decisive role in Jewish life, serving as a means to organize society, to stimulate the lower strata to a desire for a better life; as an instrument of social progress and a powerful nationalizing and unifying factor, replacing certain forms of life that the scattered Jewish people lacked. It was a literature of great momentum and an intimate family spirit, in which there was an attachment to and respect for the written word and its creator.

Since 1914.

World War I broke up the concentration of 6 million Jews in one state. Two separate centers arose on the ruins of the old, one in Soviet Russia and the other in Poland, with small subcenters in the Baltic states and in Rumania. America became the most important center of Yiddish literature. The writers that came to America after the war, together with the earlier arrivals, created in New York a unique kaleidoscope of literary trends, groupings, and forms. Other cities, too, had their literary circles: Chicago, Montreal, Los Angeles. But whereas in the last decades of the 19th c. the social-militant is characteristic of Yiddish literature in America, in recent years the consciously national becomes more pronounced, particularly in the post-war period, with its trend towards traditionalism.

Poetry registered the greatest gains, pre-

senting a rare wealth of temperament, style, form, and theme. A regeneration surged in the poetry of the two older poets, Yehoash and Lyessin. The former became more precise and sonorous in language, more pictorial and richer in form; he concentrated on the restrained, Apollonian lyric, which in him is aristocratic and stoically resigned, and on landscape painting in delicate colors. Yehoash is the culture-weighted aristocrat of Yiddish poetry; he culminated his poetic activity with a modern translation of the *Bible* into Yiddish. The pogroms of 1919-20 awakened in Lyessin the exaltation of martyrdom; he became, in theme, the most national of Yiddish poets. He wrote glowing ballads, and lyrics to comfort the yearning soul, reminiscent of the mysticism of his childhood. The constantly varying H. Rosenblatt, and the constant J. Rolnik, who walks with silent step and achieves the self-contained happiness of the lonely, made their debut almost simultaneously. Zishe Landau (1889-1937) is extreme in his theory of anti-social estheticism; in his poetry, however, he is exquisite in word, mildly imagistic, singing of every-day joys, seeking a happiness that is nonexistent. Mani Leib, under the influence of the Russian lyric, offers romantic veils for sorrow, and the solace of longing. He has also written beautiful children's poems, and ballads on folk motives. R. Eisland, serene and resigned, belongs to the same group; and J. J. Shwartz (b. 1885), who loves equally the old environment of his pious father and the American soil of his children, is akin to them.

The most fervid of modern Yiddish poets is M. L. Halpern,\* bitter against the world for its helpless awkwardness and against himself for being a hopeless romanticist when cynicism is required. He introduced into Yiddish poetry the grief of the disillusioned post-war generation, and a new poetic technique. H. Leivick,\* the voice of the sorrow and agitation of our time, who glorifies the eternal

sacrifice led to the pyre, has remained faithful to Peretz' teaching that the aim of writing is ethics, and esthetics only the means. At the close of the war, a new group was formed, the *Inzikhistn*, so named after their publication *In Zikh* (*Within Oneself*), "journal for the introspective tendency." This group, headed by A. Leyeles and Jacob Glattstein, stressed intellectualism, deliberate urbanity; it introduced free verse, abstraction and suggestion, unexpected prosaisms, and an imagistic plethora of metaphor. The poetry of Leyeles is based primarily on thought associations, whereas Glattstein is playfully folkloristic and a very bold experimenter in language. Of late, his poetry has gained in profundity and solidity, and shows a less revolutionary tendency in form.

The uncertainty of the morrow, the gnawing feeling of instability in the life of American Jews, and finally the present destruction of European Jewry, led to an intensification of traditionalism in Yiddish literature: a return to the world of the past. This tendency manifests itself in a reaction from individualism, in a return to the people, and a corresponding simplification in form. The above mentioned poets, too, have come under the sway of traditionalism, but this tendency is particularly pronounced in Boraisho, who after a sentimental quest has finally found his hero and his world in the *Geyer* (*The Wayfarer*); in J. J. Segal, who echoes in his subtle lyrics the old devotional prayers of the grandmothers; in Ephraim Auerbach, who comes to the conclusion that *Loyter is der alter Kval* (*Pure is the Old Source*); in B. J. Byalostotzky, who sings "The Song of our own Tribes"; and N. Gross, who remains faithful to the *Yidn* (*Jews*) and *Maases* (*Stories*) of his native Galicia. The same tendency is manifest in the drama.

The Yiddish daily press in America had, in the period under discussion, an average

circulation of a half a million copies daily. The press furnished the majority of readers for the story and the novel, and in a sense had an effect upon the character of narrative art. The most popular writer of fiction is undoubtedly Sholem Ash,\* a writer of power, scope, pictorial concreteness, whose main strength lies in mass scenes and in describing broad panoramas, and who is dominated by a profound faith in man and love of the characters in his works. J. J. Singer is a writer of an entirely different mood and technique. His theme is confined to the present and the near past, and has practically never crossed the boundaries of his native Poland. He presents the fateful and the bitter of the human comedy, in a more naturalistic and detached manner than Balzac, and infects the reader with a gnawing dissatisfaction with the human species. Zalman Shneyur also remains faithful to his native township. He goes into ecstasy in describing the physical strength of his heroes, the common folk, and is particularly eloquent in his accounts of erotic moments. Joseph Opatoshu\* displays mastery in the construction of the short story, combining clarity with brevity; the manifestations of instinct, which figure prominently in his works, are intellectually conceived. Isaac Raboy (1882-1943), more portrayer than narrator, has introduced into Yiddish literature the Far West and New England, and dwelled upon the difficulties of adjustment of the immigrant. His novels are "fragments of hardened lyrics" (S. Nizer). David Ignatoff attempted to present in his novels the history of the Jewish intelligentsia in America. Glazman dwells upon the psychology of lonely people, upon types that fail in their adjustment to the environment. In Moishe Nadir (1885-1943) we have a skeptic thirsting for a faith, full of gall yet unexpected warmth, a remarkable manipulator of language; a creator of comic situations, whose misan-

thropic humor is tempered with a gentle humanity.

Because of the high attainments in lyric and narrative, the relative backwardness of the drama seems even more pronounced, throughout the past 80 years. The last works of Pinski incline towards symbolism and abstractions. Hirshbein has refined and deepened his idyllic folk plays. H. Sackler's heroes spring from the romantic folk tale. The true drama of the immigrant in America was written by Leivick. But the problem of his drama is intimately linked with his lyrical aspects, and symbolic implications may be found even in his realistic works.

Literary criticism continued to be written by practically all writers. But none has attained the eminence of S. Niger, who constantly seeks the connection between the writer and his environment, between the work and the social atmosphere in which it was created. Other critics include the expositor Hillel Rogoff, the impressionistic and incisive Dr. Mukdoni, the vague and exegetical B. Rivkin, the schematizing N. B. Minkoff, and the kind and instructing J. Entin. Abe Cahan, editor of the *Forward* and faithful adherent of primitive realism, exerted a powerful influence upon Yiddish literature in America.

The essay was cultivated with distinction by Chaim Zhitlovsky, the fastidious esthete A. Korálnik, Chaim Greenberg, the above-mentioned Lyessin, and M. Olgín.

Poland, with its Jewish community of three and a half million rooted in Polish soil for some eight or nine centuries, has constituted the second center of Yiddish literature for the past 30 years. In spite of its geographical proximity to Russia, Yiddish literature in Poland maintained no contact whatsoever with that neighbor; but held a closer relationship with America. A striking characteristic of Yiddish literature in Poland is its intimate

association with the multiform but insecure social life.

After the war, a group of expressionists appeared. Headed by the declamatory U. Z. Grinberg and the then experimenting Peretz Markish, it disavowed esthetics as well as ethics and revealed an aimless pessimistic individualism. Meylekh Ravitch, the singer of *Nakete Lider* (*Naked Songs*), and a number of extreme naturalists in the short story and the novel, reflect this spirit.

The most permanent and mightiest current in poetry was fed by an attachment to tradition, and a general social and national restlessness. Tradition and mysticism are the basic traits in the works of Aaron Zeitlin, who seeks the manifestly divine in history and in life. In the mystic and moralist I. Shtern loom the presentiment and the sacred persistence of martyrdom. The spring of folk creativity is reflected in Miriam Ulinover's clear and charmingly simple *Fun der Bobes Oytser* (*From Grandmother's Treasure*). The bohemian and painfully sentimental poems of Itsik Manger represent a curious combination of the romantic and the grotesque. Kadya Molodovsky began to sing of the poor street; in her singing of poor people, she attained profundity. The frolicsome M. Broderson, who raised form to a cult, often conceals, beneath his assumed carelessness, a gnawing pessimism.

In the field of prose narrative, Z. Segalovitch, in his popular novels, depicted capricious women. Ephraim Kaganovsky portrayed the poorer sections of Warsaw and its underworld; S. Horontchik told of the life of the worker. Perle's plastic and compact novels breathe love for his native Poland. I. Bashevi narrates, in his *Soton fun Gorey* (*Satan of Gorey*), the aftermath of the Sabbatai Zevi movement.

The drama made less progress. Jacob Preger and Aaron Zeitlin base their plays upon his-

tory and the folk tale. Similarly, A. Katsisne utilized the story of the Vilna aristocratic proselyte for his *Der Dukes* (*The Count*); and Mark Arnstein, the life of the *Vilner Balebesl* (a cantor in Vilna).

A number of periodicals were dedicated solely to literature: *Di Bikhervelt* (*The Book World*), *Literarishe Bleter* (*Literary Leaves*), and others. The daily press and other periodicals, too, wrote extensively about literature. Of the many critics we mention only the philosophizing, profound, and nebulous J. J. Trunk; the incisive and clear J. Rapoport; and Nakhman Maysel, editor of the *Literarishe Bleter*.

In the U.S.S.R., Yiddish literature tended to become "Soviet" literature. A deliberate attempt was made to sever the Jews of Russia from the Jews of the rest of the world. The orthography was changed; writers avoided phrases and expressions of traditional-religious Jewish association. Later the Haskalah was glorified as the vanguard of the attack on Jewish tradition; only belatedly were the three "classics" rehabilitated.

Even more than in the other centers, poetry occupied a primary place in the Yiddish literature of Soviet Russia. Osher Shvartsman, characterized by Markish as a "deep gnawing violoncello in the orchestra of Yiddish poetry," was typical of the Civil War period in Russia (1917) and of revolutionary romanticism. David Hofshiteyn with deeper Jewish national moods, was the most influential of the poets; from the point of view of form he was the teacher of practically all Yiddish Soviet poets. Markish became more impetuous in his verse that portrays the struggle against the remains of the previous order. L. Kvitko is playful and inclined to mysticism; and L. Reznik tends to heaviness of mood and symbolism. Of the younger generation, the most important poets, thus far, are Itzik Fefer and Izi Kharik.

The prose narrative is less advanced in Russian Yiddish literature. The novels and stories dealing with the Civil War are, in the words of David Bergelson, "immature and ill-favored not only in language, but in portraiture as well." Social reconstruction was the main theme in the mid 20's; later, the glorification of the shock workers (persons achieving record production); and last, the triumph over the intrigues of the saboteurs. The establishment of new Jewish colonies is celebrated in a number of works, particularly in Bergelson's *Birebidjaner*. Bergelson, who towers above his fellow-writers of narrative, excels in describing milieu and mood. Nister, who in his tendency to mysticism is somewhat remote from the main current of Yiddish literature in Russia, has lately attracted attention with his novel *Di Mishpokhe Mashber* (*The Mashber Family*). M. Kulbak presents, in his *Zelmenianer*, the life of a family of untutored common folk. The most lyrical novel of the period is the poignant picture of a small town in the 1919 pogroms, *Months and Days*, by I. Kipnis.

The Yiddish theatre has made progress in Russia, but not the Yiddish drama. Plays have been written by Bergelson, Kushnirov, Markish, and others, but only Beynush Shteynman (1897-1919) may be considered a dramatist.

The ideology of Yiddish literature in the U.S.S.R. has radically changed since 1941. War motives, Nazi atrocities against the Jews, themes from Jewish history, as well as a revival of the Jewish national temper, are characteristic of the new poetry and story.

Yiddish literature has not been limited to these three main centers. Rumania has contributed no little, in the interbellum period. Eliazer Shteynberg introduced a social motif into the fable in a sagacious, typically Jewish, garb. Humor, lyric passages, swift flow of language, unexpected turns of phrase, lend new

life to this ancient literary form. Jacob Sternberg wrote expressionistic poetry, and Moyshe Altman contributed works of a subtle penetration and an inner dynamism.

Lithuania, as well as Latvia, had its share of Yiddish poets and prose writers; and even Estonia, with its tiny Jewish population, had its literary circles.

The second largest Jewish community in the New World is in Argentina, with 250,000 Jews. In its brief history of 50 years this community had made its contribution to Jewish letters. M. Pintshefsky was the first to sing, in Yiddish, the beauty of nature in South America; and M. Alpersen recorded the sufferings of the Jews in the colonization of the pampas.

The official language of the Jewish settlement in Palestine is Hebrew. But even there we have an energetic group of Yiddish writers, describing the rebuilding of the land by the Halutzim.

In some cases it is difficult to ascribe a wandering writer to any one country. L. Malakh wrote practically everywhere: a drama *Mississippi*, and a novel of South America, *Don Domingos Kraitsveg* (*The Crossroads of Don Domingo*). Daniel Tcharny wrote in Berlin, Paris, and New York. These two may serve to indicate the superterritoriality of Yiddish literature. Notwithstanding its wide geographical distribution, however, there are threads that link one center of Yiddish literature with the others. In many places we see parallel literary de-

velopments. Yiddish literature is influenced by other literatures, and is in turn translated into many languages. In the last 30 years, Yiddish literature has experimented with a number of forms, but in its main current it is directed to the people and to the roots of the spiritual power of resistance. Despite certain weaknesses, Yiddish literature has revealed in recent years a depth and a sense of responsibility for the present and the future of the entire people. Yiddish literature is the medium through which the Jewish people speaks of itself and to itself, and seeks to clarify its spiritual physiognomy, and maintain its sense of direction along the centuries.

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YUDEL MARK.

YOKUTS—See North American Native.

YUCATAN—See Mexican.

YORUBA—See African.

YUCHI—See North American Native.

## YUGOSLAV

LIKE many literatures of eastern Europe, Yugoslav literature has not developed in a steady and consistent stream. There have been periods of great activity, not necessarily closely interrelated. It is only with the growth of a feeling of national unity during the last century and a half that there has really developed a united literature which has been read throughout all the parts of Yugoslavia. The reason for this phenomenon is not far to seek.

When the Yugoslavs first entered the Balkans, they came as separate tribes and there was a long struggle before an efficient central government was established in any of the areas. To make matters worse, they arrived amidst the great contest being waged by Rome and Constantinople for the political and religious control of the whole peninsula. The Yugoslav groups nucleized within both culture areas. Thus the Serbs and the Montenegrans became Orthodox, and followed Constantinople. The Croats and the Slovenes fell under Roman influence; they adopted the Latin alphabet when they commenced to write, and they became members of the Roman Catholic Church. This line of demarcation had a great effect upon the later history of the country and upon its cultural life. It also, for a long period of time, barred the creation of either a unified literature or a unified government. In the early periods, therefore, we find that the various sections remained isolated, although there are indications at all periods that the common kinship of language was felt by the people more deeply than a casual glance might reveal.

The monk Hrabar in the 10th c. says that the pagan Slavs originally used cuts and lines to express their thoughts; but for all the Slavonic nations, literature begins with the translation of the *Liturgy* into a Slavonic dialect

by Saints Cyril and Methodius. These men were natives of Salonika and were brought up in the ruling Byzantine circles. In 863 they were sent on a missionary journey to the Great Moravian Kingdom and later Methodius worked in Pannonia (among the ancestors of the Slovenes). After his death, his disciple Saint Clement settled at Ohrid, which became the first center of Slavonic Christian culture. Traces of the missionary work of the brothers are found elsewhere, and the so-called *Freisinger Fragments*, which date in their present Latin manuscript from about 1000, were probably first written in Glagolitic.

Thus at a very early period there was the important division in the writing of the language. The Orthodox portions of the Yugoslav population came regularly to use the Cyrillic script. Part of the Roman Catholics, especially in northern Dalmatia and Croatia, employed the Glagolitic; but this form is not convenient and it has steadily receded. The greater part of the Roman Catholic population adopted the Latin alphabet. For centuries these external forms concealed the fundamental unity of the language.

The oldest part of the literature was that of the Orthodox Serbs. Like all medieval peoples, the Serbs found their interest in matters connected with the Church. From the 11th c. onward they produced many translations of the Orthodox service books, theology, and lives of the saints. Many of these were translated from the Greek, but after the formation of the state of Rasko by the dynasty of the Nemanyas, there appear a steadily increasing number of lives of Serbian saints. Thus Stephen the First-Crowned wrote the life of his father Nemanya (later the monk Simeon). St. Sava also wrote his father's life and later monks have left us the biography of St. Sava. All of these were written in a typical Byzan-

tine style of florid composition and of rhetoric and are of little interest to any but scholars. There are also examples of the stories of Varlaam and Josaphat and of Alexander the Great and many others that were widely popular throughout Europe in the later Middle Ages.

A second development which is of more popular interest is the folk poetry; in this, the Yugoslavs have produced works that are the equal of any of the European nations. From all that we know of the Yugoslav character and culture, folk songs must have been of great antiquity and we can trace the so-called "Women's Songs" to the 13th c. These are personal songs touching all the aspects of life; they are written in an 8 to 12 syllable verse.

More important than these for world culture are the epic cycles, which tell of the Nemanya dynasty and which reach their height in the two groups of songs, of the battle of Kosovo in 1389, and of the great hero Marko Kraljević. These cycles and others of later date contain the finest expressions of Yugoslav folk poetry. They exist in the form of poems of 15 or 16 syllables to the line, and of the short line with verses of 10 syllables. The latter are the more numerous and perhaps had a somewhat different origin. The earliest of these are perhaps contemporary with the events that they describe, although we have little evidence for their existence until the 16th c.

These poems have won the admiration of scholars and poets in all countries from the time when they were first made known in Europe at the end of the 18th c. They set forth the essential facts of Yugoslav history, and although the oldest specimens seem to have been largely Serb in origin, yet they have traveled to all parts of the Yugoslav lands and we have similar songs of the Uskoks along the Adriatic seacoast, those brave mariners that preyed upon the Turks

at sea exactly as the Hayduks fought for their people on the land.

The songs tell us how Knez Lazar preferred a heavenly kingdom to an earthly realm, and how he therefore marched to death at Kosovo. They sing of the exploits of his grave companions, Miloš Obilić and the Yug Bogdan with his ten sons, all of whom fell upon that fatal day. They never weary of singing the praises of Marko Kraljević and his wonderful horse Šarats and the many adventures that he underwent for his oppressed people. He is brought as friend or foe into contact with all of the outstanding figures of the Balkans for some two centuries and he always emerges victorious. Marko is the true epic hero of the Balkans; the Croats and the Slovenes sing his praises, as well as the Serbs. The accounts run on with the exploits of the Uskok Ivo Senyanin; they continue to include even the great Karageorge who led the revolt of the Serbs in 1803.

These songs are numbered by the thousand. They were preserved by blind guslyars, musicians who wandered around the country and played to the villagers on their one-stringed guslyas or fiddles. Under such circumstances we might expect them to be crude and common, but there is a proud dignity about them that elevates them above the average folk poetry. They represent their leaders as hard fighters and men of action, human but in a real sense gentlemen. They were not composed to please a court, but there is a higher moral tone about them, a deeper seriousness, and a greater appreciation of nature and of its relations to men than we find in many countries where conditions were more favorable for life than under the iron rule of the Turks.

In the Roman Catholic sections of the country literature in the vernacular was slower in developing, for the power of the Church was exerted to preserve and strengthen Latin. Along the Adriatic coast there was,



however, a strong movement for the preservation of the Slavonic language within the Roman Catholic Liturgy, even when the Glagolitic alphabet had been abandoned.

Literature, however, in the modern sense of the word first flourished in the Republic of Dubrovnik (Ragusa). In this charming Renaissance city, one of the architectural pearls of Europe, the wealthy merchant classes, imitating the customs of Venice, developed from the 14th c. a new type of Yugoslav literature that had little connection with the Old Slavonic Byzantine literature or the folk songs.

It was inspired by the development of the Italian Renaissance. Young men of the leading families went to Italy and there became acquainted with the leading writers of the day. They came under the influence of Tasso, Petrarch, and the Troubadour elements that had been absorbed into Italian literature. One of the pupils of Petrarch, Joannes de Ravenna, at the end of the 14th c. taught in Dubrovnik. It was not long before the writers undertook to translate and adapt in their native language the themes and poetical devices that were popular in Italy.

The long list of poets starts with Šiško Menčetić (1457-1527) and continues for three centuries. Much of the literature was artificial, for in the beginning the poets imitated all the conventional forms with the conventional emotions and patterns. They tried to reform the Yugoslav language on the basis of the Italian models, to adopt Italian meters in their verse. Among these writers are Dinko Ranina (1536-1607) and Dinko Zlatarić (1558-1609), who while Rector Artistarum at the University of Padua had distinguished himself by settling a riot between the French and German students.

The great poet of this movement was Ivan Gundulić (1588-1638), a prolific writer who turned out many dramas on classical themes as *Ariadne*, *The Rape of Proserpina*, and a

play *Dubravka* which glorified the city of Dubrovnik and its patron saint, St. Vlah. His greatest work was the long epic poem *Osman*, in 20 cantos, of which the 14th and 15th are lost. They may have been suppressed because of too sharp criticism of the Turks, with whom the Republic of Dubrovnik never came into determined opposition. The story deals with the historical struggle of the Polish Crown Prince Władysław against Osman at the time of the battle of Chocim (1621), continuing to the death of Osman in 1623. It is modeled in general on Tasso's *Jerusalem Liberated*, but it afforded Gundulić an opportunity to glorify all the leaders of the Yugoslavs and to give a great deal of Polish history. While it is probably one of the greatest monuments of the whole literature of Dubrovnik, it is interesting to note that it was not printed until 1826. The wealthy gentlemen writers of Dubrovnik were writing for their own pleasure and that of their friends, among whom ms. works were widely circulated.

In 1667 Dubrovnik was almost completely destroyed by an earthquake; when the damage was repaired, the city was greatly impoverished and the old spirit of independence and of hope was more or less crushed. The authors, maintaining the same facility, did not seek to change or improve the traditions. Hence more emphasis was laid upon the various Academies, where the authors gathered and wrote and criticized. The last of the great writers was Ignat Georgjić (1675-1737). Yet apart from a drama on *Mary Magdalene*, his most important works were his scholarly studies of older authors, which he wrote largely in Latin.

In the meantime quite a different development was taking place in the Slovene lands. Lutheranism made its appearance, and in the person of Primož Trubar (1508-86), the Protestants had an active and industrious leader and the first definite man of letters

among the Slovenes. Trubar endeavored to supply his people with all the necessary books for the study of their religion in the vernacular and in several years he published many books and articles. The bulk of the people embraced Lutheranism; but the movement was of short duration and when the Catholic Counter-Reformation started, with the backing of the Hapsburgs, the Protestant books were destroyed, and there was hardly a Slovene work published in the 17th c.

By the middle of the 18th c. Yugoslav literature had reached a new low. Within the Hapsburg Empire, the German language was forced upon the people, while within the Ottoman Empire there were few or no opportunities for education at all. There was need of an almost complete revolution or revival if anything was to be saved.

Gradually the reaction came. The renewed Russian Empire began to take an interest in the Orthodox Christians of the Balkans and the Russian Church sent down teachers and books to the Serbs. In general the seat of these endeavors was Karlovci in Serb territory under Hungarian and Hapsburg rule and the seat of the Serb patriarchate. Some of the best scholars, as Jovan Rijić (1726-1801), then went to Russia to study, especially at the Theological Academy of Kiev. They attempted to revivify Serb writing and thinking and their results, meager at first, came later to have considerable success.

More important than these men were those that came under the influence of the typical 18th c. rationalism, which was known in Austria-Hungary as Josephinism. The reforms introduced by Joseph II had a favorable effect upon the Serbs in the Hapsburg lands and attracted the attention of some of the more intelligent young men to Vienna. Among these was the first great writer, Dositej Obradović (1742-1811). He was born in the Banat and, after receiving a very meager education, became a monk in 1758.

Later he became disillusioned and made his way into northern Dalmatia and then to Vienna, Halle, and Leipzig. At Halle, he stopped wearing the clerical garb. He continued his travels and studies, visiting even England and White Russia. He settled at Vienna in 1789; and when the Serb revolt broke out in 1804 he went to Zemun and finally crossed into free Serbia where he became the first Minister of Education, dying in Belgrade in 1811.

Obradović was the first really Western educated man in Serbia and his writings all bore the stamp of the 18th c. in their humane rationalism. They were chiefly moral and ethical tracts intended for the education of his fellow countrymen. Though they actually had few readers, his personal influence paved the way for a new period in the life of the Orthodox Serbs.

There were simultaneous stirrings among the other branches of the Yugoslavs. Thus among the Slovenes Jurij Japelj (1744-1807) made a translation of the *Bible* and wrote various other works in the spirit of Josephinism and the circle around Baron Ziga Zois engaged in many intellectual studies. Here belongs also the work of Valentin Vodnik (1738-1819), who later became a professor of poetry in a gymnasium in Ljubljana and commenced the collection of folk songs.

In Croatia there were similar signs of life but there was little effective literature and among all the Roman Catholic writers of the province, the only one of outstanding importance was the Franciscan monk Andrija Kačić-Miošić (1702-60), who wrote the *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga* (*A pleasant conversation of the Slav people*) in which he described the history of the Balkans and included about two hundred songs of the Yugoslavs of all branches.

The germs thus planted were not slow in developing. Already at the end of the 18th c. Josef Dobrovský in Prague had provided a

scientific basis for the study of the Slavonic languages. His work was soon taken up by the Slovene Jernej Kopitar (1780-1844). From his position in Vienna, Kopitar was able to establish contacts with all of the leading Slavs and in his desire to create scientific grammars and methods of writing, he met the young Serb Vuk Karadžić (1787-1864). Karadžić with his work on Serb grammar and his collections of Serb folk songs inspired the literature of his people even more than did the more scholarly Kopitar. Among the Croats, much the same work was undertaken by Ljudevit Gaj (1809-72). Thus during the first half of the 19th c. the various Yugoslav groups found themselves provided with the necessary materials for a flourishing literature and culture.

The scholars worked together more or less harmoniously. It was a longer task to bring together the masses of the literary men, although all three sections passed through about the same stages, romanticism, realism, and the rest. The thoughts of these men varied from the pan-Slavic ideas of the Slovak Jan Kollár to what later proved to be distinct regionalism in the desire to maintain separate literatures based upon the differences in the local dialects. Questions of religion also played an important role, for the Roman Catholic Yugoslavs of the Hapsburg lands naturally tended to the West and to Western models, while the Orthodox, especially within the Ottoman Empire, were more responsive to the changes in the Russian scene.

Among the poets of this period, first place is taken by Petar Petrović Njegoš (1813-51), the last prince-bishop of Montenegro. He was born in the little village of Nyeguš near Cetinje and had little formal education. He was consecrated bishop at St. Petersburg in 1833. While occupied in turning the little principality into a modern state, he found time to write *The Mountain Garland*, a dramatic poem of the liberation of Montenegro

from the Turks in the early part of the 17th c., one of the masterpieces of all modern Yugoslav poetry. He also wrote an adaptation of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, *The Rays of the Microcosm*, which shows in its independence and philosophical ideas the depth of thought of the young prince-bishop. Njegoš is a good example of the transition period between the Enlightenment and the pure Romantic movement on the brink of the struggles between Christianity and Islam.

To the same generation belongs the work of France Prešern (1800-49), the founder of modern Slovene poetry. He had combined with other writers of the day, especially Matija Čop (1797-1835), in the publication of the literary review *Kranjska Chelica* (*Native Tongue*), which was soon stopped by the censorship. This review, which attempted to introduce general literary ideas among the Slovenes, was opposed by Kopitar with his severe linguistic views. To many of the conservatives of the day it seemed as if the young writers were on the wrong track, yet they were but treading the paths of the early followers of Byron among the other Slavs. Prešern himself was primarily a lyric poet who drew from foreign models in the desire to enrich his native literature.

The next generation saw the development of the Illyrian movement, which was to play a large role among the Catholic Yugoslavs. In 1809 Napoleon set up Illyria as a region under French control and even after it was overthrown with the downfall of the French ruler, many of the young men dreamed of a free Illyria that would include Slovenia, Croatia, and Dalmatia. It set an ideal which was close to the dreams of Kollár in *The Daughter of Slava*, and it inspired many of the Yugoslav poets until 1848. It was especially strong among the Croats where it won over the Slovene Stanko Vraz (1810-51) and the still more famous Croatian Ivan Mazuranić (1814-90) with his narrative poem,

*The Death of Smail-Aga Cengić* (a cruel Mohammedan leader who was finally defeated and killed by a band of Uskoks, the sea strugglers for freedom along the Dalmatian coast). Another group followed Petar Preradović (1818-72), who was mystically inclined. It was at this period too that the people first began to appreciate the older and almost forgotten literature of Dubrovnik.

The year 1848 played a fateful role for the Yugoslavs. The disturbances of that year and the ensuing decade of oppression marked the end of the old period for all the Slavs within the Hapsburg lands; it had a depressing effect even upon independent Serbia. There arose organizations like the Serb *Omladina* (*Youth*), to spread liberal ideas and strengthen literature, and corresponding movements among the Croats and the Slovenes. The resulting period is often referred to as Romantic, but it differs materially from the Romantic period in Western Europe which preceded it, being marked largely by an increasing emphasis on nationalism in a narrow sense. The older Slavonic writers, following Kollár, had dreamed of a great Slav or even Illyrian movement. Now emphasis was laid on the tribal basis of the Serbs, the Croats, the Slovenes.

Thus the Slovene Fran Levstik (1831-87) set himself to study the people and to work out a definite language based upon the popular speech. In the process he created Slovene classical prose. He wrote many epigrams and for a while dreamed of publishing a Slovene satirical journal. Most of his ideas, however, failed but he proved to be one of the deciding factors of the 19th c. among his people.

Among the Serbs this same movement produced several famous writers, the most prolific being Zmaj Jovan Jovanović (1833-1904). His poetry was a continuation of that of the short-lived Branko Radičević (1824-53) who first combined the personal lyric poetry of the familiar European Romantic type with the

Serb national poetry. Jovanović turned out a continuous stream of works, chiefly in verse, which caught the ear of the people for thirty years. He wrote epic poetry, lyric poetry, poetry for children, all devoted to an idealization of the people and of the peasant institutions of the Serbs. The same can be said of Djura Jakšić (1832-78), who in addition to his verses was one of the first Serb authors to create short stories on the life of the people and on the history of the Serb Middle Ages.

The spiritual leader of the corresponding period among the Croats was Bishop Josip Jury Strossmayer (1815-1905). He had commenced his life under the influence of the Illyrian movement, but after the crushing of those hopes had used his powerful position as a bishop of the Roman Catholic Church to strengthen the position of Croatian culture. He maintained close personal contact not only with the other Catholic Slavs but also with the Orthodox, and it was largely under his influence that a newer and more realistic tendency toward Slavonic cooperation was finally developed.

Among the Croatian writers of this period were Franjo Marković (1845-1914), who was more important as a critic and theoretician than as a creative writer. August Šenoa (1838-81) first achieved fame as a poet, but is probably more important for his historical novels, especially of Croatia at the end of the 16th c.

In the early 1870's, when the writers of the generation after 1848 were still in their prime, a new influence was exerted from the Russian realists of the 60's. This was the period in Russia when the intelligentsia turned most sharply against art in all of its manifestations and demanded that literature and even the plastic arts serve a social purpose. The agnosticism of the older writers gave way to an almost militant atheism. Such men as Chernyshevsky, Dobrolyubov, and Pisarev, carrying their criticism of the existing order to an

extreme, won the hearts of many of the younger generation.

The Bulgarian Lyuben Karavelov and the Serb Svetozar Marković (1846-73) returned to Belgrade from Russia with the new ideas. Marković especially attracted attention and from 1868 until his early death he became the scourge of the older writers and the idol of the younger. Like his Russian teachers, he denounced pure art and insisted upon the annihilation of romanticism, sentimentalism, and all such ideas. He taught the necessity of realism, of a realistic treatment of village life and of the political conditions of his people. All this did not please the government and for a while he was compelled to flee to the Vojvodina (a province inhabited by Serbs) in the Hapsburg lands. Milovan Th. Glisić (1847-1908), influenced by Marković, undertook the translation of Gogol's *Dead Souls*, Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, Goncharov's *Oblomov*. His task was to make Russian literature familiar to the Serbs and his original stories were themselves modeled on the tales of Gogol, although not in any way imitations. Other authors, as Janko M. Veselinović (1862-1905), carried their sense of realism into almost ethnographical descriptions of the village life. Still others, as Simo Matavulj (1852-1908), carried the realistic method into descriptions of Montenegro and the south with such novels as *The Uskok*, the first definite treatment of Montenegro in Serb literature since the time of Njegoš.

Croatian literature felt the same Russian influence but, as we might expect, it was exerted often more indirectly and the realistic movement in Croatia was largely influenced by the realists and naturalists of western Europe. Of the writers of this group, Šandor Djalski-Bakić (b. 1854) was outstanding.

So too among the Slovenes. The later work of Josip Jurčič (1844-81) had paved the way for the realistic school. Among his followers was Janko Kersnik (1852-97), who usually

chose his subjects from the life of the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless the close following of realism and later of naturalism did not wholly appeal to the Slovene mind. The greatest of modern Slovene writers, Ivan Cankar (1876-1918), soon developed an appreciation of symbolism and regarded the life of an individual as also a symbol of the life and struggles of the human race. Thus he reacted against the cold observances and demands of naturalism, against a purely objective study of the details of human existence.

With the close of the century throughout all the Yugoslav lands as in the other Slavonic countries, symbolism and allied movements developed. The authors sought a greater literary culture. This had been achieved earlier by Vojislav J. Ilić (1862-94), undoubtedly the most learned of all the Serb poets. Yet the appreciation of Pushkin and Lermontov led him to a more personal attitude towards the problems of life, and at the same time he returned to a sympathetic understanding of the older poetic tradition. The later authors before the First World War were more apt to be optimistic in their outlook on life. We may mention among the poets Jovan Dučić (b. 1874) and in prose Borislav Stanković (1876-1927), who wrote the novel *Impure Blood*.

Among the Croats the leading name of the period is undoubtedly that of Ivo Vojnović (1857-1919), a native of Dubrovnik. He passed from realism to a mystical attitude that led him to become an exponent of the Yugoslav emphasis which was taking firm hold of the people in the early years of the century. Vojnović went back to his native city for the themes of his dramas on the disintegration of the old aristocracy of Dubrovnik, and he also, in such works as *The Mother of the Jugovići*, drew on the traditional cycle of historical poems to support his ideas of the coming together of the various Yugoslav groups.

On the other hand Ante Tresić-Pavičić (1867-1940) came under the influence of Carducci. He was somewhat pessimistic in his philosophy; in the dramatic trilogy *Finis Rei Publicae*, he traced the dying out of the old Roman republican spirit under the influence of Caesar and the dictators. When this was translated into Italian, Mussolini forbade the publication of the second part, *Cato of Utica*, because of its enthusiasm for liberty and freedom.

During this period there was a steadily increasing contact between the Serbs and Croats. Books were more freely published, in both Latin and Cyrillic characters, and the old distrust and prejudices that had confined works of literature to one or the other sphere were being broken down.

Slovene literature found its greatest poet in Oton Zupančič (b. 1878). He absorbed the best of the previous writers and movements; like Cankar, he was not satisfied with either cold naturalism or the wilder forms of decadence. He and most of the other authors recognized the deep attachment to religion and morality of the Slovenes and did not follow the movement that drew its subjects entirely from the more abnormal and unusual parts of the population.

The ending of the First World War brought together in an independent state the three great groups of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. This gave a definite impulse to those movements, as the *Jugoslovenska Omladina* (Yugoslav Youth), which were working for an increasing harmony and unification of the literature. On the other hand, there was a Croatian group that sought to maintain and develop a local provincial school; and the same conflicting tendencies existed among the Slovenes.

The task of unification was the more difficult and involved because it required the merging of two different religious traditions and cultures, the Latin-Italian-Germanic and

the Orthodox-Byzantine-Balkan. Also the fact that the Serbs had fought with the Allies during the First World War created differences with the Croats, who had remained with the Hapsburg Empire on the side of the Central Powers, and the new state seemed especially to the Croats a definite break with their past modes of thinking and their political experiences.

Many of the younger writers were definitely radical and succumbed for a short time to Communist influences. Thus the foremost Croatian author, Miroslav Krleža, author of the book *The Croatian God Mars*, expressed the attitude of the people toward the war, after dedicating an earlier work to Lenin in 1917. Krleža was developing rapidly as one of the leading writers, but his career was cut short by his death after the unprovoked attack on Yugoslavia in 1941.

The work of Nikolaj Velimirović is widely known to many circles in England and the United States. A distinguished literary critic, he is also a priest and bishop of the Serb Orthodox Church, and he achieved well-deserved fame as a preacher in England during World War I. Later he became Bishop of Žica, where he was stationed when his country was attacked. He had made some penetrating studies of Njegoš and he combines in an interesting manner the old traditions and modern thought.

Yugoslav literature of every school has been greatly influenced by the rich folk poetry, long preserved. There is a sturdiness and a vitality in these traditions which has affected all the modern intellectual developments. Thanks to them, the literature has kept its feet on the ground, and has maintained a vitalizing contact with life.

The modern literature started barely a century and a half ago. It commenced more or less independently in the various provinces and each of the Yugoslav groups reacted in its own way. Yet the tendency toward unity

has been growing constantly and even the Mohammedan Bosnian literature has been merging into the general current. Then came the attack and the dismemberment of the country and the destruction of a large part of the educated class throughout the land. Yet it seems likely that the old provincialism received its death blow during World War II, and that a newer and firmer literature will result.

In its modern form, Yugoslav literature is relatively young. It has not produced many authors of world-wide importance and fame. Yet considering its handicaps, it has reached

a high state of critical and artistic perfection and has given the world a number of authors that are well above the average in both prose and verse. With the recuperation in these post-war years, we can be sure that the vitality of the people will again triumph, and that in the new world Yugoslav literature will take a valid place among the literatures of Europe.

Parle Popović, *Prehled srpske književnosti* (Beograd), 1921; Joran Skerlić, *Istorija nove srpske književnosti* (Beograd), 1921; Josip Torbarina, *Italian Influence on the poets of the Ragusan Republic* (London), 1931; Dragutin Subotić, *Yugoslav Popular Ballads* (Cambridge), 1932.

CLARENCE A. MANNING.

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YUKON—See North American Native.

YUMA—See North American Native.

YURACARE—See South American Indian.

ZAACHILA—See Mexican.

ZACATECA—See Mexican.

ZAPOTECA—See Mexican.

ZEALAND—See Danish.

ZULU—See African.

ZUNI—See North American Native.

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## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

AASEN, IVAR (Norwegian, 1813-96); distinguished linguist, poet, champion of the vernacular dialects against the Dano-Norwegian of the union period. He believed in reviving the literary language of the classical saga age, not by readopting the saga forms but rather through a cultivation of the dialects recognized as the lineal descendants of the Old Norse. Aasen made an intense study of the western and west-central Norwegian dialects, on the basis of which he constructed his "landsmål" or native country speech. His language had very great poetic qualities, which gained it spectacular favor. At present a modified Aasen norm is taught in a majority of the Norwegian schools. His outstanding work is the *Dictionary of the Norwegian People's Language*, 1848. Among his literary products the play, *Ervingen (The Heir)*, 1855, and the volume of poetry, *Synra (The Anemone)*, 1863, are best known. His songs are pleasing in their quiet warmth and their unassuming devotion to land and people.

A. Garborg, A. Hovden, and H. Koht, *Ivar Aasen minneskrift* (Oslo), 1913, and Moltke Moe in Volume II of *Nordmenn i det nittende århundre 3 v.* (Oslo), 1914

T. J.

AB EDMWND, DAFYDD. See Dafydd ab Edmwnd.

ABAILARD, PETER (Abelard, 1079-1142), a Breton, studied and taught logic in and near Paris; he was brilliant, provocative, self-centered, volatile. Led a sad life, suffering much from his own folly and the persistence of his opponents. "I all but despaired as though the whole world was conspiring against me." The boldness of his theological opinions twice brought him into difficulties with Church authorities. His affair with Heloise, recounted in his *Historia Calamitatum Mearum* and in their mutual letters, provides one of the most fascinating psychological documents in all literature. His *Sic et Non*, a codification of apparently contradictory *sententiae* from the Fathers, is a milestone in the history of critical method, an attempt at a synthesis of the inherited mass of theological data. He was a medieval knight errant, excessive in his faults and virtues. He died at Cluny under the protection of his friend, St. Peter the Venerable.

J. G. Sikes, P. A. (Cambridge U.), 1932.  
E. A. Q.

'ABDU, MUHAMMAD (Arab, 1849-1905), was the son of an Egyptian peasant family of mixed Arab-Turk origin. A disciple of Jamāl-al-Dīn al-Afghānī, he towered as a patriot, public servant, and scholar. His early *Risālat al-Wāridāt (Mystical Inspirations)* is a treatise bearing the stamp of mystic experience.

More important is *Risālat al-Tawhīd (On the Unity of God, 1897)*, which won him renown as a foremost Moslem thinker and theologian. His Koranic erudition added to his prestige. But his abiding influence derives from a fearless attempt to substitute a modern system of thought for Islam's decadent theology, thereby rehabilitating the doctrines of that religion.

Charles G. Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt* (London), 1933.

E. J. J.

ABELARD. See Abailard, Peter.

ABRAMOWITZ, SHALOM JACOB (pseud. Mendele Mocher Sforim; Hebrew and Yiddish, 1836-1917), began his literary career in 1857 in Hebrew, in a series of articles on Education. As an exponent of *Haskalah* he published a 3 v. *Natural History*, also a novel *ha-Aboth ve-Habanim (Fathers and Sons)* pleading the cause of enlightenment. In his endeavor to educate the masses he abandoned the Hebrew language for Yiddish and emerged in 1864 as Mendele Mocher Sforim, the itinerant book peddler who makes his rounds through little Jewish towns of Southern Russia, and records the life, the struggles, and the misery of the people. His first Yiddish novel was *Dos Klein Menshele (The Manikin)*; a year later (1865) came *Dos Winshfingeril (The Wishing Ring)*. This was followed by *Die Takseh (The Meat Tax)*; *Fishke Der Krimer (Fishke the Lame; 1869)*, in which he drew on his own experience as a youth accompanying a beggar; *Die Klatche (The Mare)*, an allegory of Jewish history (1873); *Der Prisiv (The Military Draft)*, a drama (1884), and *The Travels of Benjamin the Third* (1885). With his first novel in Yiddish, he established himself as a great artist and a stylist. He created a gallery of Ghetto characters, minutely describing the life and customs of the people. He was the first Yiddish writer of literary distinction and is lovingly referred to as the Grandfather of Yiddish literature. In 1886 he returned to Hebrew literature with a short story, *be-Sether Raam (Hiding from Thunder)*. He then set about to recreate most of his Yiddish novels as new works in Hebrew, and wrote a long autobiographical novel *Ba-Yamin ha-Haim (In Those Days)*. By mixing Talmudic phrases and words into conversation he introduced an animated colloquial Hebrew, and as his Yiddish, his inimitable Hebrew style became a model for future writers.

C. A. Madison, M., *Foremost of Ghetto Satirists, in Poet Lore*, xxxiii; M. Waxman, *Hist. of Jewish Lit.* (N. Y.), 1930-41.

L. A.



ADAMINAN, SAINT (Irish, c. 624-704), was a kinsman of Saint Columba and ninth abbot of Iona. He is the author of a beautiful Latin life of the founder, the *Vita Sancti Columbae*.

E. Maguire, *Life of St. A.* (Dublin), 1917. M. D.

ADAMS, HENRY (U.S.A., 1838-1918), scion of one of the nation's leading families, diplomat, and a voluminous writer, was one of the first historians fully to consider social and cultural conditions. His literary reputation rests upon *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* (1904), an evaluation of 12th and 13th c. life based upon its architecture, and *The Education of Henry Adams* (1907, 1918), his most widely read book. Behind these two lie Adams' "dynamic" theory of history as "the law of reaction between force and force," in which "progress" is largely denied. The "multiplicity" of modern life, in *The Education*, contrasts unfavorably with the unity of the Middle Ages, in *Chartres*. Adams' two novels (*Democracy*, 1880; *Esther*, 1884) have value largely as personal and social documents.

E. C. S.

ADDISON, JOSEPH (English, 1672-1719), and Richard Steele (1672-1729) were essayists and journalists who collaborated in the writing of *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*, periodicals that in form and style were copied all over Europe and in the American colonies. *The Tatler*, a tri-weekly magazine, was more or less political in nature, but contained coffee-house gossip that made it popular. *The Spectator*, free from political bias, devoted its pages to essays, reviews, letters, and criticism. Steele is supposed to have furnished the original ideas, the humor, the overflowing kindness; while Addison, the more fluent and skilful writer, furnished the polished and perfected style. Often, as in the typical Sir Roger de Coverley, they collaborated.

W. J. Courthope, *Life of A.*; G. A. Aitken, *Life of S.*

F. F. M.

ADIVAR, HALIDE EDIB, generally known simply as Halide Edib (Turkish), early gained prominence as a nationalist. She is the most distinguished woman writer of today, her fame dependent largely on her novels, the best one of which, *The Clown and His Daughter* (London, 1935), was first published in English. Abroad she is known for her *Memoirs* (N. Y. & London), *The Turkish Ordeal* (N. Y. & London, 1928), and *Turkey Faces West* (New Haven, 1930). Today she is Professor of English Literature in the University of Istanbul.

J. K. B.

ADY, ANDREW (1877-1919), the greatest lyric poet of modern Hungary, began his career as a small-town journalist. Filled with admiration for the beauty and progress which he saw in Paris, he strove against the backwardness of his native land. In his

volume *New Poems, Uj versek* (1905) he declared that he considered himself the incarnation of the modern Hungarian, trying to achieve a synthesis of Hungarian and Western cultures. He later advocated cooperation with the neighboring peoples and vigorously attacked the semi-feudalistic system of Hungary. Conservatives were unable to appreciate Ady's dynamic lyricism and symbolism. An impressionist, par excellence, he sought to reveal his inner life. A hedonist, admitting his craving for wealth, and recording his amorous adventures, he showed on other occasions utmost humility, and confessed himself a sinner praying for forgiveness, purity, and union with his Creator. He criticized Hungary, and claimed to be unhappy there; still, he was proud of being a Hungarian, and was desperate at the outbreak of the first World War, convinced of the destruction of his country and all mankind. In sublime, musical language he strove to elevate his countrymen and to guide them toward the brotherhood of man.

W. Kirkconnell, *The Poetry of A. Hung. Quart.*, 1937; B. Révész, *S. lehuillunk az ősi avaron* (Bratislava), 1937; M. Babits, *Paris et A. A.*, *NRH*, 1932.

A. S. and F. M.

AESCHYLUS (Greek, 525-455 B.C.), the earliest of the great Attic tragedians, gave Greek tragedy its characteristic form by his technical innovations, and its deep moral content by his seeking to reconcile the primitive thought of the mythological themes, which formed his subject matter, with his conception of the universal justice of Zeus. His greatest work, the *Oresteia* trilogy, dealt with the working out of the blood guilt of the house of Atreus, through the murders of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra and the madness of Orestes, to a final settlement in which the principle of moderation and essential justice prevailed. This moral purpose was presented with a grandeur of diction that gave Aeschylus a preeminent place in the tradition of Greek tragedy, if not such popularity in later antiquity as Sophocles\* and Euripides\* possessed.

Gilbert Murray, *A.* (Oxford), 1940. C. A. R.

AL-AFGHANI, JAMA'AL-DIN (Arab, 1839-97), a lineal descendant of al-Husayn, grandson of the Prophet, was born at As'ad-Abad, near Kābul in Afghanistan. In Egypt he gave himself assiduously to the training of young religious nationalists, emerging as founder of the Moslem reform movement and a foremost architect of pan-Islam. Banished in 1879, he had already set in motion the forces that produced the 'Arābi Rebellion leading to British occupation. In *al-'Urwah al-Wuthqah* (*Indissoluble Bond*) published in Paris (1884), with the collaboration of Muhammad 'Abdu, he sought to consolidate the Moslem peoples against Western exploitation and aggression. His goal was the regeneration of a unified Islam under the supreme caliphate. In

*al-Radd 'ala al-Dahriyīn* (Refutation of the Rationalists) his idealistic views are set forth.

Charles C. Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt* (London), 1933.

E. J. J.

AHAD HA-'AM (pseud. of Asher Ginsberg; Hebrew, 1856-1927), philosopher and thinker, was the most influential and important of modern Hebrew writers. He advocated the concentration of all efforts toward a spiritual rebirth of Judaism, and minimized Herzl's endeavors in behalf of political Zionism. He contended that Jews were destined in greater majority to remain in the Diaspora, and envisaged Palestine only as a cultural center from which the Hebraic spirit will emanate to inspire Jewry all over the world. He established the monthly *Hashiloah*, which for over a generation served as a platform for the most serious Hebrew writers, followers or opponents, and developed a large group of young talented authors.

M. Glickson, *A. ha'Am* (Tel-Aviv), 1927.  
L. A.

AKHTAL, AL- (Arab, ca. 640-ca. 710), a leading poet of the Umayyad dynasty of Damascus, was born a Bedouin Christian of Iraq, of the illustrious Taghlib clan. As boon-companion of Yazid I (680-83) he began his panegyrics of the Umayyads whose poet laureate he became under 'Abd-al-Malik (685-705). His *Diwān* reflects contemporary passions, contains sparks of the pagan literary fire, and portrays the author himself as a political poet who enjoyed, though a Christian, freedom of speech and action under his tolerant patrons. His rivalry with Jarīr (d. ca. 729) is immortalized in satirical contests (*muhājāh*) and literary quarrels (*naqā'id*). The two, with the pro-'Alid al-Farazdaq (ca. 640-732), form a trio of bards, born and bred in Iraq, whose prestige remains unmatched. His eulogy of the Umayyads is considered his masterpiece.

H. Lammens, *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades* (Beirut), 1930.

E. J. J.

ALARCON, PEDRO ANTONIO DE (Spanish, 1833-91), was the forerunner of the realistic novel in Spain. From his life as soldier, columnist, and representative of the Cortes he developed the taste for adventure, action, scandal, which his famous novel *The Three-Cornered Hat* (1874), touched with irony, brings into literature. His particular endowment of gracefulness and wit is less evident in such works as *The Scandal* (1875), where he treats serious problems of conscience. Thus his style is uneven; it often smacks of turbulent romanticism. His first novel has also overshadowed his lyrical poetry and his short stories, so that he lives as a man of one book.

J. Romano, P. A. de A., *el novelista romántico* (Madrid), 1933.

H. A. H.

ALASDAIR, MACMAIGHISTER. See MacDonald, Alexander.

ALBERTI, LEON BATTISTA (Italian, 1407-1472), was the Quattrocento's best representative of the typical 'universal scholar' of Renaissance humanism. Thoroughly educated in the classics, he wrote extensively in both Latin and Italian. In Latin, Alberti wrote theoretical works on painting, sculpture, architecture (*De re aedificatoria*), mathematics and physics (*Ludi mathematici*, *Mathematical Diversions*), as well as literary works: the comedy *Philodoxus* and the dialogues known as *Intercentales*. In Italian, his best known work is the treatise *On the Family*, a theoretical and practical discussion of the basis of family life. Other of his vernacular works are the dialogues *Il Teogenio*; *The Tranquility of the Spirit*; *On Household Management*. In 1440, Alberti held the famous 'certame coronario' for a meritorious work in Italian; the contest was a failure, but significant in showing Alberti's interest in Italian literature.

C. Mancini, *Vita di L. B. A.*, 2<sup>a</sup> ediz. (Firenze), 1911.

R. A. H. Jr.

ALCAYAGA, LUCILA GODOY. See Mistral, Gabriela.

ALCUIN (735-804), born and educated at York, later headed the monastic school there; in 781 was called by Charlemagne to direct the Palace School at Aachen; he was the dominant force behind the educational reform known as the Carolingian Renaissance. He guided the standardization of educational practice in the monastic schools of the Empire. Wrote lives of saints, scriptural commentaries, valuable letters, treatises on the Liberal Arts, and mediocre poetry. A great teacher, editor of the *Scriptures* (in Latin) at command of Charlemagne, he died as abbot of St. Martin's at Tours, where during his rule a remarkable development in the monastic scriptorium took place. It was this script that was adopted by the Humanists of the Renaissance, who thought it was ancient Roman script. Alcuin envisaged his role as that of transferring the learning of Rome to France as once it had been brought from Athens to Rome.

E. Gilson, *Les Idées et Les Lettres* (Paris), Vrin, 1932.

E. A. Q.

ALED, TUDUR. See Tudur Aled.

ALEGRIA, CIRO (b. 1909); Peruvian novelist, deported for participation in the 1931 revolt against the government. In Chile he produced three prize-winning novels: *La Serpiente de Oro* (1935); *Los Perros Hambrientos* (1938); and *El Mundo es Ancho y Ajeno* (1941)—all forceful protests against the injustices toward the Indians and *cholos* (Spanish-Indians) of his native region. Since 1941, Alegria has lived in the United States; his first and third novels have been translated into English: *The Golden Serpent* (1943) and *The World is Wide*

and *Alien* (1941). Structurally poor, his work is strongly folkloristic and portrays, with a lyric realism ranging from the idyllic to the terrifying, the primitive people and certain remote regions of Peru.

J. R. S.

ALBIKHEM, SHOLEM. See Sholem Aleikhem.

ALEMAN, MATEO (Spanish, 1547-1614?), is the classic writer of the *Rogue* novel in Spain (as was early recognized in France by Chapelain, in Germany by Lessing). His *Guzman de Alfarache* (v. 1, 1599; v. 2, 1605) is not merely a series of adventures but a treasury of a profound moralist's meditations on life. Also, the atmosphere of Spain and Italy during the Counterreformation is richly conveyed. The book went through 26 editions in its first 6 years. It ranges from the bold picture of the Rogue in the foreground to a thousand minute captivations of life, which make the novel interesting reading even today.

M. García Blanco, *M. A. y la novela picaresca alemana* (Madrid), 1930.

H. A. H.

ALFIERI, VITTORIO (Italian, 1749-1803), distinguished himself primarily by the series of tragedies he wrote between 1775 and 1787, of which the most important are *Filippo*; *Virginia*; *Agamemnone*; *Oreste*; *Merope*; *Saul*; *Mirra*. He also wrote lyric poetry, six comedies in verse, and the prose works *On Tyranny* (1777), *The Prince and Letters* (1778-86) and his autobiography. In the construction and style of his tragedies Alfieri remained purely classical, and for this reason is not popular with English-speaking readers. To Italians of his own and later times, however, he has seemed a major national dramatist, because of his intense patriotism and hatred of foreign tyranny, and of the role his work played in arousing independentist feeling.

N. Busetto, *Vita e opere di V. A. (Livorno)*, 1904.

R. A. H. Jr.

ALFONSO X, EL SABIO ("the wise"—Spanish, 1220-84), has a triple significance as royal Maecenas, cyclopedic scholar, and poet. The actual father of Castilian higher civilization and of Castilian prose, he had the old Gothic laws collected in *The Seven Divisions*; then with his *General Chronicle* he initiated a nationwide Spanish history, as opposed to the earlier chronicles of the various provinces. As a poet, he followed the Provençal-Portuguese pattern, hence wrote his *Songs of Holy Mary* in the literary Galician dialect.

Marqués de Mondéjar, *Memorias sobre A. el S.* (Madrid), 1845.

H. A. H.

AL-HARISI, JUDAH BEN SALOMON (Hebrew, 1165-1225), last of the great Golden Period in Spain, was renowned as a wit; he composed mostly secular poetry in a light vein. He collected all his works in

*Machberet Tahkimoni* (*The Book of Tahkimoni*), in which his poems are inserted between charming prose passages. He was an insatiate traveler who made literature his profession, a rare phenomenon in those days, by accepting commissions for translating books from the Arabic.

M. Waxman, *Hist. of Jewish Lit.* (N. Y.), 1930-41.

L. A.

ALIGHIERI, DANTE (1265-1321), was Italy's greatest poet and the most outstanding single figure of Italian literature. His work has been called 'the summing-up of the Middle Ages'; in it converge the culture of antiquity (as known in his time), the philosophy of medieval scholasticism, and contemporary Florentine and Italian life. Two features of Dante's relationship to his contemporary background were determining elements in his career: his Florentine birth and upbringing, and his exile from Florence after 1300. To the former he owed his intense local patriotism and his absorption of the cultural currents of 13th c. Florence, particularly the *dolce stil nuovo*, the "sweet new style"; to the latter, the inversion of his patriotism into an equally intense *Liebeszorn* towards his native city, the strong Ghibellinism of his later years, and the broad, pan-Italian outlook of his mature works. To his individual experiences—as distinct from his background—are to be traced his love for Beatrice de' Portinari, whom he later idealized into a symbol of divine revelation, and his extensive acquaintance with classical culture and scholastic philosophy. The *Vita Nuova* (*The New Life*, ca. 1295), a novel written around a group of poems for Beatrice, is 'the biography of an emotion,' and a prelude to the infinitely complex and majestic structure of the *Divina Commedia* (ca. 1300-ca. 1321). The latter is an allegorical description, in the form of a long poem of a hundred cantos, of a journey undertaken by Dante through Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, at Eastertide of 1300, under the guidance first of Virgil (symbolizing human reason) and then of Beatrice (symbolizing divine revelation). Among his other works are the *Convivio* (*The Banquet*, ca. 1300 ff.), an unfinished commentary on a group of poems; the unfinished *De vulgari Eloquentiâ* (*On Eloquence in the Vernacular*, ca. 1305), an attempt to establish the theoretical basis for a pan-Italian literary vernacular; and the *De Monarchiâ* (ca. 1310-1312), a defense on theoretical grounds of the temporal sovereignty of the emperor as against the pope.

N. Zingarelli, *La Vita, i Tempi e le Opere di D.* (Milano), 1931; J. B. Fletcher, *D.*, Holt (N. Y.), 1916.

R. A. H. Jr.

Although in the works of Dante the Italian vernacular reached its perfection, he is also noted for his Latin works. It is striking that, in him, the vernacular reaches a pitch where it can vindicate its

claims against Latin, which he does in his *De Vulgari Eloquentia*; this he wrote in Latin to reach those who derided Italian. In his *De Monarchia* he expresses his views on government, claiming that monarchy also proceeds from God and answers to man's material needs, as the Church to his spiritual aspirations. The work manifests a deep influence of Scholasticism in its terminology and in this, as in the *Divina Commedia*, Dante is the heir of all the learning of the Middle Ages. He also wrote two Latin Eclogues in imitation of Virgil.

C. A. Dinsmore, *Life of D. A.* (N. Y.), Houghton Mifflin, 1919.

E. A. Q.

ALMQUIST, CARL JONAS LOVE (Swedish, 1793-1866), married a farmer's daughter and settled on a farm in the province of Värmland. This "return to nature" lasted just a year and a half. He returned to Stockholm and served for several years as principal of a high school. From 1840 he was exclusively a writer. He was very productive but his economies were badly managed. In 1851 he was suspected of having tried to poison one of his creditors, and escaped to America; the suspicion seems not to have been unwarranted. (See A. Hemming-Sjöberg, *A Poet's Tragedy*. Trans. E. Classen, London, 1932). In his rich production Almquist reflects the development from the old romanticism to the new realistic school; in fact, all the literary ideas of the time may be found there. His main work is *Törnsörens bok* (*The Book of the Rose*, 14 v., 1834-40, 1851), which includes historical novels and stories of folk life. His novel, *Det går an* (*It Will Do*, 1839) with its criticism of marriage as an institution aroused a great deal of attention; some of his stories of country life, e.g. *Kapellet* (1838) belong to Sweden's classic literature (*Sara Videbeck* and *The Chapel*. Trans. A. B. Benson, N. Y., 1919. Scand. classics 12).

Olle Holmberg, C. J. L. A., 1922; Ruben G:son Berg, C. J. L. A. i *landsflykten*, 1928.

A. W.

ANDERSEN, HANS CHRISTIAN (Danish, 1805-75), the greatest writer of fairy tales, loved throughout the world. His fairy tale *The Ugly Duckling* is an allegorical autobiography.

C. M. V.

ANDERSON, SHERWOOD, (U.S.A., 1876-1941), renounced a successful business career late in life to explore as a "story-teller" the psychological, social, and artistic realms that had long intrigued him. His influential practice and theory (*A Story-Teller's Story*, 1924) stressed a realistic closeness to life which avoided plot, strongly emphasized the poetic values in colloquial speech and the commonplace, and insisted upon the separation from art of didactic morality. Concerned largely with the "folk" level, he constantly probed for intense and complex (Freu-

dian) passions lying beneath the drab surface. This was integrated with a narrative technique (influenced by James Joyce and Gertrude Stein) which exploited the stream-of-consciousness and elevated the simple flow of ordinary talk to a sensitive medium of expression for his rather plaintive plea for the sanity of individuality.

N. B. Fagin, *The Phenomenon of S. A.* (Baltimore), 1927.

E. C. S.

ANDERSSON, DAN (Swedish, 1888-1920), was the son of a schoolteacher in Dalarna. This backwoods district, with its poverty and religiousness, where a generation ago something of the spirit of the wilderness still prevailed, is the background for Dan Andersson's poetry—for instance, *Svarta ballader*, (*Black Ballads*, 1917) and his lifelong struggle to find a solution of the problem of good and evil, as in the novel *De tre hemlösa*, (*The Three Homeless Ones*, 1918); *David Ramms arv*, (*David Ramm's Heritage*, 1919). His relations with his father, a pious man who had many intellectual interests and the characteristics of a prophet, were of vital importance to Dan's development and his attitude toward life. A sojourn to Minnesota, where he stayed with relatives for eight months—the family had intended to emigrate to America but changed its plans after receiving Dan's reports—gave him a vision from afar of his home province. His poetry and novels gained for him many friends but no economic independence, and his real importance as an author was established only after his untimely death—he was accidentally asphyxiated by fumigation gases in a little hotel in Stockholm. Dan Andersson, whose main interests were more moral and religious than social, became a forerunner of a whole school of self-educated poets from the working class, who have placed their stamp on the literary development in Sweden after 1920. A collective edition of his writings was published in 1930 in five volumes. A selection of his poems was published in New York in 1943 (*D. A., Charcoal Burner's Ballads, and other poems*, trans. Caroline Schleef). W. Bernhard, *En bok om D. A.*, 1941; Albin Widen, *D. A. in Minnesota* (In *Yearbook*, 1945, Am. Inst. of Swedish Arts, Lit. and Science, Minneapolis, pp. 74-86).

A. W.

ANEMIN (Welsh, 6th c.), was the reputed author of *Y Gododdin*, the earliest extant work of Welsh literature. In the poem the name counts as a dissyllable, and the Nennian memoranda give it as Neirin. The poem is a series of laments for the 300 young men of the retinue of Mynyddawg the Wealthy (Mwynfawr), all slain in the Battle of Cattraeth. He had maintained them for a year, after which they were in honor bound to "pay for their mead" by fighting at his behest, even against overwhelming odds. The different individuals are sharply characterized, and the descriptions show

considerable poetic power. In spite of the changes made by later scribes, there is no good reason to doubt that the basis of this text is 6th c. work.

Ifor Williams, *Canu Aneurin* (Cardiff), U. of Wales Press Board, 1938. There is an Eng. summary of the introduction in *Antiquity*, XVI (1942), 237-257, and an Eng. trans. in *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymmrodorion* for 1909-10.

J. J. P.

AP GWILYM, DAFYDD. See Dafydd ap Gwilym.

APOLLONIUS OF RHODES (Greek, ca. 295-215 B.C.), upheld the tradition of epic poetry among the Alexandrians. In his poem, the *Argonautica*, which has as its theme the quest for the golden fleece and the love of Jason and Medea, Apollonius attempted to establish his literary views against those of Callimachus. The epic, however, lacks unity of composition, and is at its best in single episodes, such as the love scenes between Jason and Medea. It is Homeric in diction, but Alexandrian in the romantic treatment of the love theme (on which Vergil drew for his story of Dido and Aeneas), in a feeling for nature, and, unfortunately, in its recondite geographical details.

A. Korte: *Hellenistic Poetry* (tr. J. Hammer and M. Hadas), Columbia U. P., 1929.

C. A. R.

AQUINAS, SAINT THOMAS (1224-74), *Doctor Angelicus*, a Lombard by birth, studied at Monte Cassino, Naples, Paris, Cologne. Became Dominican friar (1244); taught philosophy and theology at Naples and Paris. Caused Aristotle's works to be translated directly from Greek and used him as his tool in the exposition of Christian Revelation. Precise in language, vivid and direct in thought, he possessed a mind remarkable for its synthetic power, and in his *Summa Theologica* achieved the crystallization of knowledge both human and divine, uniting Greek thought and Christian theology. The all but mathematical precision of each *questio* betrays an orderly mind, perfectly clear as to the respective domains of Faith and Reason. A brilliant poet, he composed the hymns for the Office and Mass of *Corpus Christi*. The greatest of Catholic theologians, and source of the system known as Thomism.

M. Grabmann, T. A., *his personality and thought* (New York), 1928.

E. A. Q.

'ARABI, IBN-, MUHYI-AL-DIN (Arab, 1165-1240), born at Mursia, Spain, lived in Seville for almost 3 decades, then made Damascus a permanent home. As a Hispano-Moslem poet, theologian and foremost mystic, he was styled al-Shaykh al-Akbar (grand master). In *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyah* (*Meccan Revelations*) he gives a complete system of mystical

knowledge. Considerably shorter, his *Fuṣūḥ al-Ḥikam* (*Bezels of Wisdom*) is also an esteemed mystical work. *Tarjumān al-Ashwāq* (*Interpreter of Love*) contains material perhaps anticipatory of Dante's *Convito* and the meeting with Beatrice. As eclectic, pantheistic Sufi, and philosopher, he enjoys continued recognition in the Moslem East, partly because his concern for the spiritual decadence of his time is still applicable.

Edward J. Jurji, *Illumination in Islamic Mysticism* (Princeton), 1938.

E. J. J.

ARAI HAKUSEKI (Kimiyoishi; Japanese, 1657-1725), a scholar-statesman, was probably the most distinguished Sinologist of the Edo period. At 29 he became a pupil of an eminent Chu Hsi scholar, Kinoshita Jun'an. In his greatest historical work, *Hankanpu*, 1701, and in his autobiographical sketch, *Oritaku Shiba no Ki*, he vividly shows his intellectual integrity and sound scholarship through his sincere, fearless arguments. He was also a noted linguist who made careful studies of the phonetic influences of the Western languages, Sanskrit, and Chinese upon the native tongue.

Heibonsha, *Dai Hyakka Jiten* (*Japanese Encyclopedia*), Heibonsha (Tokyo), 1933.

Y. U.

ARANY, JOHN (Hungarian, 1817-82), accomplished in his epic poetry what Petöfi did in his lyrical production: he elevated folk-poetry to a higher sphere. His lyric poems reveal a shy, highly sensitive man, who showed deep concern over the fate of his country, the joys and sorrows of family life, his many inner struggles, and his lofty ideals. The poems written in his old age strike a more serene note. In form and concept they rival the finest lyrical poetry in world literature. Arany was a typical Hungarian, yet deeply rooted in the common ideals of Western civilization.

F. Riedl, A. János (Bpest), 1904; A. Hevesi, 'Two Great Hung. Poets,' *Slavonic Review* (London), 1930; J. Ember, J. A. NRH, 1933.

A. S. and F. M.

ARIOSTO, LUDOVICO (Italian, 1474-1532), was the outstanding epic poet of the Cinquecento. A Latin poet of consummate artistry in his youth, he turned later to Italian for the writing of his *Satires* (1517-24) and of his comedies (of which the best-known are *I Suppositi*, *The Substitutes*, 1509; *The Necromancer*, 1520; *The Procureess*, 1529), not unsuccessful adaptations of Roman comedy to the Italian stage. His great narrative poem, the *Orlando Furioso*, *Roland Insane*, continuing Boiardo's epic, *Orlando Innamorato*, relates the love-madness, cure and final heroic death of Roland. In Boiardo's tradition, Ariosto weaves together motives of the Caro-

lingian and Breton epic cycles with additional episodes of classical and Italian origin; but his style and language are 'purer' and more polished than Boiardo's, and to the subject-matter Ariosto adds the charm of romantic imagination and a quiet vein of personal humor.

E. G. Gardner, *The King of Court Poets*, (London), 1906.

R. A. H., Jr.

ARISTOPHANES (Greek, ca. 450-385 B.C.), was the most important writer of the Old Comedy in Athens. Living at the time of the Peloponnesian War, he used many of his plays to advocate a sensible peace which would end the fratricidal strife between Athens and Sparta. In the plays, both individual politicians and war mongers and the general policy of Athens are made a butt. His conservative beliefs are clearly presented in the *Clouds* by the attack on sophistry, personified by Socrates, and in the excellent literary criticism and fooling of the *Frogs*. Under the ribaldry and gross buffoonery which the Old Comedy demanded, Aristophanes wrote with a sincere moral earnestness and a belief in the good qualities of the average Athenian. His type of comedy was peculiar to its time and place, and Aristophanes had no successors in genre, and none in spirit, until Rabelais.

Gilbert Murray: A. (Oxford), 1933.  
C. A. R.

ARISTOTLE (Greek, 384-322 B.C.), who took the whole extent of knowledge as his field, has exercised more influence than any other Greek philosopher on the history of western thought. In the Middle Ages it was almost paralysing, so thorough and definite did his dicta appear to be. Although he wrote works of a popular nature on various subjects, they have not survived, and his technical works are incomplete and marred by bad editing in antiquity. His influence on subsequent literature was largely through the two studies, the *Poetics*, of which the surviving portion deals largely with tragedy, and the *Rhetoric*, a formal analysis of oratory. The *Poetics* is the first study in Greek literature to deal specifically with literary criticism and its dicta have had considerable effect on the writing and criticism of drama. The influence of the *Rhetoric* was more limited, since it was supplanted by handbooks on practical methods.

W. D. Ross: A. (London), 1923.  
C. A. R.

ARNAUT, DANIEL (Provençal, fl. 1180-1200), was the favorite troubadour of both Dante\* and Petrarch.\* At the close of Dante's *Purgatorio* (Canto XXVI), eight lines are placed in the mouth of this poet. Arnaut was celebrated as a chief exponent of the *trobar clus*, style of wilful obscurity. The content of his verses is rather banal, but his form is extremely varied and carefully planned. Only eight-

een of his lyrics survive; several of these are almost incomprehensible. Arnaut developed the *sestina*.

R. Lavaud, ed. A. D. (Toulouse), 1910.  
U. T. H., Jr.

ARNOLD, MATTHEW (English, 1822-88), poet, critic, educator, though of the Victorian age, preferred to the flowing Tennysonian style the stiffer movement and graver tones of his master, Wordsworth. In his sonnet on *Shakespeare*, Arnold effected a superb harmony of importance of matter and beauty of form. He is a poet of fine things, of passages, of fragments separable to the greatest advantage from the wholes in which they appear. *The Forsaken Merman* is his one completely successful monument of combined poetic feeling and art. In his prose, he made religion a topic for literature. His criticism is marked by a limpid style.

H. W. Paul, M. A.  
F. F. M.

AROUET, FRANCOIS-MARIE. See Voltaire.

ARSLAN, SHAKIB (Arab, b. 1869), a Druze prince born at Shuwayfât, a Lebanese village near Beirut, has written on nationalistic and cultural subjects. His early collection of poems *al-Bâkûrah* (*First Fruits*), published at the suggestion of his teacher Muhammad 'Abdu (ca. 1859-1905), is dedicated to 'Abdullâh Fikri (1834-90), Egyptian Minister of Education and friend of 'Abdu. A resident of Switzerland in recent years, he has been a vociferous exponent of pan-Islam. His *Hâdir al-'Âlam al-Islâmi* (*Present State of the Islamic World*; Cairo, 1925), a widely read work, is a translation (with 'Ajjâj Nuwayhid) and an expansion of Lothrop Stoddard's *The New World of Islam*, 2nd ed., London, 1922.

G. Widmer, "Emir Shakib Arslan," *Die Welt Des Islam*, Band 19 (Berlin), 1937.

E. J. J.

ASCH, SHOLEM (Yiddish, b. in Poland, 1880), outstanding novelist in contemporary Yiddish literature, first to portray the life of the small town in an idyllic and idealized manner (in his longer stories, *A Shtetl*, *A Township*; *Reb Shloime Nagid*, *Reb Shloime Magnate*). Residence in Warsaw and in other metropolitan centers, tours over Europe, then a trip to Palestine and America have broadened his experience and his themes. He turned to Biblical motives, to the life of the immigrant in America (the tragedy of an immigrant child in *Kan America*, *To America*; the social conflicts of the immigrant, (*Uncle Moses*). He attempted to create the Yiddish diaspora novel (*Mary*; *Der Veg tsu sikh*, *The Road to Oneself*), created the character of the underworld hero who longs for decency (*Motke Ganef*, *Motke, the Thief*), and acquired fame with his trilogy, *Three Cities*, which offers a wide panorama of Jewish life in Russia, on the eve of, during,

and immediately after World War I. His interests in the historical novel, in the motive of martyrdom, and in the deeply religious personality became intensified. He wrote his *Kiddush Hasham* (*Sanctification of the Name*), describing the Chmielinski massacres of 1648, and his recent works, *The Nazarene* and *The Apostle*, which have precipitated a wide controversy. He attained a high degree of plastic portraiture of mode and subtle analysis of the soul of the deeply religious person in his *Tehilim Yid* (*Psalm Jew*). Asch also wrote a number of dramas, among them the very successful *God of Vengeance*, also the subject of considerable controversy.

Y. M.

ASGRIMSSON, EYSTEINN (Icelandic, d. 1361), a monk at the monastery at Thykkvibær and later an official at Helgafell in Iceland, but died in Norway. His literary fame rests upon his great poem *Lilja* (*The Lily*), a sonorous work in court-metre of one hundred stanzas on a Biblical theme. Correctly characterized as "a sort of a Messiad," the poem is equally admirable for its eloquence and fluent style; and it won lasting favor and fame, having been translated into a number of languages.

E. Magnússon, ed. and trans. *Lilja* (*The Lily*; London), 1870.

R. B.

ASHKENAZI, ELIYOHU. See Levita, Elias.

ASHKENAZI, YANKEV BEN YITSKHOK (Yiddish, 1550-1628), compiler of the *Tseno Ureno*, the most popular book in old Yiddish literature. He devoted his life to popularizing the Bible and the teachings of the Jewish moralists. To that end he published in 1576 his *Seyfer Hamaggid*, a paraphrase of the Prophets and the Hagiographa with a commentary; it has been reprinted many times. Eng. trans., *Tseno Ureno*, by P. T. Hirshow (London), 1885.

M. Waxman, *A History of Jewish Literature*, (N. Y.).

Y. M.

'ATAHIYAH, ABU-AL- (Arab, 748-ca. 828). Of pure Arab stock, abu-al-'Atāhiyah was born at al-Kūfah but later moved to Baghdad where under the caliphs—al-Mahdi, al-Hadi, al-Rashīd, and al-Ma' mūn—his experiences fluctuated between joy and sorrow. Disposed to an ascetic and meditative nature, he was bound to clash with court frivolity and to disdain the vanity of poetry. He laid aside the pompous forms of the desert poets, branding them as degenerate elegance incompatible with the changed times. A wide range of ideas and a simplicity of expression distinguish his verse. He was accused of being a free-thinker, owing to the occasional absence of solid Islamic doctrine from his poetry; his immersion in melancholy and pessimism, it was pointed out, did not always lift his gaze to the future life beyond death. It was also whispered

that his mysticism had resulted from despair in love. Incompletely preserved, his odes reflect a frankly sad heart and an equally determined and vibrant voice. First philosophical poet of Arabic, he evokes interest, also, as spokesman of the less privileged classes whose abiding faith is enshrined in his religious poetry.

J. Oestrup, "Abu'L-'Atāhiya," *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

E. J. J.

ATHANASIUS (Greek, 295-373 A.D.), was the most famous of the bishops of Alexandria and the indomitable champion of Nicæan orthodoxy against the Arians. His copious writings are almost exclusively concerned with the exposition of his theological views and the condemnation of Arian errors. His thought is clear and penetrating, but he pays little attention to form and style. His life of the Egyptian hermit, Antony, not only contributed to the spread of the monastic ideal in East and West, but it exercised an influence on the development of Christian hagiography as a literary genre. The Athanasian Creed, in spite of its name and the traditional ascription, was not composed by Athanasius.

G. Bardy, *St. A.*, 3rd ed. (Paris), 1925.  
M. R. P. M.

ATTERBOM, PER DANIEL AMADEUS (Swedish, 1790-1855), was born in the province of Östergötland, son of a minister. As a student at the University of Uppsala, he founded a literary society, *Auroraförbundet*, and as editor of its monthly *Phosphorus* and other literary magazines he became the leader of the Swedish neo-romantic school, which flourished between 1809 and 1930. The literary ideals for which Atterbom fought were the same as those which we find in German romanticism, but as a poet, it has been said about him that he far surpassed his German contemporaries, as for instance, in the mythical plays, *Fågel blå* (*The Blue Bird*, 1814), and *Lycksalighetens ö* (*Isle of Bliss*, 1824). His *Svenska siare och skalders* (*Swedish Seers and Poets*, 1841-55) will always belong to the classic works in the Swedish history of literature.

F. Vetterlund, *Atterboms sagospel Fågel blå*, 1900-02;—*Lycks alightens ö*, 1924.  
A. W.

AUGUSTINE, SAINT. (354-430), North African by birth, was baptized at Milan (387) by St. Ambrose after adhering to Manichaeism and Neo-Platonism. He was Bishop of Hippo (modern Bone). His personal search for God is portrayed in his Latin *Confessions*, one of the profoundest autobiographies of all literature. His works include theological controversy against Donatists, Manichaeans, Pelagians, and Arians; biblical commentaries; sermons, letters, doctrinal and educational treatises. His greatest work, *The City of God*, is a Christian interpretation

of history, a defense of Christianity against the charge of causing the fall of Roman greatness. In compass and sweep it ranges over the religion of the ancient world and at a time of cosmic catastrophe turned men's minds from the passing world to the eternal City of God. The history of thought in the Middle Ages has been described as the story of what happened to the thought of St. Augustine.

H. Marrou, *St. A. et la fin de la culture antique* (Paris), 1937.

E. A. Q.

AVICEBRON. See Ibn Gabirol.

AVICENNA. See Ibn Sīnā.

AZUELA, MARIANO (b. 1873), Mexican novelist and physician. His early works, *María Luisa*, *Los fracasados*, and *Mala yerba* (1907-9), give evidence of an interest in the proletariat, but *Los de Abajo* (1915), motivated by the brutal and blindly directed forces of the 1910 Revolution, is his best work. Based also on the Revolution are *Los caciques* (1917) and *Las moscas*. *La Malhora*, *El desquite* and *La luciernega* portray low life in Mexico City; *El camarada Pantoja*, *San Gabriel de Valdivia*, *Regina Landa*, *Avanzada* and *La nueva burguesía* present conditions and problems of the new social and political order in Mexico. Ability to catch the spirit of the moment and to color his scenes both with his own deep pessimism and with a lyricism quite at variance with his subject matter give peculiar value to Azuela's work.

J. R. S.

BABITS, MICHAEL (Hungarian, 1883-1941), virtuoso of form and language, reveals little of his personal life in his lyric poetry. Out of his solitude as an intellectual full of complexes and conflicting aspirations, he longed for communion with the masses, and escaped into a world of spirituality and intellect. In his first novel, *The Stork Caliph* (*A golyakalifa*; 1913), he depicts a young man that leads a double life. *Timar*, *Son of Virgil* (1922) shows the clash of two ideologies, represented by a journalist and a monk. *House of Cards* (*Kartyavár*; 1924) is a story of suburbanites without roots either inside or outside the metropolis. *Pilot Elza* (1933) is a Swiftian satire on the disintegration of the present. A masterful translator of Sophocles, Dante, Shakespeare, Poe, Meredith, Baudelaire, and more, Babits sought to be at once Hungarian and European.

*Hommage à Babits*, NRH, 1938 F. Gachot, M. B., NRH, 1941.

A. S. and F. M.

BACON, FRANCIS (English, 1561-1626), scientist, philosopher, essayist, was a typical product of the Renaissance in the breadth of his understanding. His one pure ambition was the pursuit of knowledge. Although his *Essays* were written as a relief from more tedious work, they are his greatest con-

tribution to literature. They are steeped in wisdom, broad and deep, yet at times politic and worldly; illustrative of the extraordinary keenness of his mind. The style of the essays is a refreshing contrast to the extravagance of much Elizabethan prose. The sentences are clear, concise, and simple, yet impregnate with meaning. The keenness of observation, the vigor of intellectual content, the impressive diction, and the sweep of the rhythm combine to make the *Essays* masterpieces of English prose.

R. W. Church, *Life of F. B.*  
F. F. M.

BAKI, MAHMUD ABDUL, known as Baki (Turkish, 1562-1600), was born in Constantinople; he is the second great poet of the classic Ottoman tradition. Like Fuzulî,\* he lived in the golden age of Suleyman the Magnificent. His elegy on the death of Suleyman is considered one of the noblest achievements of Turkish poetry. Had all his poetry been on its level, he might have been one of the greatest poets of the world. But on the whole he was not original, following rather, in imitation of Hafiz, the old round of love and wine, flowers and spring. Wholly lyrical, he often used extravagant, far-fetched imagery.

J. K. B.

BALZAC, HONORE DE (French, 1799-1850), is the father of the modern French novel. His *Comédie humaine*, comprising twenty-four novels and numerous short stories, is a vast tableau of the different aspects of French society in the 1830's and 1840's. All milieux and all estates are represented in its seven classifications: Scenes of Private Life, of Parisian Life, of Provincial Life, of Political Life, of Military Life, of Country Life, and the Philosophical Studies. The best novels are usually considered to be *Eugénie Grandet* (1833), *Old Goriot* (1834), *Cousin Bette* (1846) and *Caesar Biotteau* (1837). These novels, with the short stories that complement them, mark the transition in French letters from the romantic to the realistic, for Balzac was the first author in France to show man against the complete background of his surroundings and to measure the interrelation of being and environment. Although he is lacking in style in the usual French sense, Balzac is nevertheless a master of description, with a power of evocation that is more than photographic. He was the first in France to treat all classes and all types, and from him stems the great current of French prose realism, which still runs strongly today.

F. Lawton, B. (London), 1910.  
R. J. N.

BASIL OF CAESAREA in Cappadocia, the Great (Greek, ca. 330-379 A.D.), was one of the greatest of ancient Christian theologians and writers. He was closely associated with his brother Gregory of



Nyssa and his friend Gregory Nazianzen. He was educated in the rhetorical schools of Caesarea, Constantinople, and Athens. His teacher at Athens was the pagan sophist Himerius, and it is very probable that he was acquainted with Julian the Apostate and the famous sophist Libanius. After teaching rhetoric for a short time, Basil became a monk, and devoted the rest of his life to the service of the Church. In his writings he defended Catholicism against Arianism and other heresies, attacked the social evils of his age, and promoted the spread of monasticism in its cenobital or community form. His two monastic rules exercised a great influence in East and West. His letters are not only important for their rich content but also for their literary style. His treatise, *Address to Young Men on the Proper Use of Pagan Literature*, stresses the necessity of the study of carefully selected pagan classics as a preparation for the study and understanding of Holy Scripture. This little work thus defined the position of the Church in relation to pagan literature. It was destined to play a significant role in the preservation of the pagan classics, and in determining their place in education down to our own times.

Trans. of the *Address* with an account of its influence, by R. J. Deferrari and M. R. P. McGuire in: R. J. Deferrari, *The Letters of St. Basil* (Loeb Classical Library), Vol. IV; A. Boudrillart and others, *Dict. d'Hist. et de Géographie ecclésiastiques*, art. "Basile (Saint)" (by G. Brady), Vol. VI (Paris), 1932.  
M. R. P. M.

BATTUTAH, IBN MUHAMMAD (Arab, 1304-77), the most versatile Arab traveler, was born in Tangier, and died in Marrakesh. His 28-year wanderings outdistance all ancient and medieval travelers, exceed 75,000 miles. A pious and learned Moslem, he realized the ambition of his youth to visit every Moslem land and as much of the non-Moslem earth as practicable. His itinerary included East Africa, the Byzantine empire, southern Russia, India, the Maldive Islands, China, Granada, the Negro Moslem settlements on the Niger. Condemned to long obscurity, his work rose to light after the 19th c. French occupation of North Africa, and ranks as a reliable source on the post-Mongol cultural history of Islam. It is marked, despite scribal errors, by simplicity of style, mobility of narrative, and touches of humor.

C. Raymond Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography*, III, pp. 535-38.

E. J. J.

BAUDELAIRE, CHARLES (French, 1821-67), was the first 'modern' poet of France. His *Flowers of Evil* (1857), which created a terrific scandal, was the first volume of verse in French to express modern man's complex of fears and hopes and unde-

fined longings. Baudelaire often affects a love of the horrible, the brutal, the decadent and in this he is a pure Romantic of the 1830's. But he is new and original in his choice of subject: not for him are the stylized and conventional themes of love that absorbed his predecessors. He goes rather to the scenes that surround him, to the scenes of the city, and renders them in a form that is symbolic enough to make them universal in their application to the urban society of the present. More than any other poet he has rendered the obscure nostalgia of modern times, the longing for the ideal, the sense of frustration and futility. His verse is sometimes prosaic, but when he is at his best he is suggestive and musical and then his lines become unforgettable in their evocative power.

L. P. Shanks, B., *Flesh and Spirit* (Boston), 1930.

R. J. N.

BAYLEBRIDGE, WILLIAM (Australian, 1883-1942), made poetry a vehicle for a profound philosophical exploration of human life and destiny. His primary concern was with the regeneration of mankind, physically, morally, intellectually, and if his prescriptions were ideal, his purpose reflected a deep belief in the high destiny of the human species. His style and manner, determined by his deeper interests, were not fluid—his work consistently demanded "attention of perusal." As a prose writer he produced a remarkable book on the first World War, *Anzac Muster* (1922). Since he insisted on controlling his books even beyond their publication, and associated little with his fellow writers, he published his work mostly in limited editions and lived and worked in obscurity. His reputation is a triumph over both self-created obstacles and the natural resistance to work of depth and difficulty.

C. H. G.

BEAUCHAMP, KATHLEEN. See Mansfield, Katharine.

BEAUMARCHAIS, PIERRE CARON DE (French, 1732-99), is a typical literary representative of the revolutionary spirit that swept France before 1789. Adventurer, social climber, traveler, litigant, secret agent, munitions broker, intriguer, his life was full of the same verve and gaiety that give his plays their charm today. *The Barber of Seville* (1775) and *The Marriage of Figaro* (1784) are notable for their incisive characterizations and the vigor of the protagonist, Figaro, but they are also social documents, for in them can be heard the echo of the discontent of the lower classes in pre-Revolutionary days. Figaro is the type of the 'little man,' the despised and ill-treated, who finally gains exemplary revenge on those that have scorned him. These two masterly works, both in the best French tradi-

tion, are the expression of the egalitarian spirit which, in the Frenchman's heart, is second only to his liberty.

P. Frischauer, B., *Adventurer in the Century of Women* (N. Y.), 1935.

R. J. N.

BECQUER, GUSTAVO ADOLFO (Spanish, 1836-70), was one of the greatest 19th c. lyric poets in Europe. His *Rhymes* and longer *Legends* so stress the vague, the indefinite, the infinite, that he has been compared to Shelley; he seems indeed a Germanic poet by chance in colorful Andalusia. Only his meter and his use of paradox link him to his Spanish environment. His theme is the divinization of earthly love, in a platonic, even Dantesque sense. His Beatrice was Julia Espín.

P. Marroquín y Aguirre, B., *el poeta del amor y del dolor* (Madrid), 1927.

H. A. H.

BEDÉ THE VENERABLE (670-735), one of the most charming figures of the Middle Ages, was early an orphan; raised at the Northumbrian monastery of Jarrow, a foundation of Benedict Biscop who provided it with books and treasures from the Continent. His "life-long pleasure was to devote himself to learning, teaching, and writing" producing works on theology, scripture, metrics, rhetoric, astronomy, biography and history. His Latin *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* tells the story of his native land from the earliest times down to his own day. He is calm, deliberate, detached, meticulous in his use of sources. His limpid prose (strongly colored by the *Vulgate* of St. Jerome) is a mirror of the man, containing unforgettable stories and character sketches.

C. A. Plummer, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, 2v (Oxford U.), 1896.

E. A. Q.

BELLMAN, CARL MICHAEL (Swedish, 1740-95), early became known as a poet and singer of his own songs, but during his creative years he stood aside from the literary development of his time. His best poems were published in book form rather late, and it was first through Kellgren\* that he won the recognition he has held ever since as one of Sweden's greatest lyricists. His first works were satires and songs, influenced by Dalin.\* He found a field of his own, when he wrote parodies of the contemporary orders and club life (*Bachli orden-skapitel*, *The Chapter of Bacchus' Order*). From 1767 he worked on his foremost cycle of poems, *Fredmans epistlar* (*Fredman's Epistles*, with an introduction by Kellgren, 1790), followed by *Fredmans sänger* (*Fredman's Songs*, 1791). For these ballads he composed his own music, using mostly well-known melodies. He takes his models from Stockholm's lowest classes, whose life he depicts

with a pronounced naturalism but at the same time with the joyful grace of the rococo. As a lyric depicter of Stockholm nature, he is unsurpassed.

A. Blanck, B., *vid skiljövägen*, 1941; H. van Loon, *The Last of the Troubadors*, 1939.

A. W.

BEMBO, PIETRO (Italian, 1470-1547), was the leading spirit in the establishment of academic humanism as the dominating trend in Italian Cinquecento literature. At first the leading Latin poet of the times, he turned to Italian, and in so doing set the literary model for the rest of the century. His *The Italian Language* (ca. 1502-25) is at the same time a defense of the vernacular as a literary medium, a prescription of models (Petrarch\* for verse, Boccaccio\* for prose) and a brief Italian grammar. In his own work, Bembo furnished examples of his precepts in the carefully polished and perfected lyrics of his *Canzoniere*, and in his neo-Platonic dialogues *The Asolani* (1502-5).

V. Cian, *Un decennio della vita di P. B.* (Torino), 1885.

R. A. H., Jr.

BENAVENTE, JACINTO (Spanish, b. 1866), is the creator of the problem drama in Spain. He combined his Ibsenian discussion with practical knowledge of stagecraft acquired as circus manager and actor. He seems French in his rationalistic analysis; international in his witty and sophisticated discussion of social evils (*The Upstart*, 1901); Spanish in scenes of country life (*The Hated Woman*, 1913) and in his love for fantasy. (*Phantastic Theatre*, 1892).

W. Starkie, J. B. (Oxford), 1924.

H. A. H.

BENEDIKTSDÓTTIR, UNNUR ("Hulda"; Icelandic, b. 1881), is the outstanding Icelandic woman poet of the day, with a very large and many-sided literary production in verse and prose, including a two-volume novel, *Dalafólk* (*Valleyfolk*; 1936, 1939). Her lyric poems are of a very high order, not least the very charming and effective ones in the spirit and style of the time-honoured rhapsodies (*thulur*). Especially notable among her collections of poems is the highly personal cycle of songs (1933) constituting what may be termed a spiritual autobiography, written with tender feeling and delicate lyric touch.

R. Beck, *Icelandic Poems and Stories* (Princeton and N. Y.), 1943.

R. B.

BENEDIKTSSON, EINAR (Icelandic, 1864-1940), commonly looked upon as the greatest Icelandic poet of our times, was a lawyer and held public offices in Iceland. Five volumes of poetry (1897-1930) attest his productivity. His poems contain profound philosophical thought expressed in lofty

style. He has also written impressive descriptive and nature poems. Frequently he draws on his observations and experiences gathered during extensive travels and long sojourns abroad, but he remains strongly Icelandic. In fact, love for Iceland and his faith in the future and the mission of his nation are written large everywhere in his poems. Originality in style and treatment of themes marks his work. He was also a masterful prose writer and an excellent translator, his Icelandic rendition of Ibsen's *Peer Gynt* being especially successful.

R. Beck, "Dean of Icelandic Poets," *The American-Scandinavian Review*, December 1939; *Icelandic Poems and Stories* (Princeton and N. Y.), 1943.

R. B.

BENET, STEPHEN VINCENT (U.S.A., 1898-1943), Pennsylvania-born poet and prose writer whose untimely death cut short the magnificent possibilities of an already mature career, represents the finest flowering of native American literary culture. He not only caught the authentic 'folk-mind' in such inimitable and adroit tales as *The Devil and Daniel Webster* (1937—later made into opera, play, and cinema) and *Johnny Pie and the Fool Killer* (1938), but also captured the larger American spirit in *John Brown's Body* and *Western Star* (1943), dealt sympathetically with modern problems of personal adjustment in such stories as *Too Early Spring*, and turned his whole dynamic power against modern international aggression in indictments like *They Burned the Books* (1942). In both poetry and prose his technical artistry was subtle but highly effective.

E. C. S.

BENTLEY, RICHARD (1662-1742), the greatest Latin scholar of the early 18th c., was also a most colorful personality. Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester and a close friend, said of him: "Had he but the gift of humility, he would be the most extraordinary man in Europe." His life was punctuated by a long series of brilliant editions of Greek, Latin, and English works, in which his trenchant and often vitriolic criticism won him a host of enemies. His dissertation exposing the falsity of the so-called *Epistles of Phalaris* heralds a new era in critical method. His edition of Horace is a monument to his own intuitive critical sense, though often lacking in temperate judgment. Bentley promised his readers he would write *sermonis puritatem*, but one of his enemies neatly pointed out that *puritas* was an example of impure Latinity. For forty years he waged a feud with the Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he was Master.

J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge, U.), 1908.

E. A. Q.

BERGELSON, DAVID (Yiddish, b. 1884), outstanding Yiddish novelist in the U.S.S.R. He was born in the Ukraine into a well-to-do merchant family. In an atmosphere of growing impoverishment, the writer spent his youth; it marks writings of his first period, refined impressionistic stories and a novel, the heroine of which is an aristocratic woman pervaded by autumn moods (*Nokh Alemen, After All*). After the Revolution, he was for a while a political émigré, but he submitted to the *Yoke* (the name of a magazine that he published), began to see in the Revolution *The Quality of Justice* (the title of his novel dealing with that period), and was finally reconciled to it. He then portrays the newly emerging or coordinated figures and narrates his childhood and youth in his work, *Bam Dnyepr* (*On the Dnieper*). As with Mendeleyev,\* portrayal, not narration, is foremost. He is one of the finest stylists of the new Yiddish literature.

Y. M.

BERGMAN, HJALMAR (Swedish, 1883-1931), was born in Örebro. The province of Bergslagen was his particular domain; here he created the city of Wadköping, with a roguish sense of humor, a coarse naturalism, and a grotesque fantasy. (*Markurells i Wadköping*, 1919, trans. *God's Orchid*, N. Y., 1924; *Farmor och Vår Herre*, 1921, trans. *Thy Rod and Thy Staff*, London, 1937). Some of his novels were inspired by Freud's psychoanalysis, as *Chefen fru Ingeborg*, 1924, trans. *The Head of the Firm*, London, 1936. As a playwright he is an experimentalist of real importance—e.g. in *Herr Sleman kommer*, 1917 (trans. *Mr. Sleman is Coming*, in *Scandinavian Plays of the 20th c.*, American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1944). His most successful plays were *Patrasket*, (*The Babble*, 1923) and *Swedenhielms*, 1925, the latter being one of Sweden's best comedies. His complete works were published in 24 v. in Stockholm in 1931.

E. H. Linder, H. B., *en profilleckning*, 1940.

A. W.

BERGSON, HENRI (French, 1859-1943), the most famous of contemporary French philosophers, expounded in his works (especially in his *Essay on the Immediate Data of the Consciousness*, 1889; *Matter and Memory*, 1896, and *Creative Evolution*, 1907) a philosophy that was at wide variance with the doctrine, first advanced by Descartes, of the primacy of the intellect. Bergson declared that the intelligence serves only to resolve the doubt that may exist between two possible lines of conduct; it serves for action but not for knowledge. If we desire to know true reality we must call on a higher force, on the intuition, which does not proceed by logical steps and reasoning, but uses the intelligence only to drive away the illusion that the intelligence itself creates. For him, true knowledge is a feeling, not a knowledge of truth,

and is inexplicable in the standard terms of the intelligence.

Geo. Santayana, *Winds of Doctrine* (N. Y.), 1926.

R. J. N.

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, SAINT (1090-1153), *Doctor Mellifluus*, was famous for his eloquent Latin writing and preaching; was active in all the outstanding events of the 12th c. He was the standard bearer of the Cistercian Order; preached the Second Crusade; his gigantic figure looms large in both secular and religious life. His sermons on the *Canticorum* (*Song of Songs*) were admired for their charm of style and spiritual content. He wrote famous treatises on *Contemplation* and on the *Love of God*, and at least inspired the *Jesu dulcis memoria*, one of the most beautiful rhythmical hymns of the Middle Ages. He was more of a mystic than a speculative theologian, and was a strong opponent of the theological novelties of Abailard and Gilbert of Porée.

W. W. Williams, *St. B. of C.* (Manchester), 1935.

E. A. Q.

BERNART, DE VENTADOUR (Provençal, fl. 1155-90), was the first to use the theme of courtly love, complete subjection to the lady (a married woman) in western European literature. He was born at the Castle of Ventadorn (Corrèze), son of one of the kitchen oven-tenders. The Viscount of Ventadorn recognized his talent and encouraged him. Later he became enamored of his lord's wife and was obliged to flee. He traveled about, spending some time at the court of Henry II of England, where he sang love verses to the Queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine. Toward the close of his life he withdrew to the Abbey of Dalon. His poetry has great sincerity, a rare quality in a troubadour. About forty of his poems survive.

Carl Appel, ed. *B. von V.: seine Lieder* (Halle), 1915.

U. T. H., Jr.

BERTRAN DE BORN (Provençal, 1140-1215), was born at the Château de Hautefort (Dordogne). Dante placed him in his *Inferno* (Canto XXVII, 118-142) among the trouble-makers. As a poet he was a singer of war; he instilled into the soft poetry of Provence the clash of armor and the blast of trumpets. Many historical allusions are to be found in his verse. He was active in the quarrels between Henry II of England and his sons, Richard, Henry, John, and Geoffrey, who were supported by their mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine. The love poems of Bertran are not outstanding. He withdrew to the Abbey of Dalon for his last days. Forty-one of his lyrics survive.

A. Thomas, ed., *Poésies complètes de B. de B.* (Toulouse), 1888.

U. T. H., Jr.

BEYLE, HENRY. See Stendhal.

BIALIK, HAYIM NAHMAN (Hebrew, 1873-1934). The greatest Hebrew poet since Judah Halevi\* was born in a village in Volhynia, Russia. There he received the conventional Jewish orthodox education; at 12, he was sent to the famous Talmudic Yeshiva at Volozhin. There, with the modern trends in Hebrew literature, he was introduced to secular knowledge. He joined the ranks of the Zionists, and fell under the influence of Ahad ha-Am. At 18 he embarked on a literary career, his first work being an essay on Zionism. Endowed with great poetical powers, he lifted Hebrew poetry from commonplace and trite conventional versification, into sublime and inspired art, stimulating many other poets. He was simultaneously the poet of the vanishing ghetto and the poet of the new rebirth and hope. He saw the beauty and the romanticism of the Yeshiva and the synagogue, but he also sang of new hopes of rebuilding Palestine and the re-establishment of a free and independent people in the land of their ancestors. Bialik was also a great story teller, as is manifest in his few novels. Imbued with love of the great Jewish treasure of the past, Bialik devoted the greater part of his later years toward the resurrection of old masters. Together with J. H. Ravintzki he gathered the legends scattered through the *Talmud* and the *Midrashim*, and published an anthology of medieval Hebrew poetry, and a complete collection of the poems of Ibn Gabirol and of Moses Ibn Ezra. Both of these were critically and scientifically annotated and are of great value to Hebrew literature.

S. Spiegel, *Hebrew Reborn* (N. Y.), 1930.  
L. A.

BILDERDIJK, WILLEM (Dutch, 1766-1831), poet. Political exile from 1795 to 1806, then a favourite of the imposed King Louis Bonaparte. During these difficult years he wrote a series of didactic poems, e.g. *The Disease of the Scholars*, and an unfinished epic.

J. G.

BJORNSSON, BJORNSTERNE (Norwegian, 1832-1910), the greatest poet and national leader of Norway in the second half of the 19th c. As a dramatist second only to Henrik Ibsen; as a theater director, unequaled in the history of his people. Björnson gained an instantaneous renown as a writer of peasant novels, *Synnöve Solbakken*, 1857, *Arne*, 1859, and *A Happy Boy*, 1860. During the critical years of the 60's he had a determining share in the leadership of the Christiania theatre and secured for the country a genuine national stage. In the 70's he turned from his Grundtvigian religion to a Darwinian philosophy and entered into many bitter controversies both in his native country and in America, where he lectured in 1880-1881. His best known dramas are *Sigurd Slembe*, 1862, *A*

*Bankruptcy*, 1875, *Beyond Human Power*, 1883, and *Paul Lange and Thora Parsberg*, 1898. His national poems had a tremendous effect upon the sentiments of the people; among them the best known is the national anthem, *Ja, vi elsker dette landet* ("Yes, we love this land, our country"). Especially in the peasant stories, he revolutionized the prose style of Norwegian literature, by drawing for models on the sagas and the country dialects. As a man he was exceptionally impressive, royally majestic and in possession of great personal charm. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1903.

E. Gosse, *The Novels of B. B.*, 2d ed. (New York), 1915; A. Hubbel Palmer, *Poems and Songs of B. B.* (New York), 1915; Wm. M. Payne, *B. B.* (Chicago), 1910.

T. J.

BLAKE, WILLIAM (English, 1757-1827), was primarily a painter and engraver. In both pictorial and poetic art, he was an extreme, indeed, an extravagant romanticist in that he scoffed at convention and aimed first of all at the merest suggestion of truth or beauty. His earlier poems are most admired, not because of any superiority in substance but because of their finished and beautiful form. *Songs of Innocence* reveals glimpses of life as it appears to innocent childhood, full of charm and joy and trust; in *Songs of Experience*, childhood is past and maturity is grieved and alarmed by painful and terrifying things. Blake pointed to beauty and truth in unexpected places, and gave a new value to the imaginative, the childlike, the humane.

C. Gardner, *W. B., the Man*.  
F. F. M.

BLOOMGARDEN, SOLOMON. See Yehoash.

BOCCACCIO, GIOVANNI (1313-75), the foremost Italian *novelliere*, is the third member of the 'Big Three' of Italian literature (Dante,\* Petrarch\*). Boccaccio was a passionate admirer of his two great predecessors, as well as of classical antiquity, as shown in his *Life of Dante* and in his extensive compilations *Genealogies of the Pagan Gods* (ca. 1350-60); *Lives of famous men and women* (1356-64); *Mountains . . .* (1362-66). His lesser works in Italian include the novel *Il Fidcolo* (1331); the poems *Il Filostrato*, *La Teseide* and *The Nymph of Fiesole*; the mixed prose and verse *Ameto* (ca. 1341-2); the novel *Fiammetta* (ca. 1343); and the anti-feminist satire *Il Corbaccio* (1354-5). His major work is the *Decamerone* (1348-53), a collection of a hundred *novelle* set in a frame-story, against the background of the plague of 1348. Boccaccio here tells stories of all social levels and all moral types, with a remarkable sense of realism and of individual character, with a breadth of outlook and inclusiveness of understanding that have given rise to the frequent accusation that he condones immorality. In

the *Decamerone*, Boccaccio develops the mere anecdote into the art form of the *novella*, and sets the model for elegant, Latinizing Italian prose.

H. Hauvette, B., *Etude biographique et littéraire* (Paris), 1914.

R. A. H. Jr.

BODET, JAIME TORRES (Mexican, b. 1902), is a poet who reflects in his verse and prose both the shifting tendencies of contemporary Spanish-American literature and his own personal development. His style ranges from the simplicity of his early *Songs* (1922) to the surrealism of *Exile* (1930); his best work has since been in highly poetic prose. His pages are characterized by a sense of perfection and great literary dignity.

A. Llanos, *La poesia de T. B., Abside* [Mexico], II, 1938; F. Onís, *Antología de la poesía española e hispanoamericana*, 1882-1932 (Madrid), 1934.

J. R. S.

BOETHIUS (480-524), "last of the Romans and first of the Scholastics," held all the highest civil offices in Rome under the Gothic emperor, Theodoric. Wrote treatises on *Arithmetic*, *Geometry*, and *Music*; planned a complete translation of Plato and Aristotle and a reconciliation of their divergencies. Early death (executed by Theodoric for religious-political reasons) prevented all but translation and commentary on some of Aristotle's logic. Wrote five theological tractates, applications of Aristotelian terminology to Christian revelation. In prison wrote his *Latin Consolation of Philosophy*, a study of the problem of evil in the light of the concept of an orderly universe, translated by Alfred, the Great, Chaucer, Jean de Meun, Notker Labeo, and Queen Elizabeth. He rivals St. Augustine in the depth of his influence on the Middle Ages and is the bridge between the Ancient and Medieval worlds.

H. M. Barrett, B., *some aspects of his times and work* (New York), 1940.

E. A. Q.

BOIARDO, MATTEO MARIA (Italian, 1440-94), was the leading epic poet of the Quattrocento. In his personal life one of the most admired and respected Renaissance men of letters, Boiardo was a lyric poet first in Latin and then in Italian. His *Canzoniere* is, with Lorenzo de' Medici's, most outstanding of the 15th c. In his unfinished epic, the *Orlando Innamorato*, Roland In Love, Boiardo takes the epic material of the Carolingian and Breton cycles, and fuses the two into an extensive and harmonious whole, with much additional material from classical and Italian sources, re-interpreting the traditional characters and background of the Franco-Italian epic in the spirit of the highest Renaissance courtliness.

E. E. Santini, M. M. B., *l'uomo e il poeta* (Livorno), 1914.

R. A. H., Jr.

BOILEAU, NICOLAS (pen-name of Nicolas Despréaux, French, 1636-1711), was the greatest of France's long line of great critics. Himself an author of ability, he exemplified the literary principles of his *Poetic Art* (1674) in his *Satires* and *Epistles*. But it is as critic and arbiter of taste that Boileau has importance for us today: no man contributed more to the formation of the classic doctrine that made France's 17th c. a period of such brilliant accomplishment. The *Poetic Art* is the compendium of that doctrine: its principles of moderation and balance, its dependence on reason and logic, its insistence on the exact copy of nature and imitation of the models of antiquity, its outspoken support of the great contemporary figures, Racine, Molière and LaFontaine, contributed in no small measure to the creation of France's classic ideal.

C. A. Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits of the 18th C.*, trans. K. P. Wormley (N. Y.), 1905.  
R. J. N.

BOJER, JOHAN (Norwegian, b. 1872), novelist of the realistic school. He gained renown chiefly as a writer of psychological novels picturing the struggle of the self-made man, principally the intellectual youth from a poor home. Bojer's forte is the treatment of a talented personality struggling upward not only to the height of material success but also toward a reinterpretation of man's destiny. His most impressive books, *The Great Hunger*, 1916, and *The Power of a Lie*, 1923, have this philosophical tone, but in *The Vikings*, 1921, and *The Everlasting Struggle*, 1929, he has given the reader objective community pictures in which the hardship of the daily routine is the central motif. His style is not especially colorful, at times it has a mathematical quality, but his best work has lucidity and a simple friendliness.

P. G. La Chenais, J. B. (Oslo), 1932;  
Carl Gad, J. B. (N. Y.), 1920.

T. J.

BOKHER, ELIYOHU. See Levita, Elias.

BOLDREWOOD, ROLF (Thomas Alexander Browne, Australian, 1826-1915), was born in England but was taken to Australia at the age of four. An adventurous career as pastoralist and police magistrate eventually provided rich material for a long list of novels and short stories, published between 1878 and 1905. Of these only two are generally read today—*Robbery Under Arms* (1888) and *The Miner's Right* (1890). The former has acquired the status of "classic by default." It deals with the bush-ranging days in Australia, particularly the phase of this kind of lawlessness associated with the gold-rush period. Time has brought a patina of romance to soften the harsh face of what was once only sordid crime and no single novel has contributed so much to this as Boldrewood's. For the rest, Boldrewood's fiction, since it shows keen observation if

feeble construction, promises to be a gold mine for the social historian.

C. H. G.

BOROV, KUMISTO (Bulgarian, 1848-1876), the national poet of Bulgaria, was largely educated in Russia, where he became friends with many of the Russian revolutionists, especially Nechaev. He was drawn into the Bulgarian revolutionary movement and in May 1876 with about 200 followers seized the Austrian steamship *Rodetski* and landed on the Bulgarian coast. The population did not rise in revolt as expected and on May 20, the little band was overwhelmed by the Turks and Borov was killed. He left 22 poems, now acclaimed the nation's masterpieces. They are largely lyric in character and breathe the uncompromising devotion to personal and national freedom that were the main motive force of his ardent, emotional nature.

Shishmanov, *A Survey of Bulgarian Lit.*, 1932; Lyudmil Stoyanov, K. B., in *Bulgarski Pisateli*, Vol. III, pp. 65-114, 1928.

C. A. M.

BOYE, KARIN (Swedish, 1900-41), published her first poetry, *Moln*, (*Clouds*, 1922) and *Gömda Land*, (*Hidden Lands*, 1924) while she was a student at Uppsala University. Her poems are short, precise and abstract, with a certain stubborn rhythm that holds the reader's attention. In her last collection of poems—her most important—*För trädets skull*, (*For the Tree's Sake*, 1935) she changed her style to modern free verse. To Karin Boye, life was a matter of will and sacrifice. Out of her strong emotions she crystalized an idea that lent an intellectual aspect to everything she wrote. Her novels are always based on a problem and, like her verses, are characterized by strain and tension. In her last novel, *Kallocain*, 1940, she pictures what she thought would be the result of a victorious totalitarianism, the crushing of the individual, the utter pauperization of personality in a collective society.

Ingrid Wetterstrom, K. B., in *The Am. Swedish Monthly*, Dec. 1936; Gunhild Tegen, K. B., in *Memoriam*, in *The Am-Scandinavian Review*, Sept. 1942.  
A. W.

BRAININ, REUBEN (Hebrew, 1862-1939), born in Liady, Russia, was educated in the universities of Vienna and Berlin. A talented novelist and critic, his main achievement is the introduction of progressive European literary ideas in Hebrew literature. He waged a war upon the hackneyed ideas that cluttered Hebrew literature, founding the periodical *Memizrah Uminarah* (*From East and West*), wherein he promulgated liberal European ideas. As critic he lashed unmercifully at long established literary personalities, exposing their artistic faults and weaknesses in style and form. He recognized

and encouraged new writers of ability and talent. He was a great traveler and lecturer. For a time he edited a Yiddish paper in Canada, and at one time a Hebrew monthly and then a Hebrew weekly in New York. In his last years he rallied to the Bolshevik cause, and contributed to radical Yiddish papers.

M. Waxman, *Hist. of Jewish Lit.* (N. Y.), 1930-41.

L. A.

BRANCO, CAMILIO CASTELO. See Castelo Branco, Camilo.

BRANDES, GEORG (Georg Morris Cohen; Danish, 1842-1927), the greatest Danish critic, and one of the greatest critics of literature in modern times. In his development he passed through practically all the schools of thought in Europe, from the religious philosophy of Søren Kierkegaard, through German romanticism, the French reaction, English naturalism, and the so-called Young Germany. His critical reactions are all summarized in his *Main Currents in 19th c. Literature*, 6 v. (1872-90). Although a confirmed atheist he became a moulding influence on his times in a widening of the intellectual and cosmopolitan horizon.

C. M. V.

BREDERO, GERBRAND ADRIAENSZ (Dutch, 1585-1618), poet and playwright, began as a painter. He had no knowledge of the classics, but a true and deep contact with the people, as seen in his boisterous farces: e.g. *The Farce of the cow and the miller*, and a comedy, *The Spanish Brabant man*. He continues the tradition of the folk song, but adapts it to the Renaissance high conception of poetry.

J. G.

BREMER, FREDRIKA (Swedish, 1801-65), published from 1828 to 1848 *Teckningar utur vardagslivet* (*Sketches of Everyday Life*), in which is included the novel *Grannarna* (*The Neighbors*; 1837). She fought for equal rights for women and is often mentioned as the founder of this movement in Sweden. She traveled widely, and her travelogues were very popular, e.g. *Hemmen i Nya världen* (*America of the Fifties*; 1853-4). In *The Swedish Year-Book* 1938, pp. 337-379, is a list of Bremer's works trans. into English; among them, *F. B., Life, Letters, and Posthumous Works*, ed. by her sister, Charlotte Bremer, trans. F. Milow (N. Y.), 1868.

A. W.

BRENNAN, CHRISTOPHER JOHN (Australian, 1870-1932), was unique among the few poets in Australian literature (as distinguished from the innumerable verse writers) in that he was deeply influenced by the French symbolists. Had the author lived and published in England or the U. S. his high worth would long since have been universally recognized. Brennan was a scholar of literature whose knowledge was wideranging and profound, but the circum-

stances of his life did not encourage him to produce to the fullest extent of his powers. As Hughes remarks, "he was a scholar of poetry, in the same way as Henry James, for example, may be called a scholar of the novel." There is, unluckily, only one considerable collection of his poetry, *Poems* (Sydney, 1913), and none of his prose, but an inclusive edition of his work, edited by Professor A. R. Chisholm and J. J. Quinn, is now (1946) being prepared.

A. G. Stephens, C. B. (Sydney), 1933;  
Randolph Hughes, C. J. B.: *An Essay in Values* (Sydney), 1934; A. R. Chisholm, *Le Symbolisme française en Australie: Mallarmé et B.* (Paris), 1938;  
H. M. Green, C. B. (Sydney), 1939.  
C. H. G.

BRENTANO, KLEMENS (German, 1778-1842), was one of the founders of the second German Romantic school. Together with Achim von Arnim he published in 1805 a collection of German folk songs under the romantic title, *Youth's Magic Horn*. This collection differed from Herder's earlier collection, in that the latter had a cosmopolitan, whereas Brentano and Arnim had a nationalistic outlook, seeking to awaken the pride of the Germans in their cultural treasures at a time when their political and economic life was threatened. The book became an inspiration to many contemporary and later German lyric poets. Brentano wrote a number of short stories, the best of them being *The Story of Worthy Caspar and Beautiful Annie*, 1817. This story, one of the earliest *Dorfgeschichten* (stories about village life) in German literature, tells its tragic plot of exaggerated honor with objective, chronicle-like realism, but surrounds it with a romantic atmosphere of gloomy foreboding that is supported by motifs from German folk song and saga. The whole, particularly in the delineation of the grandmother, produces a very powerful effect. Brentano also wrote a number of excellent fairy tales.

S. Liptzin, *Historical Survey of German Lit.* (N. Y.), 1936.

P. M.

BRIDGES, ROBERT (English, 1844-1930), essayist, made poet laureate in 1913, was a scholarly poet, as shown especially in his last work, *The Testament of Beauty* (1929). In his shorter poems (1894) Bridges showed himself a master of lyric artistry, as well as a poet's poet. He used the influence of his position to encourage phonetic spelling and to improve English diction. In his writing Bridges did not hesitate to employ archaic diction and syntax for effect, yet his diction was simple and lucid. Preeminent in Bridges' poetry are the English landscape, man in society, Hellenism, solitude, and piety.

A. J. Guérard, R. B. (Cambridge, Mass.), 1942.

F. F. M.

BROLSMA, REINDER (Frisian, b. 1882), is the leading novelist and short-story writer in contemporary Frisian literature. Though he shows no great psychological insight and rarely focuses attention on the dynamics of character, he has decided talent in humorous characterization, in dialogue, and in elaboration of detail. He possesses, moreover, the gift of story telling, and he infuses into his work a subtle and distinctively Frisian humor. Among his best novels are *The High Homestead*, 1926; *The Old Lands*, 1938; *Land and People*, 1940; *The Widow's Child*, 1942. To his collections of short stories belong *Mirrors*, 1927, and *Along the Way*, 1940.

J. Piebenga, *Koarte Skiednis fen de Fryske Skiftkennisse*, Dokkum (Kamminga), 1939.

B. J. F.

BRORSON, HANS ADOLPH (Danish, 1694-1764). The greatest hymnwriter of the pietistic school. His hymns are marked by deep piety, a realistic sense of sin and guilt, and a sublime appreciation of the divine and heavenly.

C. M. V.

BROWN, CHARLES BROCKDEN (U. S. A., 1771-1810), the first professional author of the U. S., wrote within a few feverish years a group of unpolished but powerful Gothic romances which, by intentionally uniting popular interest, philosophic ideas, local subject matter, and a psychological method, practically originated the genuine American novel. Beneath their hasty, overwrought plots and the machinery of terror lies Brown's expressed moral concern for social reform and rational triumph over superstition, as well as a frequent intense realism of scene, heightened by a superb command of suspense. Four basically rationalistic novels, *Wieland* (1798), *Ormond* (1799), *Arthur Mervyn* (1799-1800) and *Edgar Huntly* (1799), were followed in 1801 by two showing increasing sentimentality and conservatism. After these Brown did only hack writing and editing.

E. C. S.

BROWNING, ROBERT (English, 1812-89), vies with Tennyson for first place among the Victorian poets. Only in that both were devoted to a single purpose, their art, are they alike. The crucial point in Browning's career was his elopement with Elizabeth Barrett, the most gifted of English women poets. The dramatic monologues included in *Men and Women* and *Dramatis Personae* are among his best poems. His *The Ring and the Book*, based on an actual 16th c. murder case, is remarkable for its inexhaustive humanity and for its psychological insight; it is the crowning effort of his genius. Most of his works are dramatic in both spirit and form; but it is drama of thoughts and motives rather than of action. Browning's poetry is charged with moral purpose; love, as the supreme experience and func-

tion of the soul, held first place in his being. The robustness of his nature, its courage, joy, and faith in life, give power to his works. At times his rhythms are deliberately rough; but even his shorter poems are marked by brilliant character analysis and metrical precision.

G. K. Chesterton, R. B. F. F. M.

BRYANT, WILLIAM CULLEN (U. S. A., 1794-1878), important in his own day as the socially liberal editor of the *New York Evening Post*, also did much to liberate American poetry from its metrical and topical shackles to convention. Best remembered as an ecstatic Romantic poet of external nature who sometimes became almost pantheistic (*A Forest Hymn*), he yet retained faith in classic traditions (*The Flood of Years*) and maintained a lofty, noble, eloquent dignity in treating his rather limited scope of themes. In such critical pieces as *On the Use of Trisyllabic Feet in Iambic Verse* (1811), *Early American Verse* (1818), and *Lectures on Poetry* (1825), Bryant pleaded for originality, freshness, direct observation for nature-imagery, literary nationalism, and flexibility in versification.

T. McDowell, W. C. B. (N. Y.), 1935.  
E. C. S.

BUCHNER, GEORG (German, 1813-37), is a dramatist more celebrated in our century than in his own, for the kinship his plays have with the introspective mood and dramatic technique of expressionism: the vivid projection of the inner image in a series of short, loosely connected scenes. In the historical drama *Danton's Death* (1835) Büchner expresses his disgust and resignation over the failure of the Revolution; the romantic comedy *Leonce and Lena* (1836) is a satire of conventions and a glorification of self-realization ("My whole life is in this one moment"); the compact tragedy *Wozzeck* (1837) treats a modern theme, the exploitation of the common man, who finds no escape but in suicide.

G. Dunlop, *The Plays of G. B.* (London), 1927.

S. L. S.

BUNIN, IVAN ALEKSEYEVICH (Russian, b. 1870), who won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1933, is primarily a writer's writer. He first made his reputation in poetry, then turned to prose, with a strong tendency to criticize life on the estates. His novel, *The Village*, is the last act in the history of culture on the great estates; it shows the complete disintegration of that life, which Turgenev had pictured so charmingly. After the Revolution Bunin went abroad, continuing to develop his technique of telling a story through the impressions and reactions of only one or at most a few of the characters involved. Like most of the emigré authors, he sees the past of his country through a golden haze, as in *Arsenyev's*



*Dream*, with little definite background. The delicacy of his style and the exquisite economy of means which he employs win him the praise of critics, but he lacks the vitality that might endear him to the mass of educated readers.

N. Strelsky, B., *Eclectic of the Future*,  
*South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. xxxv,  
1936.

C. A. M.

BUNYAN, JOHN (English, 1628-88), an uneducated Puritan preacher, was one of the most imaginative writers of his age. Unlike Milton, who was highly educated and wrote for the upper class, Bunyan spoke for the middle class, enhancing his works with illustrations from daily life to make their meaning clearer. His most famous book, *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678), has had perhaps more readers than any other English work. One of the three greatest allegories of the world's literature, it portrays the experiences of humanity from this world to the next. Bunyan's style, charming in its forthright directness, is quaintly graphic, tender, rich, and lyrical. His language is simple and earnest, formed from reading the Bible, which he knew by heart.

Jas. A. Froude, *Life of J. B.*  
F. F. M.

BURNS, ROBERT (English, 1759-96), was the leading Scotch poet of his day. Many of the "old Scots" songs with which his name is inseparably connected were given to the world at this time. Although Burns was not merely an uneducated, natural singer, he had little opportunity to become a highly cultivated poet. He constantly fell back upon his native dialect for his most telling phrases and his magical bursts. This is illustrated in *Cotter's Saturday Night*, which reflects, also, his admiration for Goldsmith. It is for the passionate, imperfect human bounty of his nature, and for those brief snatches that well in his songs, perfect in pitch and infinite in variety, that the world loves him.

J. C. Shairp, B.  
F. F. M.

BUSKEN HUET, CONRAD (Dutch, 1826-86), critic. Resigned from the ministry (1862), feeling his progressive ideas incompatible with his religious activities. He became co-editor of *De Gids*; in 1868 he left for the Dutch East Indies where he was editor of a newspaper; in 1876, he settled in Paris. He is mainly remembered for his critical works: *Literary fantasies*. His *Country of Rubens*, and *Rembrandt's Country* are charming descriptive essays.

J. G.

BUSTANI, AL-, BUIRUS (Arab, 1819-83), a Lebanese of Maronite birth, was a scholar of broad outlook. His early contact with American missionaries led to a teaching position at their school in 'Abay.

He assisted Eli Smith in translating the Bible into Arabic, for which task he learned Hebrew, Greek, Aramaic, Syriac, and Latin. He also knew English, French, and Italian. He compiled SETAOINETA (2. v., 1870), an Arabic dictionary. Of his encyclopaedia, *Dā'irat al-Ma'arif* (*Circumference of Knowledge*), he lived long enough to complete the first 6 volumes. In the highly explosive atmosphere of 1860, when civil war broke out between Moslems and Christians, he preached concord through his weekly *Nafir Sūriya* (*Rising of Syria*). In 1863 he founded a school, and in 1870 he launched a literary review, *al-Jinān* (*The Orchard*). He taught toleration, patriotism, and education at all stages of his career.

George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*  
(Philadelphia), 1939.

E. J. J.

BYRON, GEORGE GORDON, Lord (English, 1788-1824), was a poet of contrasts, the showman of the romantic movement. Although his conduct was often felt reprehensible by some critics, there is no doubt that he sincerely loved the good, the true, and the beautiful, even though he was never able to find them in the actual life of men. Byron voices with clarity and intensity the melancholy and pessimism that are inescapable moods of any human life. In his longer poems, he frequently reaches sublime heights, as in *Don Juan*, only to fall abruptly into the abyss of reality. His *Letters* reveal the more normal man and give an amazing and critical view of his days.

John Drinkwater, *The Pilgrim of Eternity*, B.

F. F. M.

CABALLERO, FERNAN (Spanish, 1796-1877), re-introduced Spanish classical realism, during the romantic period. Daughter of a German consul, Nicholas Böhl de Faber, she observed Andalusian customs and forms of life from the outside and plunged them into a stream of sentimentalism. Her *Sea Gull* (1849), pivotal in literary history for its stress on surroundings as opposed to psychology, reveals her sound, conservative, Catholic moral convictions. Interest in folklore is replaced, in her later novels such as *Clemencia* (1863), by a sympathetic cosiness and feminine understanding of humble characters.

P. L. Coloma, *Recuerdos de F. C.* (Bilbao),  
1920.

H. A. H.

CAESAR, C. JULIUS (Roman, 100-44 B.C.), is more noted as a commander of legions than as a wielder of the pen. His *Gallic War* records in 7 books, in a matter-of-fact style, the enormously exciting and significant events of the campaigns from 58 to 52. Caesar had a political purpose in this impersonal record. He wished to disarm his critics in the capital. The studied restraint evinced in this

work and in his *Civil War* furnishes a model for compilers of military communiques. For all that, there are occasional human touches for which we are grateful. The final impression left with the reader is that he is dealing with an Olympian strategist who with the utmost detachment writes on the inevitable conquest of intelligence over brute force.

T. R. Holmes, *The Architect of the Roman Empire* (Oxford), 1928.

J. J. S.

CALDERON DE LA BARCA, PEDRO (Spanish, 1600-81), was the most typical Catholic and Baroque dramatist. Becoming a priest at fifty, he continued playwriting, but justified it by giving his worldly plays allegorical versions with religious implications. We possess his *Life Is a Dream* in both forms. His works, written in part for the Royal Park Theatre of Buen Retiro, include devotional plays (*The Devotion of the Cross*), charming, elegant comedies (*Lady Hobgoblin*), and especially a sequence of Corpus Christi plays (*Balthasar's Supper*). His style, when solemn and intentionally rhetorical, is overlaid with far-fetched symbols, odd metaphors, and absurd heaping up of words; when sober and realistic, it is of a modern simplicity (*The Mayor of Zalamea*).

A. Valbuena Pratt, C., *su personalidad, su arte, su estilo* (Barcelona), 1941.

H. A. H.

CALLIMACHUS (Greek, ca. 310-240 B.C.) was the greatest exponent of the Alexandrine type of poetry, known to us chiefly from its Roman imitators—Catullus, Ovid, Propertius. His research in the Library at Alexandria in bibliography and the minutiae of history, geography, and mythology not only helped lay the foundations of Greek literary history, but furnished much of the material for his own poetry. His work is not only recondite in subject matter, but characterized by a deliberately artificial and occasionally grotesque diction and fancy. Callimachus, holding that the day of the long poem was past, engaged in a bitter quarrel with Apollonius of Rhodes, who clung to the Homeric tradition. In expression of his view, Callimachus established the epyllion (short epic) and the epigram as literary forms.

M. E. Cahen, C., *et son oeuvre poetique* (Paris), 1929.

C. A. R.

CAMÕES, LUIZ VAZ DE (Camoens, Portuguese, 1524-80), outstanding poet. Member of a poor though gentle family, he frequented court circles, fell in love (according to tradition) with a high-born lady, suffered exile, fought in Ceuta where he lost an eye, was imprisoned for wounding a palace retainer, sailed for India, took part in expeditions to the Persian Gulf and the Straits of Mecca, spent

some time in Macau, experienced the agony of shipwreck off the coast of Cambodia, went to Malacca, stayed in Mozambique, returning to Lisbon to spend his last ten years in poverty. In addition to his great epic, *The Lusads*, Camões was the author of lyric verse: his sonnets, songs, and *redondilhas* are among the best, if not the best, in Portuguese. Camões is the most famous of all Portuguese poets; his work has been widely translated and studied in English-speaking countries.

Father S. Leite, S.J., C., *poeta da expansão da fé*, 1943 (Brazilian Acad. of Letters); Aubrey F. G. Bell, L. de C. (Oxford U. P.), 1923; R. F. Burton, trans. *The Lusads*, 2 v., London, 1880; C., 2 v., London, 1881.

M. C.

ČAPEK, KAREL (Czech, 1890-1938), the most widely known of all Czech authors, achieved international repute with his play, R. U. R. ("Rossum's Universal Robots," 1920). In this as in his first plays he showed himself a master of stagecraft, with a strong gift for utopian themes. The normal life of the Czech peasant runs as a pedal point behind his pictures of the evils of the machine civilization. His gift for the whimsical is well shown in his next play, *The Life of the Insects* (also trans. as *The World We Live In*; 1921); and in his travel sketches, which also reveal his deep humanitarian ideals and his feeling that human life, taken as nature intended it, is on the whole good.

René Wellek, K. C., in *Slavonic and East European Review* (London), 1936; Oliver Elton, *Essays and Addresses* (London), 1939.

C. A. M.

CARDUCCI, GIOSUE (Italian, 1835-1907), was the leader of the anti-Romantic reaction in post-Risorgimento literature. He was a fertile and original poet, especially in the collections *lambs and epodes*, 1863-73; *New Poems*, 1861-87; *Barbarian Odes*, 1877, 1882, 1889. Carducci returned to classical sources for both form (especially Latin meters) and content. Roman paganism and imperialism furnished him with anti-Christian, anti-modern inspiration, in which respect he was a predecessor of d'Annunzio. He is considered great, especially, for his technical virtuosity and powers of imaginative evocation.

A. Jeanroy, G. C., *l'homme et le poète* (Paris), 1911.

R. A. H. Jr.

CARLYLE, THOMAS (English, 1795-1881), is the foremost prose writer of the Victorian age, greatest of Victorian prophets. His was a philosophy of service, believing that great men should dedicate themselves to mankind; this thought animates *Sartor Resartus*, a sort of spiritual autobiography. In 1845,

after writing *Cromwell*, his views changed. He still preached the spiritual nature of the universe, and a social philosophy; but in the face of the rising democracy he favored aristocracy and saw value in war. His writing is vigorous and impassioned, though at times heavy with his German studies; his prophecies are Hebraic in their sweeping denunciations and their fervor. He was most influential in forming the literary taste of the period.

R. Garnett, *Life of T. C.*  
F. F. M.

CASTELO BRANCO, CAMILO (Portuguese, 1826-90), is one of Portugal's outstanding writers of fiction. The illegitimate son of a man afflicted with dementia, Camilo lived an agitated life, and committed suicide when he became aware of his impending blindness. His inspiration is intensely national; his vocabulary, of extraordinary richness. Few people, in fact, have mastered the Portuguese idiom so well. With his *Amor de perdição* (*Love of perdition*, 1864), he created the novel of passion, and left a work of remarkable artistry. He wrote prolifically, often sarcastically, but keeping at a distance from politics. Like many other writers in Portuguese, he is essentially a spontaneous artist, with the faults and virtues of an unrestrained mind. Though he is especially known for his novels, he wrote poetry, plays, and religious tracts. He also translated Feydeau, Feuillet, Chateaubriand, Roselly de Lorgues, and Bagnault de Puchesse.

Antónia Cabral, *Camillo de perfil* (Lisbon), 1922.

M. C.

CASTRO, GUILLÉN DE (Spanish, 1569-1631), was an outstanding playwright of the school of Lope de Vega.\* He did not fully dramatize, in his *Heroic Deeds of the Young Cid*, the epic material that he drew from the old ballads; but he sought to elucidate the contradictory love psychology of Jimena, later exploited by Corneille.\* His psychological interest is also visible in his Christian miracle plays (*The Renegade's Repentance*) and in his classical subjects (*Narcissus in His Own Opinion*).

J. Ruggieri, *Le Cid de Corneille et las Moredades de G. de C.*, in *Archivum Romanicum*, XIV, 1930.

H. A. H.

CASTRO ALVES, ANTONIO (1847-71), the Brazilian poet most esteemed by his countrymen, was born in the state of Baía. His first compositions date from his thirteenth year. While pursuing a law course, he became intensely interested in the abolition of slavery and in the final establishment of a democratic national government for Brazil. Like Tobias Barreto, he imitated the grandiloquent style of Hugo, but "the Baía condor" soon out-soared the wildest flights of the originator of that style of

writing called *condoreirismo*. At twenty-one he was ardently writing and declaiming those poems which established his reputation as the greatest social poet of Brazil.

E. J. G.

CATHER, WILLA [SIBERT] (U. S. A., b. 1876), has given modern distinction to the traditional novel form through her serious artistic purpose (*Not Under Forty*, 1936, reveals her theories), her polished and poetical sensitive style, her fusion of character and background into valid symbols, her refusal to fall into set patterns of structure or plot, her selective economy and restraint, and her artistry in achieving effects by suggestive but realistic simplicity. Constantly championing beauty and integrity, she has invested her exquisite style with such themes as feminine self-mastery (the Western novels), the artistic soul in conflict with grossness and materialism (*One of Ours*, 1922; *The Professor's House*, 1925; short stories in *Youth and the Bright Medusa*, 1920), the beauty of spiritual serenity (*Death Comes for the Archbishop* and *Shadows on the Rock*), and perhaps, in the latest novels, softness, fragility, and the necessity for escape.

R. Rapin, W. C. (N. Y.), 1930.  
E. C. S.

CATULLUS, C. VALERIUS (Roman, ca. 84-54 B.C.), has carved a niche for himself in the temple of poetry by his relatively small volume of lyrics. We meet here for the first time in Latin verse the intense personal notes or moods of love and hate which recur in a more subdued tone in the elegists of the Augustan age. Catullus' hopes and disappointments in his love affair with a real—not fictitious—Lesbia are expressed in a manner that is both simple and distinctive. His success in the artistic handling of the metre of the elegy made this genre exceedingly popular among the poets of the next generation. Catullus too has felt the prevalent influence of the mythological trifling of the Alexandrians. His most notable contribution of that literary trend is his 64th poem, on the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, a work much admired by later poets.

A. L. Wheeler, C. and the Traditions of  
Ancient Poetry (Berkeley, Cal.), 1934.  
J. J. S.

CEIRIOG. See Hughes, John.

CERVANTES Y SAAVEDRA, MIGUEL DE (Spanish, 1547-1616), is one of the outstanding figures of world literature. He viewed the cultural shift from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance with great clarity, and gave this view a quasi-poetic fictional shape full of vision and humor and rich artistry. Sparks of Cervantes' conception of life and art can be found throughout his work (*Pastorals*, *Exemplary Novels*, *Dramas*); they combine in his masterpiece, *Don Quijote de la Mancha* (*Don Quixote*:

First Part 1605; Second Part 1615). The Knight who, in a time of regulated justice, takes up arms to defend, single-handed, the widow and the orphan, is an idealistic monomaniac. His squire, Sancho Panza, who tries to persuade him to lay down arms and take life easy, is the shrewd materialistic peasant, whose realism is so great that he makes bold to live without any ideals. Cervantes seems to feel that Spain's catastrophe through history consists in her not finding the way between these two extremes, a national catastrophe that coincides with the unsolved inner struggle of each individual man. Interpreters deem that Cervantes sides with the Knight, or indeed with the common sense of Sancho Panza. Others see him, in various degree, as supporting the Middle Ages; or an Erasmian compromise with a paganized and humanized Christianity, where the active life would rank with the contemplative. German Romanticism saw a demonstration of Platonic ideas behind the deceiving façade of things, in the Knight's continually being fooled by appearances; his fighting the windmills as giants, stopping at the inns as castles—which many accept with less symbolic concern. Cervantes certainly has a leaning toward antiquity and humanism, although his national traditional convictions are also strong. Thus he was one of the few that defended the Aristotelian unities against the Spanish popular theatre, with the consequence that on the stage he was quite outdone by Lope de Vega.\*

Countless readers have found instruction and delight in *Don Quixote*. Its style coalesces the rich Spanish folk traditions, with their proverbs and salty sayings, and the most refined acquisitions of Italian humanism. Cervantes was the first (as the Baroque pictures of his day discovered perspective) to achieve depth in the novel. His optimism and love of mankind are reflected in his exclusively noble characters. His gentle women, his ideals of mercy and honor, his understanding of others, his firm will and resolute righteousness pervade the motives and episodes of the novel. Reflecting the whole of society, he admits no note of sarcasm or scoffing irony in the balanced flow of a superior humor and serene dignity, which move through the sweetly gliding sentences and periods of the book. Cervantes sums up a period whose passing he saw, and announces a future that he helped to shape. Thus his art and his insight combine to give the world a new vision; a new message, a new form. In *Don Quixote* (as in *Hamlet* and *Faust*) mankind can read its eternal self-contradictions.

Formally, Cervantes moved to the novel, as the legitimate successor of the epic. He saw the backwardness of Tasso and Camões, still writing heroic epic verse; he met the romances of chivalry on their own terms, even for a mock-heroic subject using prose. After the introduction of gunpowder, the heroes became prosaic; the printing press superseded

the bards, and verse for their stories was supplanted by prose.

Wm. J. Entwistle, C. (Oxford), 1940;  
M. J. Benardete and A. Flores, *The Anatomy of Don Quixote* (Ithaca), 1932.

H. A. H.

CHAMISSO, ADALBERT VON (German, 1781–1838), was a Frenchman by birth who wrote in German, a nobleman who idealized the middle class, a romanticist who became a pioneer of the realistic social lyric, a poet who devoted his best years to the science of botany, a world-wanderer whose deepest longing was for stability and mediocrity. His present literary fame rests upon his short novel *Peter Schlemihl* (1814)—the story of the man who sold his shadow and lived to rue the transaction—and upon a few lachrymose lyrics, such as the cycle of love songs *Frauenliebe und Leben* (*Woman's Love and Life*, 1830), which are still sung to the bewitching melodies of Robert Schumann.

S. Liptzin, *Lyric Pioneers of Modern Germany* (N. Y.), 1928.

S. L.

CHANTAL, MARIE DE. See Sévigné, Madame de.

CHATEAUBRIAND, FRANÇOIS-RENE DE (French, 1768–1848), is frequently called the founder of the French Romantic school of literature. His long career was filled with resounding successes of many kinds but he never managed to escape the besetting melancholy that was at once his curse and his most attractive characteristic. Handsome, intelligent, of fine old family (he was throughout his life a staunch supporter of the Bourbons), he had the entrée to the best salons of Paris; his popularity as an author was unrivaled for many years. Yet he never found complete happiness and today he incarnates for us the melancholy that was so much a part of Romanticism in all the lands of Europe. His two principal works are *The Genius of Christianity* (1802) and *The Martyrs* (1809), both of religious inspiration. The former is by far the more important; it is an attempt to 'rehabilitate' Christianity, that is, to reveal anew its beauties to all men so that the faith may once again be clothed with the prestige of days past. Two of its episodes, *Atala* and *René*, which were detached from the parent work and published slightly earlier, accounted in large part for the tremendous popularity of the *Genius of Christianity*. These two episodes formed part of a huge manuscript which Chateaubriand brought back with him from a trip to the New World, and they offer between them a kind of epitome of early French Romanticism. In them the Romantics found three great themes, an unfortunate love that plunges its victim into eternal melancholy, wild nature serving as a backdrop for that love, and a strong tendency

toward introversion. For many years after Chateaubriand authors were to find their chief, almost their sole, inspiration within themselves, their works were to be filled with the same kind of soul-searching that so delighted the audience of 1800. Although Chateaubriand's manner is stilted, although he is often unbearably dull, although his prose is often overlush, he nevertheless has the glory of having brought to popularity certain ideas and tendencies that, if not new in themselves, were at least new in their combination, ideas and tendencies that were to dominate French literature for nearly two generations.

Joan Evans, C. (London), 1939.  
R. J. N.

CHAUCER, GEOFFREY (English, ca. 1340-1400), the father of English poetry, exercised a profound influence on the English language; through this, the dialect of London became the standard speech. The works of Chaucer may be grouped in three periods, according to the literary influences and general temper they display. In the first, or French period, he made his translation of the *Roman de la Rose*. In the second, the Italian, he wrote such works as *Troilus and Cressyde* and possibly the *Parliament of Fowls*. In the third, or English period, come the *Canterbury Tales*, in which he individualized his characters, making them portraits of his time. He was an artist in verse effects, writing with a metrical accuracy, fluency, and variety rarely surpassed. Chaucer knew where to find a good story, and a good method of telling it; and behind all he wrote lies a sound, practical philosophy of life. He possessed a keen insight into human nature, and a keen wit. The *Canterbury Tales* give ample scope to his greatest gift, that of portraiture. His portraits are keen, clear, sometimes mischievous, but always poised and humane.

G. L. Kittredge, C. and His Poetry.  
F. F. M.

CHEKHOV, ANTON PAVLOVICH (Russian, 1860-1904), was the greatest product of the depression of the 80's. The grandson of a freed serf, he was keenly sensitive to the slightest moods of the middle-class Russian. At first he expressed himself in comic stories for popular magazines, but he soon preferred to emphasize those misunderstandings that occur among people who normally should understand and appreciate one another. His heroes, like himself, are symptomatic of the loss of faith in themselves and in the society around them. His delicacy of touch, his ability to delineate the slightest differences in human psychology, made him the great dramatist of the Moscow Art Theatre, where his plays, especially *The Seagull*, *The Three Sisters*, and *The Cherry Orchard*, achieved tremendous success despite their externally non-dramatic character. In these plays, as in his short stories, he reached a level of artistic

sensitiveness that had not been attained in Russian previously. His early death from tuberculosis cut short a career that was beginning to attain a wider delineation of human relations. Yet his temperament was predominantly humorous and many of his most effective and artistically most perfect stories are from the early days when he was still indulging his humorous instincts without stressing the tragedy or pathos implicit in every joke, no matter how kindly intended.

Nina Tumanova, C., *the Voice of Twilight Russia* (N. Y.), 1937.

C. A. M.

CHESTERTON, GILBERT KEITH (English, 1874-1936), journalist, novelist, essayist, publicist, and lyricist, was a prolific writer, author of some hundred volumes. His poem *Lepanto*, in *Poems* (1915), is felt, by some, to be one of the finest of modern chants. In it the syllables beat with the tempo of the poem. Chesterton used satire and epigram not for destructive criticism but rather to defend conservative principles, institutions, and especially the Catholic Church. He was an ironical humorist and a medieval Catholic "devout."

G. W. Bullett, *The Innocence of G. K. C.* (London), 1923.

F. F. M.

CHIKAMATSU MONZAEMON (pseud. of Sugimori Shinsei; Japanese, 1653-1724) was the greatest dramatist of the Edo period. His voluminous plays may be classified into *jidaimono* (historical plays) and *sewamono* (domestic drama); they are, with few exceptions, in five acts. The former deal mainly with loyalty or filial piety; the latter, primarily with romantic love, conjugal affection, or love between parent and child. Chikamatsu's eminence as a playwright is said to be due to his excellent ability to handle themes that deal with a wife's love for her husband and a father's affection for his child. He combines the classical and colloquial styles, yet there is no incongruity in his writing. The metrical nature of his works and his subtle allusiveness make it extremely difficult to translate his plays. He believed that the purpose of dramatic art should be entertainment. Among his numerous popular plays are *Kokusenya Kassen* (*Battles of Kokusenya*; 1715), and *Sonezaki Shinjū* (*The Double Suicide of Sonezaki*; 1703).

Heibonsha, *Dai Hyakka Jiten* (*Japanese Encyclopedia*; Tokyo), 1933.

Y. U.

CHOU SHU-JEN (Chinese, 1881-1936), the most prominent figure in contemporary Chinese literature, whose pen-name is variously transliterated as Lu Hsun, Lu Hsin, or Lusin. As leading fiction writer and master of *pai hán* (plain language), he has written numerous realistic short stories, most of which are rather loose in form and sketchy in plot;

but his style is most charming. His character drawing is "such that he not only makes us feel the truth and realism of his stories, and provokes mirth with every line, but he brings to us a new realization of our social conditions . . ." His best known story is *The Biography of Ah Q*, now available in many translations. His philosophy of life may be summarized in these words: "What you have in abundance is energy; so when you see a forest, make it a habitable land; when you see a wilderness, plant trees; when you see a desert, dig wells." His readers find in him "a full embodiment of that indignation and spirit of revolt" which are responsible for China's determination to carry on her battle for freedom and democracy.

Edgar Snow, *Living China* (N. Y.), 1936;

C. C. Wang, *Ah Q and Others, Selected Stories of Lusin* (N. Y.), 1941.

S. C. L.

CHRETIEN DE TROYES (French, 12th c.) is the chief exponent of the 'matter of Britain,' the stories concerning King Arthur and his Table Round. His best-known works, *Lancelot*, *Yvain*, and *Perceval* (ca. 1160-80), are skilful and complex narratives, combining masterly treatment of the ideal, courtly love of the age with liberal doses of that magic, that 'marvelous'—giants, enchanted fountains, bewitched maidens—which medieval listeners loved so well. Though his characters are sometimes formalized into types of good and evil, his imagery is so brilliant and his composition so flawless that today he is considered as beyond compare the best representative of the courtly school of medieval days.

G. Cohen, *Un grand romancier* (Paris), 1931; T. P. Cross and Wm. A. Nitze, *Lancelot and Guenevere* (Chicago), 1930.

R. J. N.

CHRYSTOSTOM, JOHN. See John Chrysostom.

CHU HSI (Chinese, 1129-1200), philosopher, poet, teacher, who, with his encyclopedic learning and moral enthusiasm, rearranged the Confucian texts, and, in the light of Buddhist and Taoist teachings on meditation and contemplation, reinterpreted them in such a way that Confucianism became a systematized ethical philosophy. Chu Hsi believed that in the beginning there existed in the universe a *Li*, the eternal principle or moral law of nature, and *Ch'i*, the substance and the material form of all things. He said that a human being partakes of *Li* and *Ch'i*, and the moral task of man is to follow *Li* by practicing reverence and by acquiring a thorough knowledge of things. He urged students to study "all things under heaven, beginning with the known principles and seeking to reach the utmost," and after sufficient labor has been devoted to the task, "the day will come when all things will suddenly become clear and intelligible."

Among his popular works are the *Wen Tsi* (a collection of his writings) and the *T'ung Chien Kang Mu* (a condensation of Ssu-ma Kuang's *Mirror of History*). His philosophical discourses are found in the *Yu Lu* (*Record of Sayings*) compiled by his students. In the 15th c. his teaching spread to Korea and Japan.

J. P. Bruce, C. H. and his Masters (London), 1923.

S. C. L.

CH'U YUAN (Chinese, ca. 328-285 B.C.), the greatest poet of ancient China. His memory is enveloped in a mist of traditions and legends, while his accredited writings still inspire the warmest enthusiasm among the elite of China's scholars. Through the efforts of Arthur Waley and Lim Boon Keng, his masterpieces are now available in English. His "soaring lyrics" such as the *Great Summons*, the *Nine Hymns*, and above all, the *Li Sao* (an *Elegy on Encountering Sorrows*) make vivid to us the background of a great mind, whose best aspiration was for building a stable basis of society founded on the spirit of moral obligation. His language is elegant and refined "in expressing the motives of sorrow." His style is that of a sensitive and generous poet, susceptible to every impulse of the emotions.

Lim Boon Keng, *The Li Sao by C. Y.* (Shanghai), 1929.

S. C. L.

CHUANG CHOU (Chuang Tzu; Chinese, d. ca. 275 B.C.), the great luminary of classical literature and the greatest thinker of the Taoist school of thought, who expressed his philosophy with literary talent, fine imagination, and humor. His thought has been compared with that of Spinoza; his style, with that of Plato. His illuminating essays on *The Excursions into Freedom* (*Siao Yao You*), *The Equality of Things* (*Ch'i Wu Lun*), *The Fundamentals for the Nourishment of Life* (*Yang Sheng Chu*), *The Human World* (*Jen Chien Shih*), *The Evidence of Virtue Complete* (*Te Ch'ung Fu*), *The Great Teacher* (*Ta Tsung Shih*), and *The Wise Ruler* (*Ying Ti Wang*) are still widely read because of the beauty and vigor of the language and the originality of thought. The last paragraph of *The Equality of Things* is amusing and thought-provoking: "Once I, Chuang Chou, dreamt that I was a butterfly, fluttering here and there, enjoying myself. I was conscious only of being a butterfly. Suddenly, I awoke; and veritably, I was Chuang Chou again. Now I do not know whether it was really Chuang Chou who dreamt he was a butterfly or a butterfly dreaming it was Chuang Chou!"

Herbert A. Giles, *Chuang Tzu* (Shanghai), 1926; E. R. Hughes, *Chinese Philosophy in Classical Times* (London & N. Y.), 1942.

S. C. L.

CHUANG Tzu. See Chuang Chou.

CICERO, M. TULLIUS (Roman, 106-43 B.C.), contributed to Latin literature with distinction in many fields. Cicero had extraordinary oratorical gifts, which were carefully trained in the approved Greek schools, and which place him beside Demosthenes. In his *Catiline orations* and in his *Philippics* against Antony he shows overwhelming power and incisiveness. The former speeches were delivered during his consulship; the latter in the twilight of his career. Cicero, wherever possible, introduced a dramatic note in his defense speeches. He prided himself, as in the case *For Cluentius*, on throwing dust in the eyes of the jury. His precepts for guidance in the art of oratory are extant in a series of dialogues. The best of these are the *Brutus* and the *Orator*. The latter part of his life was clouded by public and private misfortunes. The death of his beloved daughter, Tullia, had the effect of turning his thoughts towards the great problems of life and immortality and the ethical questions long propounded by the best minds among the Greeks. His treatises, for example, *On Duties* and *On Friendship*, have been treasured volumes in the history of European thought. Cicero's correspondence, written to his numerous friends and acquaintances, shows an easy abandon that is without parallel in antiquity. The style of his *Letters* gives us an insight into the familiar conversation of the polite society of his day. On the other hand, Cicero's achievements in the moulding of Latin artistic prose style have won universal approval especially since the Renaissance. Much of what is best in Modern prose owes a great debt to the Roman advocate and litterateur. However we may be at times irritated by his egoism, we must yield to his enthusiasm and real genius. In emulation of Plato, it would seem, Cicero devoted considerable thought at the close of his life to social and political problems in his treatise *On the Laws* and *On the State*.

J. C. Rolfe, *C. and his Influence* (Boston), 1923; E. G. Sihler, *C. of Arpinum* (New Haven), 1914; H. J. Haskell, *This was C.* (N. Y.), 1942.

J. J. S.

CLARKE, MARCUS (Australian, 1846-81), born in England, lived in Australia from 1864 until his death. In his own person, therefore, he symbolizes the transit of British culture from England to Australia. An extraordinarily prolific journalist, the greater part of the highly miscellaneous work he did is now dusty and forgotten, but he won an enduring place in Australian literature with his novel of the old convict days, *For the Term of His Natural Life* (1874), one of several Australian novels that is a classic in default of anything superior on the same subject.

C. H. G.

CLEMENS, SAMUEL LANGHORNE (Mark Twain, U.S.A., 1836-1910), is a major writer both as a craftsman in humor and as a simple, realistic interpreter of individual humanity, particularly in terms of democratic ideals and the Southwestern village frontier from which he sprang. Starting his career with the journalistic, anecdotal back-country gaiety of "The Jumping Frog" (1865), *The Innocents Abroad* (1869), and *Roughing It* (1872), he soon went East to produce his masterpieces of youthful reminiscences, such as *Huckleberry Finn*. His tendency toward satire, apparent in *The Gilded Age* (1873), a novel written with C. D. Warner, became increasingly evident after 1880, first as a part of such tales as *The Prince and the Pauper* (1882), *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889) and the idealized *Joan of Arc* (1896), and then in the deterministic and pessimistic dialogues, *What Is Man?* (1906) and *The Mysterious Stranger* (1916).

E. Wagenknecht: *Mark Twain, the Man and His Work* (New Haven), 1935.

E. C. S.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (Titus Flavius Clemens, Greek, ca. 150-214 A.D.) may be called the first Christian scholar. After the death of Pantaenus, (ca. 200 A.D.), he became for a short time the director of the Catechetical School at Alexandria. He was not only familiar with Scripture and all Christian literature before his time, but possessed an amazingly wide knowledge of pagan Greek literature. He cites more than 360 pagan authors. His chief extant writings, forming a kind of trilogy, are the *Exhortation to the Greeks* (*Protreptikos*), the *Pedagogue* (*Paidagogos*), and the *Carpets* (*Stromateis* or *Stromata*). The last work is a long miscellany dealing primarily with the relations of Christianity to secular culture and especially to Greek philosophy. His style at times reaches poetic heights. In stressing the importance of secular knowledge as a preparation for religious instruction and study, Clement was the first to establish a harmony between Christianity and pagan literature and thus to make the pagan Classics an essential part of Christian education.

E. De Faye, *C. d'A.*, 2nd ed. (Paris), 1906; J. Patrick, *C. of A.* (Edinburgh), 1914.  
M. R. P. H.

COLERIDGE, SAMUEL TAYLOR (English, 1772-1834), was the foremost literary critic of the romantic period, as well as the master of the natural-supernatural vein in poetry. Perfect consistency of plan, complete harmony of execution, brevity, restraint, and an unerring sense of artistic propriety, are the chief characteristics of his poetry, especially as in the *Rime of the Ancient Mariner* which, included in the *Lyrical Ballads* by him and Wordsworth, was the first of his poems in the supernatural vein. He was a brilliant conversationalist,

and much of his critical material may be found in the fragmentary remains of his lectures, as in his *Biographia Literaria*.  
H. D. Traill, S.T.C.  
F. F. M.

**COLLINS, TOM** (Joseph Furphy, Australian, 1843-1912), was the author of *Such is Life* (1903) which, after a slow start, is now widely accepted as the greatest prose work yet written by an Australian. Joseph Furphy's working life was spent as a farmer, road worker, contractor for the carrying of supplies to, and wool from, outback sheep stations in Victoria and New South Wales by bullock wagon, and employee in the family's small-town ironworks. *Such is Life* is a discursive account of the life and labors of the "bullockies" of the 1870's. Although it is roughly classifiable as a novel it is really a literary nonesuch, for basically it consists of expanded diary entries; and interspersed with fictional episodes are reflective essays on life and literature as they appear to a convinced egalitarian democrat with (as would now be said) leftist leanings. Furphy himself described his book as "temper democratic; bias, offensively Australian." A second prose work, *Rigby's Romance*, was published posthumously as a book, although it had been serialized in a newspaper in 1905-6. Furphy's collected poems were published in 1916. Some fugitive prose sketches still await publication.

Preface by Vance Palmer to 2nd ed. of *Such is Life*, 1917; Preface by A. G. Stephens to *Rigby's Romance*; "Tom Collins's *Such is Life*," C. Hartley Grattan, *The Australian Quarterly* Vol. ix, no. 3, Sept., 1937; E. E. Prescott, *The Life Story of J. F.*, Melbourne, 1938; Miles Franklin, *J. F.: the Legend of a Man and his Book*, Sydney, 1944.  
C. H. G.

**COLUM CILLE, SAINT** (Columba, Irish, 521-597), is the most famous of the saints of Ireland in the native tradition, not excepting Saint Patrick himself. He was the founder and first abbot of the monastery of Iona, from which Christianity was brought to Scotland and to northern Britain. He was of royal blood, descended from Niall of the Nine Hostages, and was learned in the traditional scholarship of Ireland as well as in that of Latin Christianity. Colum Cille was a poet and a protector of the Order of poets. An ancient Latin hymn, *Altus Prosator*, may be his. Many later Irish poems are piously attributed to him. A Latin manuscript which was probably written by Saint Colum Cille is preserved in the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin.

W. Reeves, *Vita Sancti Columbae*, Dublin (Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society) 1857; W. Huyshe, *The Life of Saint Columba by Saint Adamnan* (London), 1908.  
M. D.

**COMENIUS.** See Komensky, Jan A.

**CONFUCIUS** (Chinese, ca. 551-478 B.C.; Latinized form of KUNG FU-TZU, "Kung, the Master") was China's greatest teacher, who has guided the thinking of the scholars and statesmen of the Chinese empire for 20 centuries. His influence spread to Korea, Japan, and the neighboring states. In his old age he summarized his career by saying, "At 15 I determined to learn. At 30 I established myself. At 40 I had no delusions. At 50 I knew the Will of Heaven. At 60 my ears were still obedient organs (for the reception of truth). At 70 I could follow what my heart desired without transgressing what was right." He described himself in these words: "A man, who in his eager pursuit of knowledge forgot his food; who in the joy of his attainment forgot his sorrows, and who did not care to know that old age was coming on . . ." He wrote the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, *Chun Chiu*—a brief chronological record of events covering a period of about 240 years beginning 722 B.C. He compiled the *Shih Ching* (*Book of Songs*) and thus laid the foundation of Chinese literature. The topic which he often talked about was JEN (pronounced *rhen*), which is the sum total of all virtues and the source of all goodness, and which is manifested in filial devotion, brotherliness, loyalty to a cause, honesty, truthfulness, justice, and forbearance toward others. He glorified the sage rulers of the past and urged men to follow their example, to live noble lives for the sake of living and to work dutifully for the sake of working. He enunciated the principle of "the rectification of names," and emphasized the moral and intellectual importance of a true correspondence between names and realities.

W. E. Soothill: *Analects of C.* (London), 1937; A. Waley: *Analects of C.* (London), 1938; Lin Yutang: *The Wisdom of C.* (N. Y.), 1940.  
S. C. L.

**CONSCIENCE, HENDRIK** (Belgian, 1812-83), revived Flemish literature in Belgium by publishing a romantic novel, *The Lion of Flanders* (1838), which exalted the great past of Flanders. He was influenced by Walter Scott as well as by the romantic painters of his days. The bulk of his sizable work, however, is devoted to picturing the Flemish village, and life in small towns. He was pleasantly sentimental, in no way a realist, but his idyllic portrayal of country life made him the most successful author of his days. He was an enthusiastic lover of nature. He was not a purist, and his language was often awkward, but his novels are well built, and he excels in the handling of mass movements and battles. His popularity was at one time world-wide, most of his novels being translated in many tongues.

Eugène de Bock, *H. C. en . . . Romantisme* (Antwerp), 1921.  
J.-A. G.



CONSTANT, BENJAMIN (French-Swiss, 1767-1830), was born in Lausanne of Huguenot parents and educated in Holland, France, England, and Germany. He accompanied Madame de Staël, his close friend for many years, on her journey through Germany, meeting Goethe and other literary celebrities in Weimar. With his cosmopolitan outlook, his admiration of English political and social life, and his knowledge of German philosophy, he was able to infuse a new conception of common European interests into French letters and politics. Having acquired French citizenship, he became a member of the Chamber of Deputies in 1819, and president of the Council of State in 1830. A most ardent defender of liberalism, the theoretical basis of which he developed, his political speeches and writings appeal to us again with a most timely ring, while his autobiographical novel *Adolphe* (1815), the psychological record of a cooling passion, is still interesting as an early document of introspective fiction.

E. W. Schermerhorn: B. C. (London), 1924.

H. B.

CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENITUS (*Purple-born*, i.e., born of a reigning monarch), Emperor 913-59, is the dominating figure of Byzantine Literature in the 10th c. He fell heir to the throne at the age of seven, was relegated to a secondary position for twenty-five years by the usurper Romanus Lecapenus (914-44), and, upon himself seizing control, turned over the administration to his wife and her favorite, Basil. He devoted his energies and the unlimited resources at his command to fostering education and carrying out the salvaging of antiquity inspired by Photius.\* Besides his great encyclopedias of excerpts, he published textbooks on farming, veterinary science, medicine, zoology, and tactics. He had the chronicle of Theophanes Confessor continued to his own day, and encouraged Joseph Genesius to write a history of the period from 813 to 886. Constantine himself composed several works of more than ordinary interest: a biography of his grandfather, Basil I (867-86), a description of the nations bordering on the Empire and of the political divisions of the Empire, a minute account of the etiquette and ceremonies of the Byzantine court. To him the modern world is largely indebted for the preservation of antiquity.

M. J. H.

COOPER, JAMES FENIMORE (U.S.A., 1789-1851), New York-state novelist whose popular reputation rests mainly upon the romance of his sea stories and the famous *Leather Stocking Tales*, also sums up the contradictory elements that marked the youthful United States as idealistic, irascible, pugnacious, somewhat rude, and yet often consciously aristocratic. Particularly in Cooper's less-known social tracts, in the European trilogy of 1831-3 (*The Bravo*, *The*

*Heidenmauer*, *The Headsman*) which imply the superiority of democracy, in such social-problem novels as *Home as Found* (1838) and the anti-ent trilogy of "Littlepage Manuscripts" of 1845-6 (*Satanstoe*, *The Chainbearer*; *The Redskins*), and in the highly religious stories of his last days, are the problems of early American democracy revealed with an increasingly embittered but always honest conservatism.

R. E. Spiller, J. F. C. (N. Y.), 1935.  
E. C. S.

CORNEILLE, PIERRE DE (French, 1606-84), gave the classic tragedy in France the form it was to follow for two centuries. This quiet, bourgeois family man was a poet capable of some of the most memorable phrases in all French literature, but his greatest contribution to the French stage was his development of a form in which the tragedy should spring from the characters themselves. Following the unities of time, place and action, he made the play consist almost solely of a conflict between two characters, each of whom personifies some dominant idea or emotion. His high reputation as the poet of 'will,' of 'duty,' of 'honor,' was forged out by a series of great successes: *Le Cid* (1636), the first masterpiece of the French theatre; *Horace* (1640); *Cinna* (1640); *Polyeucte* (1643).

L. H. Vincent, C. (Cambridge), 1901.  
R. J. N.

CRUZ, SAN JUAN DE LA (Spanish, 1542-91), was the classical mystic: poet, theologian, philosopher. Imprisoned for trying to reform the Carmelite Order, he found there the decisive symbolism of his mystical system, the dark night of despair that finally leads to the morning of Divine vision. He presents his doctrine through poems of his own, upon which he comments. His *Spiritual Canticle* (pub. 1627) is an adaptation of the *Song of Songs* to Spanish landscape and concepts. Its style is a refined synthesis of Andalusian, Italian, Biblical, Arabic, popular, and learned elements.

E. Allison Peers, *Spirit of Flame* (London), 1944.

H. A. H.

CUNHA, EUCLIDES DA (Brazilian, 1866-1909), was born in the State of Rio de Janeiro. The scientific and exact information contained in his masterpiece, *Os Sertões* (1902), was collected when he went into the arid plains of the *sertão* as a representative of a São Paulo newspaper to report the campaign of Canudos, a fierce Civil War of the young republic against the fanatical followers of the mystical Antônio Conselheiro. Combining the talents of a historian, geologist, geographer, sociologist, psychologist, and philosopher with those of a master of description, Euclides da Cunha produced an original work which opened new fields and inspired other gifted writers. With Graça Aranha he

has the distinction of having directed modern Brazilian literature into the nationalism which is the source of its individuality and strength.

E. J. G.

CYNDELW (Welsh, 2d half 12th c.), called "The Great Poet (Prydydd Mawr)," was the most popular of the group called the *Gogynfeirdd*. He was household bard to Madog ap Maredudd of Powys, and after his death to Owain Gwynedd; he wrote also to various other princes and nobles. His most characteristic work is his war poetry, which has a vigor about it: "Blade in the hand, and hand lopping heads, Hand on the blade, and blade on the host of Normans (Llafn yn llaw, a llaw yn lladd pennain, Llaw ar llafn a'r llafn ar llu Nordd-main)." His *rhiangerdd* to Efa, daughter of Madog, addresses her in an artificial style as "Color of beautiful broken foam before the ninth wave (Lliw ewynvriw tec rac tonn nawfed)." In another poem he tells a lady, in troubadour fashion, that "It is not a good thing that the beauty should go to the bed of the Jealous One (Ny mat gyrchawd gwenn gwely eidic)." 49 poems attributed to him have been preserved.

D. Myrddin Lloyd, "Barddoniaeth C. Brydydd Mawr," *Y Llenor*, XI (1932), 172-187; XIII (1934), 49-57.

J. J. P.

CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA (Greek, d. 444 A.D.), patriarch of that city from 412, was the last great representative of the Alexandrian school and the foremost champion of Catholicism against the Nestorian heresy. He had a deep knowledge of traditional theology and was an acute and clear thinker. Unlike the great Cappadocians and Theodoret of Cyrus, however, he had little interest in pagan learning and rhetoric. His style is very uneven, and, on the whole, unattractive. His writings, which are extant in part only, include: exegetical works, in which the allegorical interpretation is emphasized; dogmatico-polemical works, concerned chiefly with combating Arianism and especially Nestorianism, but among them an elaborate apology against Julian the Apostate; sermons; theological letters. In spite of the opinion widely current, owing to Charles Kingsley's novel, there is no proof that Cyril was responsible for the death of Hypatia.

O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, IV, 1st and 2nd ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau), 1924.

M. R. P. M.

DAFYDD AB EDMWND (Welsh, ca. 1425-ca. 1500) fixed the classical tradition firmly upon Welsh poetry, and then demonstrated that excellent poetry could be written in the fetters of these narrow rules. Welsh criticism, which admires form and style far more than English criticism does, is inclined to rate him second to Dafydd ap Gwilym

alone. At the Eisteddfod of Carmarthen in 1451 he was awarded a silver chair for his arrangement of the bardic metres and for his skill in composing in them. Of the two new metres he added, one is unusually difficult and the other the most difficult of all the 24; he also increased the difficulty of two of the older metres that he retained. He was a gentleman of property who "sang on his own victuals," so that he did not need to address a patron. He wrote elegies and poems of praise, often in difficult metrical forms, and he has some religious poems, but the greater part of his work consists of love poems in the *cywydd* metre—finely done, but intellectual rather than ardent.

Thomas Roberts, *Gwaith D. ab. E. (Bangor)*, Welsh Mss. Soc., 1914.

J. J. P.

DAFYDD AP GWILYM (Welsh, ca. 1325-ca. 1388) is generally considered the greatest of the Welsh poets. The romantic account of his life, long current, must be rejected. About all that we know is that he belonged to the aristocratic class and that he grew up in the mingled Norman-Welsh society of South Wales. He wrote odes and *englynion* in the traditional style of the *Gogynfeirdd*, but his most characteristic work is in a new metre, the *cywydd*, and on lighter themes. Much of it is love poetry in the style of the troubadours, but all of his romantic situations are projected against a background of nature, which seems to be his chief interest. He is as much a rebel against the moral austerities preached by the friars as he is against the linguistic and metrical austerities taught by the *Gogynfeirdd*. He shows great skill in handling the *cywydd* metre, and in adapting the sound of the words to the sense. The canon of his works is uncertain; some poems credited to him in the manuscripts may be by his contemporaries, and recent criticism has rejected as the production of a later age a number of poems formerly reckoned among his best (see Edward Williams).

H. Idris Bell and David Bell, *D. ap G., Fifty Poems* (London), Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion, 1942; *D. ap. G., Selected Poems*, Trans. Nigel Haseltine, Pref. by Frank O'Connor (Dublin), 1944; Ifor Williams and Thomas Roberts, *Cywyddau D. ap G. a'i Gyfoeswyr* (Bangor), 1914, 1935; W. J. Gruffydd, *D. ap G. (Caerdydd)*, 1935.

J. J. P.

DAFYDD NANNOR (Welsh, ca. 1420-ca. 1485) was, according to tradition, the natural son of Rhys Goch Eryri, who adopted him. He espoused the cause of the Tudors, to whom he wrote poems; he also wrote love poems (*cywydd*) in the style of Dafydd ap Gwilym, but they are comparatively free of the "filling-in words" which Dafydd had in-

herited from the older poets. His work is marked by simplicity, economy of words, directness, pathos, artistic sincerity.

Thomas Roberts and Ifor Williams, *The Poetical Works of D. N.* (Cardiff), 1923.

J. J. P.

DALIN, OLOF VON (Swedish, 1708-63), was born in the province of Halland, the son of a clergyman; he studied at the University of Lund. At the age of nineteen, he went to Stockholm, where he was introduced in the aristocratic circles. From 1750 to 1756 Dalin was Prince Gustav's teacher; he also took a very active part in the entertainment at the Court. The period between 1718 and 1772 is called the Age of Liberty in Swedish history, and in this period Dalin began his poetry; one of his best known works bears the characteristic title *Den svenska friheten* (Swedish Freedom; 1742), an epic, strongly influenced by Voltaire's *Henriade*. With *Then Swänska Argus*, modeled upon Addison's *Spectator*, he introduced the moral weekly in Sweden (1732-34). As an author Dalin reaches his highest peak with the political allegory, *Sagan om hästen* (The Saga of the Horse; 1740). Among his other works might be mentioned *Den avundsjuke*, a comedy (1738; *Envy*, Trans. Edith Swanson, 1876), and *Brynhilda* (1738) a tragedy. Dalin was also an historian; his Swedish history, *Svea Rikes Historia* (1747-61), became of great importance for historical research in Sweden.

M. Lamm, O. D., 1908.

A. W.

DALLAN MAC FORGAILL (Irish, 6th c.) was elected Chief Poet (*ardollam*) of Ireland. He is the author of the famous *Eulogy of Colum Cille* (*Amra Colum Chille*), one of the earliest considerable extant documents in the Irish language.

M. D.

DAMASCENE, JOHN. See John Damascene.

DANIEL. See Arnaut Daniel.

D'ANNUNZIO, GABRIELE (1863-1938), was the outstanding literary figure of early 20th c. Italy. Beginning as a disciple of Carducci, he soon carried his master's doctrines to their extreme form in anti-religious, anti-humanitarian, and anti-democratic attitudes, combined with *fin-de-siècle* preciosity and decadence. d'Annunzio's first work was in the novel and lyric poetry. His *novelle*, especially the *Stories of Pescara* (1880), combine regionalism with a morbid interest in primitive brutality; his novels, e.g. *Il Piacerè* (Pleasure, 1889), *The Innocent* (1892), *The Triumph of Death* (1894), exalt Nietzschean disregard of humanity and moral laws. d'Annunzio's poetry is at its highest in the four books of *Laudi* (Praises, 1903-12), which combine ultra-refined preciosity and *recherché* vocabulary

with violent sensuality and primitivism. His plays, especially *La Città Morta* (The Dead City, 1898), *La Gioconda* (1899), *Francesca da Rimini* (1901), and *The Daughter of Iorio* (1904), lack dramatic force and psychological insight, but show his customary exaltation of sensualism, together with brilliantly colored background portrayal.

T. Antongini, D.A. (Boston), 1938.  
R. A. H., Jr.

DANTE. See Alighieri, Dante.

DARIO, RUBEN (Nicaraguan, 1867-1916), Spanish America's greatest poet and first professional man of letters, announced the advent of the Modernist movement with his *Azure* (1888), proclaimed its culmination with his *Profane Prose* (1896), and exerted a profound influence on both Spanish and Spanish-American literature. Endowed with great poetic genius, well read in Spanish classical literature, deeply influenced by the French Parnassians and Symbolists, Darío was an innovator in versification and the exponent of many new means to artistic expression. He created for himself a magical world of Beauty, of which he sings with exotic imagery and delicate nuances; but especially in his *Songs of Life and Hope* (1905) is his verse noteworthy for its simple and intimate tone and for its surpassing beauty. Truly an American at heart, he resented Yankee imperialism but advocated and looked forward to genuine Pan-Americanism.

F. Contreras, R. D.: *su vida y su obra* (Barcelona), 1930; I. Goldberg, R. D., in *The Bookman*, N. Y. XLIX, 1919.

J. R. S.

DASS, PETTER (Norwegian, 1647-1707), leading poet in the early modern period. Like many other 16th and 17th c. writers, he was a pastor, serving first at Nesna and later at Alstahaug, both in the Alsten region where the ancient bard, Eyvind Skaldaspillir,\* had his home. Dass is known chiefly for his plain homespun verse used in the interest of religious instruction, *Evangelical Songs* and *Catechism Songs*. He reaches the highest level in *Nordland's Trumpet*, a long narrative and descriptive poem giving expression to the life of his parishioners. In this as well as in the *Song of the Dalesman*, there are many drastic phrases, but with a naive simplicity and genuine poetic glow. Most of his poetry was copied by hand and spread from district to district, finding a printer a century later. Dass was a sturdy man with a lusty frontier nature. In after years a great deal of myth and legend gathered about his figure.

A. E. Erichsen, P. D.'s *Samlede Skrifter*, 3 v. (Oslo), 1874-77; and D. A. Seip, *Nordlands trompet* (Oslo), 1927.

T. J.

DAUDET, ALPHONSE (French, 1840-97), possessed the rare talent of pleasing a wide audience, as with

his famous *Letters from my Mill* and the series of humorous works centered around his unforgettable character Tartarin, and also of writing serious novels of observation in the naturalistic vein. Such works as *Fromont and Risler* (1874), *Jack* (1876), *The Nabob* (1877), and *Sappho* (1884) revealed a power of evocation of startling intensity, constantly tempered by a warm sympathy for the poor and forgotten of life. An excellent and sure stylist, this warm southerner was almost as much poet as novelist; his humor, his fantasy—and also his tragic sense of life—have held for him an audience that seems constantly to increase.

Arthur Symons, *Studies in Prose and Verse* (London), 1910.

R. J. N.

DEFOE, DANIEL (English, 1661–1731), tradesman and politician, was a forerunner of the early novel. He produced an amazing variety of works: newspapers, magazines, journals, memoirs, biography, picaresque romances, and essays on many subjects. These were written with such a wealth of imagination and picturesque style that the people for whom he wrote were certain that they were fact not fiction. The most popular of his novels, *The Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719), showed Defoe to be a master at taking and keeping the point of view of his hero. His style was remarkably simple and direct, his aim was social usefulness.

Wm. Minto, D. D. (London), 1879.

F. F. M.

DEHMEL, RICHARD (German, 1863–1920), a most temperamental personality drawing his inspiration from Nietzsche, Walt Whitman, Villon, Verlaine, became the leading representative of modern *Erlebnisdichtung*, of a poetry that is resigned to give expression to contradictory emotions, without providing for their reconciliation or anchorage in thought and action. If this love of emotion for emotion's sake produces a dizzy feeling of swinging from one extreme to the other, from sober quietude to cosmic rapture, from realistic sexualism to erotic mysticism (*Aber die Liebe*, 1893), the redeeming feature of Dehmel's work lies in a virtuosity of expression which by means of bold formal innovations succeeds in making articulate a wide range of perplexing, fascinating experiences.

J. Bab, R. D. (Leipzig), 1926.

H. B.

DEKEN, AAGJE. See Wolff, Elizabeth.

DEKKER, EDUARD DOUWES (Multatuli; Dutch, 1820–87), novelist. Born in Amsterdam he left, at the age of 18, for the Dutch East Indies, where he denounced the abuses of the colonial administration. Resigning, he wrote the novel *Max Havelaar*, a bitter indictment of the colonial system. He published some unequal essays and sketches, *Ideas*, and also his masterly novel, *Woutertje Pieterse*. He

remains one of the most powerful reformers and prose writers of Holland.

J. G.

DEMOSTHENES (Greek, 384–322 B.C.) was the great political orator of Greece. As a professional speech writer for the law courts he obtained a training in oratory and a general grasp of Athenian politics which, when coupled with his sincere patriotism, made his speeches rousing the Athenians against Philip of Macedon models of political eloquence. The speeches are expressed clearly and vigorously in the ordinary Greek of his period; they rely for their effect on his thorough mastery of the devices of persuasion: irony, invective, and, at times, the politician's ability to create a false perspective. This thorough knowledge of his craft, and his unrelenting struggle against Philip, established him as a model in the schools of rhetoric and the pages of the literary critics throughout antiquity.

W. Jaeger, D. (Cambridge), 1938.

C. A. R.

DE QUINCEY, THOMAS (English, 1785–1859), essayist and critic, although he made no original contribution to the romantic movement, applied its principles to so many different subjects that he greatly enriched its literature. He dealt with almost every phase of mental activity, from portraying a nightmare *Dream Fugue* in *The English Mail Coach* to building a philosophical system. His *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* is his best work. As a critic, he had certain weaknesses and prejudices. He could see no merit in French literature; with his contemporaries he was frequently informative and penetrating, but at times injudicious. None of his contemporaries surpasses De Quincey in harmony, cadence, sonority.

David Mason, T. D. Q.

F. F. M.

DESCARTES, RENE (French, 1596–1650), was the founder of the rationalistic school of philosophy. His *Discourse on Method* (1637), the first great work of philosophy in a modern language, was the starting point for the movement of the Enlightenment which swept France a century later and Descartes, all unwittingly, provided the philosophers who followed with their most potent weapon against the Church. Starting with the principle that "I think, therefore I am," he laid down four basic rules for the conduct of the mind; stressing the power of the human intellect, he at one blow destroyed the foundations of empirical philosophy and substituted for them the principles of the modern scientific spirit.

A. B. Gibson, *The Philosophy of D.* (London), 1932.

R. J. N.

DESPREAUX, NICOLAS. See Boileau, Nicolas.

DICK, ISAAC MEYER (Yiddish, 1814-93), very prolific popular writer of realistic stories and fantastic historical romances. A life-long resident of Vilna, he depicted in a simple and easily intelligible manner typical characters of his environment, with the intention of raising the moral and intellectual level of the people. His booklets have reached the remotest corners of the pale of settlement. His idiomatic popular style was partly impaired by his predilection for German words, to which he had to adjoin in parentheses the Yiddish equivalent, as otherwise they would have remained unintelligible.

Y. M.

DICKENS, CHARLES (English, 1812-70), was the most popular of the Victorian novelists. Seeking his material from the middle or lower walks of life, he depicted human eccentricities. He hated greed and injustice. His novels have for their root some object of reform or philanthropy, over which he frequently became melodramatic. Although Dickens' novels contain no great body of thought, there is undoubtedly in them the spirit of living. *David Copperfield*, his masterpiece, is unequalled in minute and passionate description, in pathos and charity. Apart from the great variety and feel of life in Dickens' work, its most remarkable quality is the ever-present touch of fantasy.

J. Forster, *Life of D.*  
F. F. M.

DICKINSON, EMILY (U.S.A., 1830-86), the chief woman poet of America, though influenced by Emerson and others, was markedly original and unique in her whimsical attunement to paradox, her honesty of personal expression, her economy and vividness in striking description, and her inexplicable creation of "electric" atmosphere. Outwardly a recluse in her father's home in Amherst, Mass., for the major part of her life, she constantly found adventure, delight, wonder, or tragedy in the events of everyday life and nature, through which she maintained the "jestingly reverent intimacy" with God and the universe that marks her verse. She wrote most of her lyric and epigrammatic miniatures after thirty, and saw only two of them published, both without her consent. The Centenary Edition of her *Poems* (1930) combined all earlier selections from her unorganized manuscripts, and several new collections have appeared since.

G. F. Whicher, *This Was a Poet* (N. Y.), 1938.

E. C. S.

DIDEROT, DENIS (French, 1713-84), incarnated the spirit of the French Enlightenment. As the editor of the *Encyclopédie*, he was charged with the greatest work of scientific and philosophical popularization ever attempted in France. In 27 years of almost incredible labor he completed the vast project,

giving it its essential direction, informing it with the reigning spirit of free investigation, himself contributing many of the most important articles. His influence, moreover, extended beyond the purely philosophical into the realm of belles-lettres. As art critic, he is credited with having created the modern form of journalistic criticism with his *Salons*. As playwright and dramatic theorist, he was equally original, for his essays on the theatre (notably the *Paradox of the Comedian* and *Essay on the Serious Drama*) and his two plays, *The Natural Son* (1757) and *The Father* (1758), prepared the way for the realistic drama of the 19th c.—for the works of Dumas fils and Augier. It may fairly be said of him that, although his principal merit is that of the popularizer, so effectively did he perform his task that he laid the philosophic cornerstone of the Revolution. Although he lacked the typical French sense of organization and economy, his writings are so full of life and vigor that the modern audience readily forgives the endless digressions and repetitions for the impression of inexhaustible energy that he always creates.

J. Morley, *D. and the Encyclopedists* (London), 1921.

R. J. N.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS (Greek, late 1st c. B.C.) was a representative of the group of literary critics whose studies of the great prose writers of the classical period brought about a renaissance of Greek prose writing in the period of the early Roman Empire. Dionysius' critical works are largely concerned with technical matters of style, except for his appreciation of Demosthenes, and his disparagement of Thucydides as a historian—a judgment based on rhetorical grounds. Rhetoric and moralizing vitiated his own historical work, the *Roman Antiquities*, but his talents lay rather in the close analysis of style; his importance, in pointing the way to the writers of the New Sophistic movement.

M. Egger, *Denys d'H.* (Paris), 1902.

C. A. R.

DONNE, JOHN (English, 1573-1631), poet, prose writer, and religious, was recognized for his lyric poetry, of immense influence. Most of it deals with life descriptively and experimentally, with extraordinary frankness and realism. In his love poems, written in his earlier years, he shows the physical view of love, the reverse of the romantic Elizabethan attitude. His later poems express his thoughts on death. In his prose, the same ideas are brought forward with even greater intensity. His poems are fervent, restless, serious; but his use of "conceits" often makes his meaning obscure. He was chief of those whom Samuel Johnson dubbed the "metaphysical poets."

E. Gosse, *Life and Letters of J. D.*  
F. F. M.

DOSTOYEVSKY, FEODOR MIKHAYLOVICH (Russian, 1821-81), stands by himself in world literature as a master of the analysis of the human soul. Perhaps he was himself a troubled spirit seeking in vain for a final solution of human problems and the relation of man to God and perhaps he had won through to faith. Nevertheless no one has painted so vividly the possibilities of revolt against God and the established order of the universe; his negative characters are far more powerful than are his positive ones. In all his great characters, he has shown what man must not do if he is to be happy, contented, and successful.

He started writing in the 40's, his point of departure that same *Cloak* of Gogol which served as the basis of Russian indictment literature. Yet from his earliest days Dostoyevsky emphasized the humanity of even the down-trodden and impoverished, as the clerk Dyevushkin who was able to care for the still more unhappy Varvara. Before his arrest and exile to Siberia, he had already sketched in outline the types on which he was later to work, the dreamer who is torn between the world in which he imagines himself and that in which he lives; the weak heart guided only by its emotions; the diabolically proud woman who is ruthless to all with whom she comes in contact. His favorite device is the use of the "double." Clumsily in the story of that name, more expertly in his later works, he brings together a man of strong ideas and a reflection of those ideas taken from another point of view, to complete the disintegration of the individual who feels himself superior to humanity. (This structure has been over-elaborated by a modern school of critics, headed by A. Perverzev, but there is a considerable basis of fact in it.)

Such a treatment of psychological and moral themes was not in keeping with 19th c. Russian literature and the ideas of the intelligentsia; but Dostoyevsky's talent and ability enabled him to hold his ground despite severe criticism, and he became the chief influence on the literature of the next 50 years.

He is not interested in the externals of his characters, but they are flaming incarnations of ideas and emotions, still completely personalized. He judges their actions by their motives, so that he basically defends a functional morality that receives its value from the resurrection of Christ. His judgments are of characters even more than of society and while he was at heart and in his journalistic writings strongly nationalistic and a believer in the Russian autocracy, he writes of Russia as an ideal system and does not consider the immediate problems of the social order. To him social justice is unrealizable, for he demands both justice and mercy; hence it is that the essential parts of his teaching are often buried in the vehement tirades of some irresponsible character, tortured by the insoluble problems of the universe.

Dostoyevsky became in a real sense the father confessor of Russia, and while he has erred in his idea that the revolutionary movement would break in vain upon the Russian peasant, his analyses of human nature, his pity and his cruelty, his picturing of unbelief and of the superman (who is really less than human) have won him a tremendous influence in all the countries of the world.

E. J. Simmons, D., *the making of a novelist* (London & N. Y.), 1940; Av. Yarmolinsky, D., *a life* (N. Y.), 1934.  
C. A. M.

DRACHMAN, HOLGER (Danish, 1846-1908), as a pupil of Brandes, popularized the thoughts of Brandes in the form of poems and plays, especially advocating free thought and free life. As the glamorous advocate of this school of thought and life, he was quite idolized by his contemporaries.

C. M. V.

DREISER, THEODORE [HERMAN ALBERT] (U.S.A., 1871-1945), rising out of poverty along the hard road of journalism (his brother, Paul Dresser, became a popular composer), was inspired by reading Balzac and Henry B. Fuller to become the most important American representative of Continental 'naturalism.' Frequently turning autobiography into fiction, untiringly amassing materials and evidence, and almost literally creating his own audience, he faced with honesty and penetration the baffling complexities of modern industrial society. *Hey Rub-a-Dub-Dub* (1920) expresses in essay form his early philosophy, which in the novels tends to be often tentative, unsystematic and willfully agnostic. His style, too often clumsy, humorless, commonplace, and lacking in 'taste,' and, above all, wanting both artistic and philosophic selectivity and balance, nevertheless is massive in its effect and capable of great power in evoking pity and terror, the predominating moods in his most important novel, *An American Tragedy* (1925).

D. Dudley: *Forgotten Frontiers* (N. Y.), 1932.

E. C. S.

DROST, AERNOUT (Dutch, 1814-34), forerunner of the historical novel in Holland: *The Plague at Katwijk* was published posthumously.

J. G.

DRYDEN, JOHN (English, 1631-1700), poet, essayist, dramatist, critic, was a prominent literary figure of the Restoration. An amazingly active writer, he seemed to touch every point of the life of the time. As a poet of satire, he was influential in establishing the heroic couplet, which dominated English poetry for the next century. His best poem, *Alexander's Feast*, is noteworthy for force of lyric expression and perfect adaptation of sound to sense. In his prose works, he proved himself the ablest

critic of his time, and invented a neat and serviceable style, which set the example for modern prose.

G. Saintsbury, D.  
F. F. M.

DU BELLAY, JOACHIM (French, 1525-60), the chief lieutenant of Ronsard in the *Pléiade*, was the theorist of the school. In the *Defense and Illustration of the French Language* (1549) he not only defended the use of French (against Latin) as a literary tongue, but suggested multiple ways of improving it as a vehicle for artistic expression. He called for new genres to replace those brought into disrepute by men of small talent, advised the imitation of the literatures of antiquity, and established the essential rules of prosody that were to dominate French poetry for nearly two centuries. His own sonnets (the *Regrets*, 1559, are best known), allying technical skill with profound sentiment, give him a place second only to Ronsard among French lyricists of the Renaissance.

R. Aldington, *Literary Studies and Reviews* (N. Y.), 1924.

R. J. N.

DUHAMEL, GEORGES (French, b. 1884), is France's novelist of the 'little man.' His best works, *The Martyrs' Life* (1917, treating the first World War), *Midnight Confession* (1924), *Two Men* (1924), *The Stone of Horeb* (1926), combine an exact, pitiless observation of life, in which Duhamel's scientific training is apparent, with the warmest sympathy for the forgotten of society and a profound, disillusioned sense of the discouragement and frustration of the modern industrial world. In composition and construction Duhamel is perhaps the most strictly 'classic' of France's outstanding modern writers; his novels stand in the great current of the 19th c., but none is more modern than he, none has better translated the contemporary conscience, with its aspirations and doubts and confusion, its sense of the bitter futility of life.

E. E. Gardner, D. and *Civilization in Furman Bull.* (Greenville), 1939; -A. Ouy, G. D. (Paris), 2d ed., 1936.

R. J. N.

DUUN, OLAF (Norwegian, 1876-1939), often mentioned with Sigrid Undset as one of the two greatest figures of 20th c. Norwegian literature. He used the *landsmaal* but modified it in the direction of a smoother literary form. Although he did not possess Garborg's\* poetic genius, he had an even greater influence upon the language than Garborg, and it may be said that the gradual merging of the Dano-Norwegian with the *landsmaal* is taking the direction Duun pointed. As a literary artist he reached the monumental in *The People of Juvik*, 1918-1923, a series of six novels portraying the inner history of a community from paganism until modern industrial times. Duun is particularly known

for his visionary insight into the human personality; in highly concentrated stories he shows the motivation of human acts. The vast struggle of man pitted against nature is present everywhere in his art, and in the last book he wrote, *Men and the Powers*, 1938, there is a clairvoyant sense of the coming world catastrophe. His style is extraordinarily compact and graphic.

Arnulf Øverland, O. D. (Oslo), 1926, and Kristian Elster in Vol. III of *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon* (Oslo), 1926.

T. J.

DYKSTRA, WALING (Frisian, 1821-1914), was the most prominent of the 19th c. popular writers. Though he was not a great literary figure, he did much to spread a taste for Frisian reading among the general public. His voluminous writings extend into the fields of drama, prose, and verse. In practically all of them there is a humorous and didactic element, colored by a decidedly rationalistic outlook. Among his better known volumes of verse are *Doaitse with the Nordic Harp*, 1848, and *The Rustic Minstrel*, 1867. Two of his most popular narratives are *The Silver Rattle*, 1856, and *The Frisian Tyl Eulenspiegel*, 1860. His volume *Of Frisian Folklore*, 1895, is of the highest importance, as is the *Frisian Dictionary*, which he edited from 1885 to 1911.

J. Piebenga, *Koarte Skiednis fen de Fryske Skriftekennisse* (Dokkum), 1939.

B. J. F.

EÇA DE QUEIROZ, JOSE MARIA DE. See Queiroz, José Maria Eça de.

EDWARDS, JONATHAN (Colonial American, 1703-58), Puritan logician, constructed a lofty system of Calvinism buttressed by current philosophy. In *Religious Affections* (1746) he defended his idea of the Great Awakening and worked out his basic psychological concept, that the passions (affections) are the root of all action. He then argued that *Freedom of the Will* (1754) is liberty of action, but not of willing, since the will's activity depends upon the understanding's invariable choice of the stronger motive. However, *The Nature of True Virtue* (1755) is "disinterested benevolence," and natural man—shorn of that virtue at the Fall (*The Doctrine of Original Sin*, 1758)—has only culpable self-interest unless divinely elected (*Decrees and Elections*) to receive a supernatural affection—"Efficacious Grace"—to make the choices by his Understanding constantly good.

O. E. Winslow, J. E. (N. Y.), 1940.

E. C. S.

EDWARDS, OWEN MORGAN (Welsh, 1858-1920), historian and educator, while at Oxford founded (1886), with John Rhys, John Morris Jones, Edward Anwyl, and others, The Dafydd ap Gwilym Society, which was influential in arousing interest

in things Welsh. While the others developed the scholarly side, he devoted himself to the popular. His little books of travels and his numerous magazine articles, written in the simple language of the common people, have delighted many readers and have been instrumental in developing the modern prose style. "He did more than any other man to revive Welsh as a literary language." He founded *Cymru* in 1891 and *Cymru'r Plant* in 1892, unpretentious little magazines that have pleased many, and he edited both until his death; for the English-speaking Welshman he edited *Wales*, 1894 ff. He designed his *Cyfres y Fil* as "a dainty little series of all the Welsh thinkers"; it ran to about 50 volumes. The editions were not scholarly, but they were pleasant to carry about and to read. His aim was to revive the cultural independence of Wales; with her political independence he was not much concerned, and he soon gave up his seat in Parliament. He served (1907-1920) as Chief Inspector of Education for Wales, and in 1916 was knighted for his services to Welsh education.

W. J. Gruffydd, O. M. E.: *Cofiant* (Aberystwyth), 1937.

J. J. P.

EICHENDORFF, JOSEF VON (German, 1788-1857), was the outstanding lyric poet of the second German Romantic School. Love of mountain and forest, of stream and field, Wanderlust, romantic longing, and a sort of pantheistic Catholicism, in which nature sings the glories of a just Providence, are the basic motives of his poetry. Eichendorff wrote a novel and a number of *novellen*, the most characteristic and best known of which is his delightful *From the Life of a Good-for-Nothing* (1826). In this lyrical *novelle* he glorifies the joys of wandering as contrasted with the confined life of the philistine.

S. Liptzin, *Historical Survey of German Lit.* (N. Y.), 1936.

P. M.

EINARSSON, INDRIDI (Icelandic, 1851-1939), the outstanding Icelandic dramatist of the 19th c., wrote his first play, *Njárnóttin* (*New Year's Eve*; 1872) while he was still in college; a romantic, lyric play which has enjoyed great popularity. Several years after came the realistic drama *Skipid sekkur* (*The Ship is Sinking*; 1902), dealing with contemporary life. His later plays, on the other hand, draw their themes from history and folk-lore. *Sverð of bagall* (*Sword and Crozier*; 1899), in Eng. in *Poet Lore* (1912), is an excellent historical drama. Another notable play of his is *Dansinn í Hrúna* (*The Dance at Hrúni*; 1921), centered around various Icelandic folk tales, one of his very best productions. He collaborated in an Icelandic translation of Ibsen's *Vikings of Helgeland* and has also translated a number of Shakespeare's historical dramas and comedies (still in manuscript). His plays are fre-

quently impressive and generally well adapted for the stage.

L. M. Hollander, "I. E., Icelandic Dramatist and His Sága-Drama," *Poet Lore*, Vol. XXIV, 1912.

R. B.

ELIOT, GEORGE (Mary Ann Evans; English, 1819-81), stands at the head of the Victorian writers of psychological novels. In the description of the tragedy which underlies so much of human life, in the subtle analysis of character and in depicting that which unravels the complex thread of human motives, she is thought to excel all writers since Shakespeare. Her first novels, *Adam Bede*; *The Mill on the Floss*; *Silas Marner*, are rich in character description and autobiographical background. In command of pathos, humor, and tragedy, she is probably supreme among English women writers.

L. Stephen, G. E. F. F. M.

EMERSON, RALPH WALDO (U.S.A., 1803-82), by superimposing a broad knowledge of world-thought upon his own native temperament, summed up the conflicts of his age with a characteristic mixture of lofty abstraction and practical shrewdness. Attempting to bridge the chasm of dualism, to reconcile the individual to the whole, he constructed a provocative but confusing pattern from Plato, nature, science, and Kant (largely via Coleridge and Carlyle) as well as other diverse elements such as Eastern thought and, later, Hegel. His optimistic text lies in *Nature* (1836), *The American Scholar* (1837), and *The Divinity School Address* (1838), where he appeals for a return to original intellectual and spiritual experience based upon *Self-Reliance* (self-discipline) stemming from a compelling, intuitive link with the "Over-Soul" (world-soul). These basic ideas are expanded and developed in the two influential volumes of *Essays* (1841; 1844) and in *Poems* (1847).

R. Gay, E.: *A Study of the Poet as Seer* (N. Y.), 1928.

E. C. S.

EMINESCU, MIHAIL (1850-89), Romanian poet, led a sad and disappointing life, in his later years threatened steadily with insanity to which he finally fell a victim. His poems, as *Venere și Madonna* and *Epigonii*, brought him much fame but, save by the critic Tito Maiorescu, he was not fully appreciated until after his death. He was deeply sensitive. He drew upon eastern and western sources as well as upon the Romanian folksongs for his material, though also much affected by Buddhism and the idea of Nirvana. His pessimistic mood was reflected in an entire generation of Romanian writers.

C. A. M



'ENBAQOM (Ethiopic, mid 16th c.) was a merchant from Yemen. He translated from Arabic the *Story of Baralâm and Yewâsef*, famous throughout the near East; and also the *Universal History* of Abu Shâkir.

S. A. B. M.

ENGSTROM, ALBERT (Swedish, 1869-1940), was born in Småland, where his father was a station master. At Stockholm, he made a career as a cartoonist in a popular burlesque genre. For many years he was the editor of a little comic magazine, *Strix* (the name was August Strindberg's nickname as a schoolboy, as well as the Latin name of the owl, the symbol of wisdom). Through his cartoons and stories, the theme of which were the life of the backwoods farmers of Småland and the fishermen of Roslagen, the coast of the province of Uppland, he gained an enormous popularity: *Mitt liv och leverne*, (*My Life and My Ways*, 1907); *Bläck och saltvatten*, (*Ink and Salt Water*, 1914); *Min 12:te bok*, (*My 12th Book*, 1919). As a storyteller, he was genuinely Swedish; it has been said about him that he taught the Swedish people to laugh in Swedish. In his later years he held a position as professor in the Royal Academy of Fine Arts; he was also a member of the Swedish Academy. His complete works were published in 28 v in 1941.

Torsten Fogelquist, A. E., *Ett konstnårsalbum*, 1937.

A. W.

ENNIUS, QUINTUS (Roman, 239-169 B.C.), is the first important author to apply with any semblance of success Greek metrical norms to Latin verse. His *Annals*, a record of Rome's achievements from the foundation to the author's time, was written after the model of Homer in hexameter verse of considerable distinction. By introducing poetic compound epithets in the Greek manner he enriched the Latin language in such a fashion as to attract the emulation of later poets. There is not in the extant fragments of the epic of Ennius any indication of the superb unity which we are wont to admire in the Homeric masterpiece. From the excellent quality of the remains of some of his tragedies we are led to conclude that he had a gift more for drama than for epic.

E. M. Stuart, *The Annals of E.* (Cambridge), 1925.

J. J. S.

ERASMUS, DESIDERIUS (1466-1536), an Augustinian Canon who after ten years of the religious life became a "wandering scholar," subsisting on his importunate begging from his friends, among whom were Colet, Linacre, and St. Thomas More (1478-1535). At the latter's house he wrote his *Latin Praise of Folly* (*Encomium Moriae*, probably a pun on the name of his host), a bitter satire on

all classes of society, with emphasis on the Clergy. His *Colloquies* are a series of dialogues not without a salty humor. He published 2,000 of his *Letters*, from which we gather many of the details of his life and travels. He was not a calm and stable character, thus stands in striking contrast to the single-mindedness of his friend, St. Thomas More, an equally great humanist, who died for his principles. More's Latin *Utopia* (1516) is a classic in its own literary genre and displays the keen observation that is characteristic of Erasmus, without the latter's bitterness.

J. J. Mangan, D. E. (New York), 1927.  
E. A. Q.

ERZRUM. See Nefi.

ESPRONCEDA Y DELGADO, JOSE DE (Spanish, 1808-42), is the typical Byronic romantic doubter, lover, pessimist. His *Poems* (1840) range from neoclassical hymns to popular songs; he retells old Spanish legends (*The Student of Salamanca*) or cries out his disillusion, as in the ironically destructive verse of *The Devil World*. His reputation is largely due to his technical skill; his many tunes, however, make his sincerity suspect.

P. Mazzei, *La poesia di E.* (Firenze), 1935.

H. A. H.

EURIPIDES (Greek, 485-406 B.C.) was the most influential of the writers of Greek tragedy. His interest lay in human ideas and emotions, so that in his plays is found a note foreign to the more formal tragedy of Aeschylus and Sophocles. It is akin to the problem play and the psychological studies of modern times. His most interesting plays center on the struggles of strong personalities in the grip of an overpowering passion, such as Medea driven by hate, Phaedra by love, or Agave by religious hysteria. Euripides' interest in human nature made his work the ancestor of the New Comedy and gave it greater popularity in antiquity than the narrower but more perfect art of Sophocles.

G. M. A. Grube, *The Drama of E.* (London), 1941.

C. A. R.

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA IN PALESTINE (Greek, ca. 263-339 A.D.) was one of the most erudite and universal of early Christian writers. His works cover history, biography, geography, scriptural exegesis, apologetics, theology, and even include literary letters and orations. A worthy successor of his master and model, Origen, in his scholarship, he possessed, however, little of Origen's originality of thought. As bishop of Caesarea, he was vacillating in matters of doctrine and was a typical courtier in his relations with Constantine the Great. His style is monotonous, often involved, and at times very bombastic. Of his writings, a large portion of which are known to us

only from fragments or through translations made into Latin, Syriac, and Armenian, it will suffice to mention: the *Chronicle*, a work of basic importance for ancient pagan as well as Judaeo-Christian chronology and history; the *Church History*; the panegyric compositions on Constantine the Great—with all the defects of their genre; and the *Præparatio evangelica*, an elaborate historical and philosophical apology for Christianity. The *Church History*, in ten books, written from the apologetic point of view, is in method and form more like a full chronicle than a history in the modern sense. But the copious excerpts from writers now lost, the inclusion of official documents, and the accumulation of concrete facts make the work invaluable. Its author rightly deserves the titles of "the Christian Herodotus" and "the Father of Church History."

O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, III, 2nd ed., (Freiburg im Breisgau), 1923.

M. R. P. M.

EUSTATHIUS, ARCHBISHOP OF THESSALONICA (Byzantine, 1175-94), commands universal respect for his renowned commentaries on Homer, Pindar, and the ancient geographer Dionysius. But he was far more than a moldy pedant; he was an inspiration, a man of great soul, a personage of originality and daring. During his earlier years as teacher at Constantinople, his home, like Photius', became the heart of a brilliant intellectual society. At Thessalonica, his selfless devotion to his flock would not suffer him to forsake the city during the Norman conquest (he wrote an excellent history of this episode) and he had the nerve to check the wild excesses of the victors. His courageous attacks on clerical laxity got him banned temporarily from his see. These cries for reform are among his best writings; in one pamphlet, he protests against the intellectual stagnation of the monks; another assails hypocrisy and sham holiness; a third denounces the arrogance of the priests that were ashamed of their popular title *Papas*. Eustathius was the most learned and influential figure of the 12th c., a great savant and an even greater churchman.

M. J. H.

EVANS, MARY ANNE. See Eliot, George.

EYVIND SKALDASPILLIR (Norwegian, 920-990); prominent chieftain and the leading court poet of Haakon the Good's time. Known for his part in the battle of Stord. After the death of King Haakon, Eyvind wrote the *Hákonarmál*, a eulogy of the sovereign. To the honor of Earl Haakon of Lade (about 986) Eyvind wrote *Háleygjatal*, a genealogy of the Helgeland earls. It is a work comparable to Tjodolf from Kvine's genealogy of the Yngling kings. Especially in the memorial poem to Haakon the Good does Eyvind prove himself a bard of lofty vision and deep personal loyalty. His style is colorful in

the grandiose manner of the Viking times to which he belonged.

Finnur Jonsson, *Skjaldedigtning* 4 v. (Copenhagen), 1912-1915, and *Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturs historie*, 2d ed., 3 v. (Copenhagen), 1920-24.

T. J.

EZRA. See Ibn Ezra.

FALKBERGET, JOHAN (Norwegian, b. 1879), outstanding novelist, came into literature by way of a career with the labor press. Born into a mining community home, he had himself been a miner in the Røros district and knew the life intimately. He wrote a number of stories with a Christian socialist trend, but his monumental work is the series dealing with life in the Røros mining community in the 18th c. The title of the series is taken from the mine Christianus Sextus. The series includes *The Early Miners* (*De første geseller*), *Across the Kjölen Ridge* (*Over Kjölen*), *The Mine Lieutenant* (*Berglöytnanten*), *By the Sign of the Hammer* (*I hammerens tegn*), *The Knights of Labor* (*Arbeidets riddere*), *The Watchman in the Tower* (*Tårnvektteren*), and *The Tower*—(*I raktårnet*). *Christianus Sextus* was published between the years 1927 and 1938. It is one of the classics of our time.

Ole Øisang, *J. F. og hans dikning* (Trondheim), 1929, and Kristian Elster in Vol. IV of *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon* (Oslo), 1929.

T. J.

FANG WENG. See Lu You.

FARID, IBN-AL- (Arab, 1181-1235), an Egyptian of Syrian ancestry, was born in Cairo. He surpassed all other mystics of Islam in the intense glow of his utterances. He combined grandeur of ideas, power of phrase, and vibrant music, in the blaze of a consuming ecstasy. After a 15-year sojourn in Mecca, he settled in Cairo where he came to be venerated as a saint. In his anthology of mystical odes, the longest piece is a hymn of divine love, permitting comparison with the Biblical *Song of Songs*, and giving rise to the accusation that he favored the doctrine of God's incarnation in human beings. His verse is thoroughly Arabic in form and content. His style, pregnant with verbal subtleties (betraying the influence of al-Mutanabbi) is still inspiring.

R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (Cambridge), 1921.

E. J. J.

FARIGOULE, LOUIS. See Romain, Jules.

FERDAWSI. See Firdausi.

FIELDING, HENRY (English, 1707-54), a playwright and a man of versatile tastes, ranks foremost

among early English novelists through his masterpiece, *Tom Jones* (1749). His was an attempt at realism in that he devoted himself to a portrayal of men and manners as he found them, with no reservations. His abounding physical vigor was the greatest of Fielding's gifts, enabling him to apprehend and portray the primary facts of life with extraordinary vividness and frankness. His humanity, felt by some to be the most essential quality of a novelist, made his work permanently engaging and powerful.

A. Dobson, *Life of F.*  
F. F. M.

FIRDAUSI (Abū al-Qāsim Ḥasan ibn 'Alī of Tus; Iranian, 935-1025) the great epic poet of Iran, is the author of the *Shahnama* (*Book of Kings*), legends and history of Iran to the Arab conquest, in 60,000 couplets, based upon now lost annals, such as the *Khodāy-nāma* (*Book of Kings*) of Dehqān-e Dāneshvar, and other material collected by the poet Daqīqī. It is similar in many respects to the old rhyming chronicles of the West, but it is highly embellished with all the ornaments of poetry and fable. Firdausi has enlivened his narrative with many agreeable episodes and adventures, and holds the attention of his readers throughout the poem. His conceptions are lively and vigorous, his thoughts bold and forcible, his description striking and animated. Throughout the poem one feels the glow of a rich and ardent imagination. Firdausi has identified himself with the feelings of his countrymen. His *Shahnama* is full of the glories and sufferings of his people, and more than 900 years after its composition, it still continues to form the delight of the Oriental world and has had a considerable influence on the literary productions of Iran.

H. Zimmern, *The Epic of Kings* (N. Y.), 1926.

M. A. S.

FITZGERALD, GARRETT, Fourth Earl of Desmond (*Gearóid Iarla*, Irish, d. 1398), belonged to the Munster branch of the great Norman family of FitzGerald, and was Lord Chief Justice of Ireland in 1367. He was the first, so far as is known, to practice in Irish the Norman style of love-poetry, which had its origin in the songs of the troubadours of Provence. Known as Gerald the Rhymer, he is described in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* as 'a nobleman of wonderful bounty, mirth, cheerfulness in conversation, easy of access, charitable in his deeds, a witty and ingenious composer of Irish poetry, a learned and profound chronicler, and, in fine, one of the English nobility that had Irish learning and professors thereof in greatest reverence of all the English of Ireland.'

M. D.

FLAUBERT, GUSTAVE (French, 1821-80), stands as a novelist between the romantic and realistic schools. As a romantic he composed the brilliant *Salammbô* (1862) and *The Temptation of Saint Anthony* (1874), both tales of the strange and exotic. As a realist he produced the masterpiece of all French prose fiction, *Madame Bovary* (1857), and *The Sentimental Education* (1869), in the first of which especially he accomplishes the dissection of the human heart with a finesse and exactness that are yet unsurpassed. His life of incredible labor was a story of high inspiration and of single devotion to 'le beau', to beauty in all its forms. He emerges today as France's finest literary craftsman and as something more besides, as the high priest of her cult of Art, of the solid classic art that has run its course unbroken from the men of the Middle Ages to the moderns.

F. Steegmuller, *F. and Madame Bovary* (N. Y.), 1939.

R. J. N.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS (Greek, ca. 170-250 A.D.) was the most important member of the literary family of the Philostrati, typical writers of the New Sophistic movement of Greek literature in the period of the Roman Empire. Flavius was born and lived most of his life in the Greek east, where he became a member of a group which the empress, Julia Domna, gathered around her. At her instigation he wrote a *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, about whom a web of legend had gathered. The *Life*, quite unhistorical, was designed to synthesize the mystical religions that were popular at the period. Later, it furnished material to those writers that sought to set up Apollonius as a pagan makeweight to Christ. Flavius' other work, the *Lives of the Sophists*, is interesting rather for its anecdotes and incidental information than for any evaluation of the work of the Sophists.

F. C. Conybeare, P., *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, Introduction (London), 1912.

C. A. R.

FOGAZZARO, ANTONIO (1842-1911), was the leading Italian novelist of the second half of the 19th c. His earlier novels (*Malombra*, 1881; *Daniele Cortis*, 1885; *The Mystery of the Poet*, 1888) and short stories, although not directly following the realistic trend of the period, combined humor and genre painting (of North Italian scenes and people) with a mild exoticism (interest in Germany, France, and England) and a keen analysis of psychology and character. His masterpiece, *Piccolo Mondo Antico* (*Little World of Yesteryear*, 1896) is a well-balanced study of the personal problem of a married couple's relationship against a Risorgimento background. In his later novels (*Piccolo Mondo Moderno*, 1901; *The Saint*, 1905; *Leila*, 1910) Fogazzaro's interest in Catholic Mod-

ernism' dominates, somewhat to the detriment of artistic and literary value.

P. Nardi, F. (Vicenza), 1929.  
R. A. H., Jr.

FOLKERTSMA, EELTSJE BOATES (Frisian, b. 1893), the outstanding essayist in contemporary Frisian literature, was an early adherent of the Young Frisian Movement, from which he later withdrew. In 1926 he joined R. P. Sybesma and J. H. Brouwer in launching *The Bee* (*De Holder*), a periodical in which appeared much of his literary criticism and his excellent translation of St. Augustine's *Confessions*. In 1928 he became editor of the Christian nationalist weekly *The Voice Of Friesland*. Some of his best prose has been collected in *Church and Steeple*, 1934, a classic volume of literary criticism, journalism, and general essays. Folkertsma's prose presents a rare combination of robustness and grace. It is poignant and intellectually vigorous, and has not only a strongly individual, but also a profoundly religious quality.

Dr. G. A. Wumkes, *Paden fen Fryslân*, v. II (Boalsert), 1934.

B. J. F.

FOMBONA, RUFINO BLANCO (Venezuelan, b. 1874), was one of the early modernists, became the foremost representative of the movement in his country, and was one of the first to turn against it. An avowed enemy of tyranny and oppression, he spent most of his life in exile, ceaselessly attacking political corruption and other disrupting elements of Spanish-American life, including the growing power of the U. S. Attacker of false and artificial literary tendencies, he has greatly stimulated the creation of genuinely American literature. Besides his critical articles on Spanish-American men of letters and an annotated edition of Bolivar's correspondence, he has supervised the publication of various series of works by Spanish-American intellectuals. His own writing is deeply personal, the outgrowth of his own experiences; his *Songs of Prison and Exile* are truly "the human cry of a man who has suffered." Impulsive, voluble, inconsistent, he has nevertheless shown profound insight into Spanish-American conditions and ideals and has exerted great influence on his contemporaries.

I. Goldberg, *Studies in Spanish Am. Lit.* (N. Y.), 1920; Blanco-Fombona, *Camino de imperfección, diario de mi vida* (1906-13), (Madrid), 1933.

J. R. S.

FOSCOLO, UGO (Italian, 1778-1827), is best remembered as the author of *The Last Letters of Jacopo Ortis* (1796-1802) and the poem *The Sepulchres* (1806-7). The former, similar in plot and mood to Goethe's *Werther*, is individualized and at the same time weakened by an infusion of desperate patriotism. *The Sepulchres*, written to de-

fend the custom of erecting tombs and monuments, is first lyrical and then epic in its evocation of past greatness. Foscolo's tragedies and other lyric poems are of lesser importance; his prose writings, especially those on Dante and Italian literature, show keen critical understanding and psychological penetration.

G. Chiarini, *La vita di U. F.* (Firenze), 1927.

R. A. H., Jr.

FRANCE, ANATOLE (Jacques-Anatole Thibault; French, 1844-1924), is the great master of irony of modern times. Beginning his long literary career as something of a dilettante, smitten with the art of the 18th c., with Greek letters, with a love of old manuscripts, he changed after the Dreyfus case into a keen satirist of human institutions and of modern society. His earlier manner, in which the autobiographical tendency prevailed, is well exemplified by two fine works, *The Crime of Sylvestre Bonnard* (1881) and *My Friend's Book* (1885); in *Thais* (1890) and in *Queen Pedauque's Cookshop* (1893) we see his elegant libertinism and more than a hint of the satire that was to become the keynote of his works. After 1893, in the general work entitled *Histoire Contemporaine*, which centers about the figure of M. Bergeret and which contains four novels (*The Elm on the Mall*, 1896; *The Osier Mannequin*, 1897; *The Amethyst Ring*, 1899; and *M. Bergeret in Paris*, 1901) the tone changes: Anatole is now socialist and skeptic, his main preoccupation the satirizing of bourgeois society. In *Crainquebille* (1901) and *Penguin Island* (1908) the satire becomes more bitter, but even as he was completing the latter work he was in the act of creating a marvelous *Life of Joan of Arc*, testifying not only that he was satirist and skeptic, but, contrariwise, that he could treat with honesty and reverence all that is good and beautiful and true. In spite of his marvelous stylistic talent and his gift for mockery of human stupidity and crassness, his work seems a little dated now. It is nonetheless an example of constant devotion to an ideal of truth and beauty.

E. P. Dargan, A. F. (Oxford), 1937.  
R. J. N.

FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN (U.S.A., 1706-90), sometimes called "the typical man of the Enlightenment," was a complex product of Puritanism, classicism, neo-classicism and Newtonian science. He became famous and remains important as America's first scientific deist; practical humanitarian and prudential moralist (*Articles of Belief and Acts of Religion*, 1728); pioneer educationalist (founded the Philadelphia Library Company, the American Philosophical Society, the Academy for Education of Youth); pragmatic and theoretical scientist (*Experiments and Observations on Electricity*, 1751);

agrarian and laissez-faire economist; postmaster-general; political theorist (*An Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania*, 1759); early patriot (*Causes of the American Discontents before 1768*); and statesman. His prose was generally neo-classic—plain, economical, but forceful, and inclined toward purism, satire and imitation.

C. Van Doren, B. F. (N. Y.), 1938.  
E. C. S.

FRANKO, IVAN (Ukrainian, 1856–1916), was the best known writer of Western Ukraine. He spent most of his life in Lvivi as a journalist, man of letters, and leader of popular thought. He achieved success in almost every field of literature: poetry, prose writing, drama, criticism, political writing. A socialist, he preached a sincere and active democracy, but he realized that the conditions of the late 19th c. called for sober work rather than for grandiloquent gestures. His poems range from brief treatments of social themes to such philosophical poems as *The Withered Leaves*, and *Moses*, where he portrays the fate of a leader whose vision leads him too far ahead of his people. If it was the task of Shevchenko\* to rouse his people to a knowledge of their past, it was the task of Franko to teach them to live in the present and to be ready for the future, and he did his work well. The enormous welcome that he received on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of his literary career and his majestic funeral show he had won the regard of his people.

C. A. Manning, *Essays On Ukrainian Lit.*, 1944

C. A. M.

FRENEAU, PHILIP (U.S.A., 1752–1832), first important native poet, was the transition figure between neo-classicism and romanticism in American poetry. A product of the Enlightenment and one-time victim of British highhandedness at sea, he gave his pen wholeheartedly to the causes of independence, the French Revolution, and Jefferson's republican party; but at the same time he strove for pure, unaffected artistic creation based upon the American scene. His work is marked on one hand by rationalism, intense nationalism, and a love of satire; on the other by a deistic reverence for nature and a kinship with the English aesthetic primitivists and emotional lyricists.

F. L. Pattee, ed., *Poems of P. F., Poet of the Revolution*, 3 v. (Princeton), 1902–07.

E. C. S.

FREYTAG, GUSTAV (German, 1816–95), the most popular novelist in the two decades following the Revolution of 1848, gave expression to the ideals of the German bourgeoisie, which was then proud of its importance in the new economic structure and inclined to regard itself as the only progressive

force in the nation. In *Soll und Haben* (*Debit and Credit*, 1855), he presented the industrious businessman at his everyday task. The bustle and enterprise of a large wholesale house furnished more thrills and was of greater value to society than the outworn dreams of the nobility. Although believing that literature's prime concern should be contemporary problems, he also found inspiration in the German past and in a series of novels *Die Ahnen* (*Our Ancestors*, 1872–1880) he traced the history of a German family down the centuries. His "Pyramid" pattern of the structure of the five-act play (in *Dramatic Technique*, 1863) is internationally applied.

S. Liptzin, *Hist. Survey of German Lit.* (N. Y.), 1936.  
S. L.

FRISHMAN, DAVID (Hebrew, 1860–1922), born near Lodz, Poland of a middle class merchant family, received a thorough Jewish as well as secular education. He was the most cosmopolitan of all Hebrew writers of his time. He introduced into Hebrew, poetry steeped in the modern trends of European art and literature. He began his writings when still a boy, and was a prolific and industrious writer all his life. He worked in all fields of literature, and translated many important works of European writers. He distinguished himself particularly as a feuilletonist and critic. In the latter capacity and also as editor of many magazines and the Stybel publishing house, he exerted a tremendous influence on modern Hebrew literature.

L. A.

FRODING, GUSTAF (Swedish, 1860–1911), born in Värmland, studied at Uppsala, worked as a newspaperman in Karlstad, but after periods of intemperance and nervous breakdowns, spent several years in a hospital for the insane. He published his first collection of poems in 1891, *Guitarr och dragharmonika* (*Guitar and Concertina*), and became at once one of the most widely-read and appreciated poets in Sweden. With humor and freshness, combined with brilliant form, he pictures country life in his home-province. His poetry deepens as his interest is concentrated on moral and religious problems: *Nya dikter* (*New Poems*, 1894); *Stänk och flikar* (*Sprinklings and Snippets*, 1896). His brooding on life's profoundest problems kept him occupied even in his periods of illness (this is especially evident in his collection, *Gralstänk*, 1898). His moral qualities, in spite of his own weakness, were those of a prophet. They combine with his artistic gift and mastery of the language to make him one of the poetic geniuses of Sweden. He created a renaissance in Swedish poetry.

*Selected Poems*, trans. Charles Wharton Stork (N. Y.), 1916; J. Lindquist, G. F., 1916, 1927; A. J. Uppvall, G. F.'s poetry, *The Am. Sw. Monthly*, Feb., 1936.  
A. W.

FROST, ROBERT [LEE] (U.S.A., b. 1875), was born in San Francisco and achieved his first success in England, but is known as the chief interpreter of the aromatic raciness of the New England in which he grew up. Despite the geographic limits of his subject matter (*North of Boston*, 1914; *Mountain Interval*, 1916; *New Hampshire*, 1923; *West-Running Brook*, 1928; *A Further Range*, 1936) and the preponderance of sharp, precise concrete imagery of things and facts in his favorite colloquial dialogues or soliloquies, where the verse seems to record the actual speaking voice, his lyrics nearly always reach the universal in the truest symbolic sense. His realism (characterized by him as "the potato brushed clean") is that of the common and factual; his idealism is the old radicalism of good sense and supreme simplicity.

G. B. Munson, R. F., *A Study in Sensibility and Common Sense* (N. Y.), 1927.

E. C. S.

FRUG, SIMEON S. (Yiddish, 1860-1916), pioneer of the individualist and refined Yiddish song in Russia. Born in a Jewish colony in South Russia, whence he drew an intimate love of nature, he became the greatest painter of nature in Yiddish poetry. He began with poetry in Russian on Jewish subjects, then turned to humorous realistic poetry in Yiddish, folk ballads, songs of Zion, and numerous paraphrases of the Bible. He combined simplicity with a quiet refinement, a warm-hearted and shy lyricism with a strong emotional lament at the fate of his people. He spent most of his days in St. Petersburg, far from his numerous and devoted readers in the pale.

Y. M.

FUZULI (Turkish, d. ca. 1562), whose full name was Muhammad ben Suleyman, wrote with equal ease in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian, his Turkish being of the so-called Azerbaijan dialect widely used in Persia. His characteristics are originality, sincerity, pathos. A tender yet passionate note pervades his works. He is called "the poet of the heart." His *Divan* and his *Leyla ve Mejunun* are his chief works. His home was in Bagdad.

J. K. B.

GABIROL, SOLOMON IBN. See Ibn Gabirol.

GALLEGOS, ROMULO (Venezuelan, b. 1884), became internationally known with the publication of his novel *Doña Bárbara* (Madrid, 1929), which introduced life on the Venezuelan plains to world literature. It is distinctive in that the struggle between civilization and barbarism which it symbolizes is presented against a background—vivid and kaleidoscopic composite of physical aspects and social life—whose effect is so highly intensified by appeal

to other senses than sight as to create the spirit rather than the appearance of the region. Through the same type of treatment, the spell of the trackless Venezuelan forest broods over *Canaima* (1935):

J. R. Spell, *Contemporary Sp.-Am. Fiction* (Chapel Hill, N. C.), 1944.

J. R. S.

GALSWORTHY, JOHN (English, 1867-1933), though a dramatist, essayist, and novelist of the 20th c., seems almost to belong to the Victorian period, in the clear-cut pictures of Victorian life he presents in his novel, *The Forsyte Saga*. In all his novels and dramas, the element of social class plays a distinct part. Primary in his writing is his belief in the code of the gentleman: his courtesy, kindness, integrity, tolerance. Galsworthy, truly a realist, minute and delicate, influenced by the philosophic realism of Turgenev, superimposed upon it something of Maeterlinck's spiritual penetration.

H. Auld, J. G.  
F. F. M.

GÁLVEZ, MANUEL (Argentine, b. 1882), is the portrayal in short stories and novels of many aspects of Argentine life, and analyst of the influences that have contributed to its distinctive character. Fully appreciative of the Spanish heritage, as he shows himself in the ideological *Diary of Gabriel Quiroga*, he is primarily interested in the nationalistic elements and draws striking contrasts between the life of the conservative provincial towns and that of the swift-changing, cosmopolitan capital. His characters range from the idealized prostitute (*Nacha Regules*, most widely translated of Spanish-American novels) and the seduced teacher (his masterpiece, *The Normal-School Teacher*) to the adamant and dogmatic Catholic (*Shadows of the Monastery*). In strong contrast to his Mexican contemporary, Azuela, who describes life as it passes before him, Gálvez is the historian who turns to an era that is past. This long-range vision is employed to great advantage in his outstanding trilogy *Scenes from the Paraguayan War* and also in the fictionalized biographies of Yrigoyen (1934) and Rosas (1942).

J. R. Spell, *Contemporary Sp.-Am. Lit.* (Chapel Hill, N. C.), 1944.

J. R. S.

GARBORG, ARNE (Norwegian, 1854-1924), the greatest poet and novelist of the *landsmaal* movement, and also one of the chief national prophets of Norway in modern times. He is known especially for the incisiveness of his mind; he was perhaps the most lucid intelligence of Scandinavia in his time. But withal he possessed a brooding tenderness that found expression in hauntingly tense poems. His national songs are pure as the washed spring birch and possess the majesty of noble hymns. In

**HAUGTUSSE** (*The Hill Innocent*), 1895, he included the poem, *An Elfin Land* (*Der stig av hav eit alvland*), to many, the finest of its kind in Norwegian literature. In *The Lost Father*, 1899, he furnished a gripping statement of the problem an honest and sensitive religious mind has to face in the modern world. Garborg's style and mood change rapidly from brutal power and frankness to the most sensitive lyric undertones in minor key.

Rolv Thesen, A. G., 2 v. (Oslo), 1933-36; Erik Lie, A. G. (Oslo), 1914.

T. J.

**GARCILASO DE LA VEGA** (Spanish, 1501-36) was the subtle and tasteful inaugurator of the Italian school in Spanish lyrical poetry. A perfect gentleman in imitation of Castiglione's *Courtier*, he veiled his noble and melancholy love experiences in the bewitching rhythms of his *Eclogues* and *Sonnets* (1543). Instead of theorizing in the Italian style, he polished and repolished his few poems until they became masterpieces of beauty and correctness. Thus, though he shared the views of his friend Boscan, he had a greater influence on later poets.

H. Keniston, *G. de la V.: a critical study of his life and works* (N. Y.), 1922.

H. A. H.

**GAUTIER, THEOPHILE** (French, 1811-72), poet, painter, novelist, traveler, journalist, was the great devotee of plastic beauty. His poems (the best collections are *Enamels and Cameos*, 1852, and *España*, 1845) reveal his idea of the 'transposition of the arts,' that is, of giving in words the same impression as would be produced by a statue or a painting. As a poet, he was thus of the school of the Parnassians and shares the qualities and defects of that school; his poems are amazingly accurate reproductions of plastic reality, but they are often a little empty, sacrificing the idea to the effect. As a novelist (*Mademoiselle de Maupin*, 1835; *Captain Fracasse*, 1863) he exhibits almost exactly the same tendencies. Unquestionably endowed with great talent for description, he was unfortunately unable to employ his abilities in the service of broad and general ideas and is thus condemned to the second rank. One critic said of him that "he holds a great place in French literature which he does not fill."

J. G. Palache, *G. and the Romantics* (N. Y.), 1926.

R. J. N.

**GEEL, JACOB** (Dutch, 1789-1862), critic and essayist. Besides bibliographical works, he translated from English and German, e.g., Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*. His critical studies, *Research and fantasy*, are characterized by their ironical tone. Dutch prose writing lost much of its romantic bombast through Geel's influence.

J. G.

**GEIJER, ERIK GUSTAF** (Swedish, 1783-1847), was born into a family with literary interests, in Värmland, where his father owned a foundry. He studied at the University of Uppsala, and was especially influenced by German philosophy. In the years 1809 and '10, he visited England. (*Impressions of England* 1809-10, trans. E. Spriggs and C. Napier, 1932). He had contact with the neo-romantic school, but his position was rather independent, and his most famous poems, e. g., *Vikingen* (*The Viking*) and *Odalbonden* (*The Peasant Freeholder*), were published in *Iduna* (1811), the organ of *Götiska förbundet*, a society for the promoting of interest in Swedish antiquity and the old Nordic ideals. Among his other poems may be mentioned *Den lille kolargossen* (*The Little Charcoal Burner Boy*, 1814). From 1815, he devoted his time mostly to historical studies and became a pioneer in Swedish historical research; and only after 1838, when he had broken with the neo-romantic school and its political conservatism, thereby losing many of his old friends, did he again find time to write poetry—*På nyårsdagen* (*On New Year's Day*); *Natthimlen* (*The Night Sky*). Geijer composed his own melodies for some of his poems. Highly gifted as a poet, scholar, and composer, Geijer was a fascinating personality, and some of his poems are counted as gems among Swedish lyrics.

A. Blanck, *G. götiska diktnng*, 1918; G. Hedin, *Arvet fran G.*, 1942.

A. W.

**GEORGE OF PISIDIA** (first half of 7th c.) is the poet of Byzantine Literature. His *Expedition of Heraclius*, *Heracliad* and *Recovery of the True Cross* celebrate the glorious exploits of his Emperor; they ring with the spirit of the crusader. The *Attack of the Avars* recounts with fervor and gratitude the salvation of Constantinople in 626 by the Mother of God. His longest work, the *Hexameron*, taking up the favorite story of the Middle Ages, the creation, tells of the tenderness and beauty of God made manifest in the universe and its tiniest inhabitants. His lines *On Human Life* are noble; his epigrams, numerous and excellent. The medieval Greeks achieved masterpieces only in the hymn and the epigram. George of Pisidia, though hardly a great poet, can claim the distinction of being one of the few figures in Byzantine Literature to have attained a measure of success outside these categories.

M. J. H.

**GEORGE, STEFAN** (German, 1868-1933), entered upon his literary career with the avowed aim of stemming the tide of realism and naturalism which he, with his spiritual mentor Nietzsche, held responsible for the disintegration of true cultural values such as beauty, personality, creativeness. Austerity of form, both in his verse and in his personal habits, was his first line of attack, followed by a painstaking, deliberate effort to purify a language polluted by

prolific use for non-artistic purposes. That the rigid observance of esthetic canons must in time produce its adequate content and lead to the revelation of true standards of conduct was George's basic belief, shared by a group of disciples, the George circle. For them *Der Stern des Bundes* (1914) and *Das Neue Reich* (1927), George's last addition to his many cycles of poems, embody a new religion of man deified through purification of his sensual instincts and spiritual reunion with the heroic virtues of the past. A few elect human beings will thus be transposed to higher levels of existence, there to unite classical nobility with Christian candor.

F. Wolters, S. G. *und die Blätter für die Kunst* (Berlin), 1930.

H. B.

GEZELLE, GUIDO (Belgian, 1830-99), the son of a Bruges gardener, entered the priesthood and was first a successful educator. Most of his life he was a parish priest. In 1858 he published an unusual volume of poetry, the first of a long series. To Flemish poetry he brought a spontaneous meter and rhythm and a musical quality it had never attained since the Middle Ages. His themes were manifold: the fauna and flora, religious feasts, anniversaries, but they all had one underlying motive: his gratitude to God. A pure Franciscan character, he endlessly praised the Creator in all his creatures. It took some time before his simple greatness was recognized, then Holland and Flanders greeted him as the most gifted lyrical poet the Lowlands produced in the 19th c. He made an excellent translation of Longfellow's *Hiawatha*.

G. van Roosebroeck, G. G., *the Mystic Poet of Flanders* (Vinton, Iowa), 1919.

J.-A. G.

GIBRAN, KHALIL. See Jibran.

GIDE, ANDRÉ (French, b. 1869), is France's great modern novelist of the human personality. In a series of fine novels (*The Immoralist*, 1902; *Strait is the Gate*, 1909; *The Pastoral Symphony*, 1920; *Should the Seed Not Die*, 1924; and *The Counterfeits*, 1926) he has exposed his doctrine of individualistic morality, rejecting the common disciplines of society in favor of the full and untrammelled development of the ego, with its unreasoning impulses and its urge toward what he calls 'gratuitous act.' But with this excessively 'modern' point of view, Gide has remained a pure stylist in the classic tradition, clear, simple, precise, sometimes even a little prosaic. His latest works have, unfortunately, shown some decline from the early high excellence, but his reputation as one of the great contemporary novelists is well established.

K. Mann, A. G. *and the Crisis of Modern Thought* (N. Y.), 1943.

R. J. N.

GINSBERG, ASHER. See Ahad ha'Am.

GLASGOW, ELLEN [ANDERSON GHOLSON] (U.S.A., 1874-1945), was a Southern-born novelist known for sanity, balance, and a fastidious attention to freshness and lucidity of style. Keenly responsive to altering literary tastes during her long career, she achieved a considerable variety of tone, ranging from the distinct realism of *Barren Ground*, through such satiric novels of manners as *The Sheltered Life* (1932), to vivid short stories of the psychic in *The Shadowy Third* (1923). But her basic psychological realism, which she used primarily to tell the story of individual people, is made sharply discriminative by her personal artistic idealism and dislike for the sensational. A *Certain Measure: An Interpretation of Prose Fiction* (1943), an expanded collection of her prefaces for the Virginia Edition of her works (12 v., 1938), reveals the rather conservative but steady humanistic realism of her own art and philosophy.

E. C. S.

GLYCOS or SICIDITES, MICHAEL (Byzantine, 1135-99), gained great prominence as a theologian by his novel theories on the Eucharist. In the domain of letters, he deserves our special attention for his effort to bring Byzantine Literature into close touch with the characteristic life and spirit of the medieval Greek. His *Chronicle* (to 1118 A.D.) weaves into the conventional account of the creation the animal lore dear to the Middle Ages: the phoenix, the unicorn, the pelican that sacrifices its life blood to feed its young. In a little work on religion he imparts instruction by commentaries on homely proverbs, mixing prose and brief poems. Nevertheless, despite his penchant for the popular, he ventured to use the vernacular only once, in his petition to the Emperor Manuel. Glycos injected a fresh and original note into Byzantine Literature, and his honest interest in the folk wins our sympathy and respect.

V. Grumel, M. G., in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, X, 1705-7; M. Jugie, *Messe, ibid.*, 1339-43.

M. J. H.

GOETHE, JOHANN WOLFGANG VON (German, 1749-1832), Germany's greatest poet, endowed with a genius of universal scope. His works, which he called "fragments of a great confession," reflect the panorama of experience throughout his long life, in which flowed every current of the time, and in which every influence was absorbed and developed. From the start he seemed to be seeking a magic formula with which to conjure the forces of nature, so that he might receive the revelation of reality and the power to create his own world. Yet he was not only Prometheus, he was Ganymede as well. Two souls dwelt in his breast: he was the "image of the godhead," but also the "horribly writhing worm." In his life he was both the spirit of the Storm and Stress and the Olympian of Weimar. In



his writings his style ranges from passionate freedom to serene reserve, but always with a simple directness and adequacy of expression, a harmony of form and content, that make for supreme artistry. His poems, released from the oppressive formalism of rationalistic rules, include every type of verse, the popular ones in each genre being more numerous than one can mention. There are folksongs like *The Heathrose* and *The King in Thule*; ballads like *The Fisherman*, *Erlking*, and *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*; lyrics, deep and pure in their emotion, like *Welcome and Goodbye*, *Nightsongs of a Wanderer*, Gretchen's *My Peace is Gone*, and the *Elegies*; dithyrambic odes of great force like *The Song of the Spirits over the Waters* and *The Divine*; a vast epigrammatic literature, such as the *Xenien*; and poems of oriental beauty in the *Western-Eastern Divan*. Goethe's contribution to fiction came too early in the history of the genre to be more than experimental in form, but it became the basis for the development of German fiction. His epistolary novel *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774) may be said to begin modern German literature, with its poignant study of a soul in travail. Many varied adventures and separate stories are woven in the loosely constructed educational novel *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* (1796) and *Wilhelm Meister's Travels* (1821). In the psychological novel *Elective Affinities* (1809), Goethe cultivates an objective, classical style. In *Hermann and Dorothea* (1798) he imitated Homer in a hexameter epic of a pure love against a background of the French revolution. Goethe enriched German drama by his affirmation and imitation of Shakespeare and by his creation of plays in traditional forms: carnival plays, "Singspiele," and social dramas. Freedom was his theme: in *Götz von Berlichingen* (1773), the dramatized chronicle of a free and noble spirit; in *Egmont* (1775), the drama of the revolt of the Netherlands; in *Iphigenia in Tauris* (1779, 1787), the flawless, classical drama of humanitarianism; in *Torquato Tasso* (1790), the drama of a poet's experience; and in the Gothic *Faust* (1775-1832), the great drama of modern man's striving for the moment of complete happiness and beauty. Goethe's tremendous creativity also produced important works in other fields: his autobiography *Truth and Fiction* (1811-12), the diaries of his travels, his letters (the correspondence with Schiller forms a study in aesthetics), essays on art and literature, and scientific studies, such as the biological papers, including one on the discovery of the intermaxillary bone (1784); the *Theory of Colors* (1786-1806); *On the Metamorphoses of Plants* (1790). The imprint of Goethe's genius on German literature in form and expression is all-pervasive; in world literature and thought he is an inestimable force toward realism.

Barker Fairley, *G. as Revealed in his Poetry* (Chicago), 1932.

S. L. S.

GOGOL, NIKOLAY VASILYEVICH (Russian, 1809-52), was a distinguished prose writer on the edge of the Pushkin\* circle. Delicate in health, a native of the south, he pictured the Ukrainian or "Little Russian" landscape and folk legends in a whimsical and attractive way, emphasizing in each figure some one characteristic that is really a caricature but that makes the figure immortal in literature. Author of the best comedy in Russian, *The Inspector General*, he prided himself that his work was for the moral improvement of the Russian people, but almost every character he conceived proved to be negative, humorous, or drab. The ideal of a Russia reformed on the conservative and Slavophile pattern, was beyond his grasp. His attempts to reform Chichickov in *Dead Souls* did not satisfy him and his efforts to preach to his people only brought ridicule upon him. He became the prey of a religious mania and practically committed suicide. His story *The Cloak* first roused the sentimental and radical sympathy in literature for the oppressed and humiliated. Belief in spirits and devils was an important part of his intellectual make-up. He is one of the most Russian of Russian authors. His reputation is constantly rising.

J. Lavrin, *G.* (London & N. Y.), 1925.  
C. A. M.

GOLDFADEN, ABRAHAM (Yiddish, 1840-1908), "father of the modern Yiddish Theatre," poet and composer. Born in a small town in the Ukraine, he graduated from the state rabbinical seminary in Zhitomir. He wrote popular and Maskilic songs, depicting typical characters of his Jewish environment, then tender Zionist poems. Edited (with J. J. Linietzky) the weekly *Yiskolik*. In 1876 he founded the first modern Yiddish theatre, in Yassy, Romania. Later he directed a theatre in Russia till its closing in 1883, by order of the Czarist regime. He wrote the text and the music to a large number of operettas, which were at first humorous and descriptive of the mode of life (e.g., *The Two Kuni-Lenlekh*; *Shmendrik*) and later historical-national and full of pathos (e.g., *Bar Kokhba*; *Shulamis*).

J. Shatzky, ed., *G.* (N. Y.), 1926.  
Y. M.

GOLDONI, CARLO (1707-93), is the outstanding Italian writer of comedies. His earliest (*The Clever Lady*, 1743; *The Clever Widow*, 1748) served to initiate a reform of the Italian theatre (particularly at Venice, the scene of Goldoni's activities) and to displace the decadent *commedia dell'arte*. The comedies of the following years (*The Coffee-House*, 1751; *The Mistress of the Inn*, 1752; *The Rustics*, *The New House*, and *A Curious Accident*, 1760; *The Quarrels of Chioggia*, 1761) were the high point of his career. After settling in Paris in 1762, Goldoni's productivity declined, but *The Fan* (1763) and *The Diamond in the Rough* (1771)

are among his best works. Goldoni's comedies are chiefly based on humor inherent in situations and characters, with skillful construction and careful observation of the Venetian scene.

H. C. Chatfield Taylor, *G., a biography* (N. Y.), 1913; J. S. Kennard, *G. and the Venice of his time* (N. Y.), 1920.  
R. A. H. Jr.

GOLDSMITH, OLIVER (English, 1728-74), was one of the most versatile writers of the 18th c. A poor student, he was refused holy orders; he tried several professions before he launched into literature with *The Vicar of Wakefield*. In his formal, classical verse and his polished couplets he resembled other 18th c. writers; his tenderness and humor, however, his homely subjects and the warm human sympathy with which he described them, as in the poem *The Deserted Village*, made him one of the forerunners of the gathering romantic school. Although he was a success at writing—to his poetry and fiction adding a pleasant comedy, *She Stoops to Conquer*—he was a total failure at living, and died a pauper.

W. Black, G.  
F. F. M.

GONGORA Y ARGOTE, LUIS DE (Spanish, 1561-1627), was the founder of the Baroque style in Spanish poetry. Taking, e.g., a mythological subject such as *Polyphennus and Galathea* (1613), he presents a rather sensuous love story, but so that the allusions are intelligible only to the learned reader (*culteranismo*) and the ideas are cast into the most surprising conceits of thought (*conceptismo*). This development of a colorful and witty, odd, circumstantial, obscure, use of figures corresponding, however, to certain traditional propensities of the Iberic soul, hence was quite compatible with genuine sincerity and beauty—though his followers carried *gongorism* to excess.

E. K. Kane, *Gongorism and the Golden Age* (Chapel Hill, N. C.), 1928; L. P. Thomas, *Don L. de G.* (Paris), 1932.  
H. A. H.

GONZALEZ PRADA, MANUEL (Peruvian, 1848-1918), was a ruthless critic, an inditer of vitriolic verse, and a leader of Peruvian thought. Outraged by the defeat of Peru by Chile, he began to attack the incompetent government; later his battle cry, "The old to the grave, the young to the task," stirred many to action. With his pen he urged the renovation of the whole political system; attacked religious, political, and intellectual bigotry without mercy; and paved the way for the formation of the Aprista party. Inflexible and incorruptible, he inspired the youth of his country with a new conscience and a new faith. His poetry, in which he introduced many words and verse forms unknown to Spanish America, includes *Lower Case Letters*, *Presbyterians*, and

*Exotics*; while many of his best essays, bitter and cutting in tone, are included in *Free Pages* and *Hours of Struggle*. Some eight volumes of his works were posthumously published (1933-1940).

I. Goldberg, "A Peruvian Iconoclast," *American Mercury*, Nov., 1925; L. A. Sánchez, *Don Manuel* (Lima), 1930, (Santiago), 1937; Introd. by Carlos García Prada to the *Antología poética de M. G. P.* (Mexico), 1940 (*Clásicos de América*, I.)

J. R. S.

GORDON, JUDAH LOEB (Hebrew, 1830-92), the leading Hebrew poet and writer of the Haskalah, was born in Vilna, Lithuania, of a well-to-do cultured family. He received a thorough Hebrew and secular education, and became an ardent advocate of the Enlightenment. A facile and capable writer, his poems are distinguished for their flowing and easy style, rich and colorful metaphor, rather than depth of emotion or lofty thought. He devoted his pen, both in prose and in poetry, toward the spread of enlightenment and education. He satirized the old-fashioned orthodox rabbis, their manners, their customs. He combatted ignorance, advocated secular learning and the way of life of the Gentile world. For this, he was denounced to Russian authorities as a revolutionary and spent some time in prison. However, the younger generation devoured his poems and his satirical essays. He was of inestimable service to the spread of enlightenment and reform among the Jews in Russia. The pogroms and persecutions of the 1880's disillusioned him of his ideas of assimilation. He wrote a few poems in a new vein, in the spirit of the new nationalistic movement; but he could not adjust himself entirely to the new trend of ideas, and died a broken-hearted man.

A. B. Rhine, *Leon Gordon* (Phila.), 1910.  
L. A.

GORKY, MAXIM (pseud. of Aleksyey Nikolayevich Pyeshkov, Russian, 1869-1939), was born in Nizhni Novgorod (now Gorky). He lived his early life and received his education under almost incredible conditions, but remained healthy and optimistic, though he assumed the pen name "Maxim the Bitter." His early stories show a sort of inverted romanticism, for his outcast heroes live harder than do the usual men of all ages and classes. Later he became active in revolutionary circles, a friend of Lenin, and endeavored to lead the movement with his novels. They only lost him popularity. Expelled from Russia, he came to America, where his experiences were anything but pleasing. Later, at Capri, he wrote his best autobiographic novels, as *My Childhood*, *Among People* and *My University Days*. These reveal his appreciation of the good, and his idealism, while giving a frank picture of his experiences.

With the outbreak of the Revolution, he was the outstanding author who declared for the Soviet regime; at the same time, he led the efforts to save the old Russian culture. He was the tutor of the early generations of Soviet authors but he himself wrote little about the new regime. Even his *Life of Klim Samgin* describes the revolutionary movement before 1917. His masterpieces are now considered to be his short stories and his autobiography, although his play *The Lower Depths* is extremely popular abroad. There can be little doubt that he is, thus far, the greatest Russian author of the 20th c.

A. Kaun, *M. G. and his Russia* (N. Y.), 1931. C. A. M.

GORONWY DDU O FON. See Owen, Goronwy.

GRABBE, CHRISTIAN DIETRICH (German, 1801-36), was a dramatist who attempted to create a national historical German drama in a projected series of Hohenstaufen plays; contributed a very humorous satiric comedy, *Wit, Satire, Irony and Deeper Significance* (1827); and developed a vividly realistic dramaturgy, particularly in the treatment of masses, as in *Napoleon*, or *The Hundred Days* (1935) and *Hannibal* (1838). Grabbe's imagination was perhaps greater than his power, but the vision and technique of his dramas inspired later dramatists from Hauptmann and Wedekind to Johst, in whose tragedy, *The Lonely Man* (1917), Grabbe appears as the magnificent fool of society.

J. G. Robertson, *A Hist. of German Lit.* (N. Y.), 1930. S. L. S.

GRACIAN Y MORALES, BALTASAR (Spanish, 1601-58), was the introspective analyst of decaying Castilian glory. His *The Mean Critic* (1651-2), like *Hamlet*, opposes the natural man of uncritical action to the cautious, civilized, self-examining man. His proposals for a new education, to bring forth a discreet hero, are full of a poised pessimism, which gained him the admiration of Schopenhauer. Trying to overcome the gongoristic preciousness, he was himself an artificial thinker and an obscure writer.

Aubrey F. G. Bell, *B. G.* (Oxford), 1921. H. A. H.

GRANADA, LUIS DE (Spanish, 1504-88), is the typical Renaissance ascetic writer and preacher. His moral themes, especially in his *Guide For Sinners* (1567), are so steeped in his ponderings over the beauty of nature that the amazing descriptions sometimes overpower the ascetic concern. His Ciceronian style, in close imitation of the Latin rhetoric, developed the most redundant yet balanced prose of classical Spain.

Allison Peers, *Studies of the Spanish Mystics*, I (N. Y.), 1927. H. A. H.

GRAY, THOMAS (English, 1716-71), in the growing romantic temper, found beauty in picturesque landscape. In his first period, his odes, though clas-

sical in quality, in metrical form and sympathy with nature tend toward the romantic. The second period, to which the *Elegy in a Country Churchyard* belongs, shows the breaking of the conventional forms in his writing, and the harmonizing of classical and romantic elements. In the third period, there is romantic experimentation, as in his translations of old Norse material. Gray's power lay in his choice of words, his simple figures, his craftsmanship in placing every line in its proper place and context.

E. Gosse, *Life of G.* F. F. M.

GREGORAS, NICEPHORUS (Byzantine, 1295-1369), the preeminent scholar of the last 200 years of the Byzantine Empire, resembles Photius\* and Psellus\* not only in rivaling their mastery of all knowledge, but in his distinguished career as teacher and public official. Though a layman, he was the foremost philosopher, theologian, and controversialist of his day, and in hagiography his name comes second only to that of Symeon Metaphrastes. His greatest achievements lay in astronomy; he calculated the exact error in the Julian calendar and proposed a reform. Worthy of special mention among his numerous other works are his voluminous correspondence and his *History* (1204-1359), largely a personal and somewhat partisan narrative, but an important source for the period. What makes him forever memorable is his lofty character. "To thine own self be true," might well have been inscribed on his tomb. He had the rare courage to stand firm in his convictions in the face of the fanaticism of his fellow countrymen and the hostility of an emperor, John Cantacuzenus. He was disgraced and imprisoned. He died in obscurity.

R. Guiland, *Essai sur N. G.* (Paris), 1926. M. J. H.

GREGORY THE GREAT, POPE (540-604), was of Roman senatorial rank, but abandoned a political career for monastic life. Elected Pope (590); sent missionaries to England. In cast of mind "a medieval man," he is more interested in the supernatural than in the natural. Reformed the Liturgy and showed Roman genius for administration in governing Papal domains. His Latin *Dialogues* and scriptural commentaries abound in the practice of allegory, a search for hidden spiritual meaning behind the literal meaning of the words. Sought to supplant the fables of Paganism by stories of Christian saints and heroes. Less intellectual than Boethius,\* he became the spiritual father of the Middle Ages. His *Letters* are the mirror of the efficient administrator, in contact with all needs and details of his spiritual and temporal realm.

H. H. Howorth, *St. G. the Great* (N. Y.), 1912.

E. A. Q.

GREGORY NAZIANZEN (of Nazianzus, in Cappadocia; Greek, ca. 329-389 A.D.), life-long friend of St. Basil and Basil's brother Gregory of Nyssa, likewise gave up a secular career as a teacher of rhetoric to become a monk and then a bishop—he accepted the episcopal dignity much against his will. Highly gifted as a writer of prose and poetry, he was a complete master of ancient rhetorical theory and practice. He was called "the theologian," but he was rather a great orator thoroughly versed in theology, not a great speculative thinker like Gregory of Nyssa. His language is rich, harmonious, precise, and forceful. The Byzantines called him "the Christian Demosthenes." His chief works are: 45 orations, notably that on the death of his friend Basil, those against Julian the Apostate, and the apology for his resignation as bishop of Constantinople; 245 letters, largely personal in character and written in accordance with definite canons of epistolary style; poems, of which may be mentioned the *De vita sua* in iambic trimeter, and especially the *Hymnus vespertinus* and the *Exhortatio ad virgines* which are the oldest accentual poems in Greek literature.

O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, III, 2d ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau), 1923. M. R. P. M.

GREGORY OF NYSSA (Greek, ca. 335-394 A.D.), the younger brother of St. Basil and friend of Gregory Nazianzen, excelled both as a theologian and as a philosopher. No Christian writer of the 4th c. equalled him in his knowledge and understanding of pagan Greek philosophy, especially Plato. A teacher of rhetoric before he became a monk and then a bishop, he reflects in his style the strong influence of the rhetorical theory and practice of his age. Of his works it will suffice to mention: the *Oratio catechetica*, a systematic exposition of the principal Christian dogmas and their defense against heretics, Jews, and pagans; the dialogue, *De Anima et resurrectione*, of special interest because it is a conscious imitation of Plato's *Phaedo*; the *De Virginitate*, the most important of his ascetical works; panegyrics on certain saints and funeral orations—the latter especially show an interesting adaptation of the pagan funeral oration, with all its *topoi*, to Christian use; 26 carefully composed letters, largely personal in character, the most interesting being perhaps the second, which deals with the abuses of pilgrimages. Gregory enjoyed a high reputation as an orator in his own age, but he lacks the noble simplicity of Saint Basil and the rich brilliance of Gregory Nazianzen.

O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, III, 2d ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau), 1923. M. R. P. M.

GRIEG, NORDAHL (Norwegian, 1902-43), outstanding poet, novelist, dramatist. Of a distinguished

family, he became interested chiefly in the life and lot of the poor. Although not actively a labor propagandist, he leaned toward the socialist gospel and spent some time in Russia studying the new Soviet drama. From this angle came his vigorous play, *Our Glory and Our Power* (*Vår ære og vår makt*), 1935. Meanwhile Grieg had also deepened his insight into the meaning of national loyalties. In 1929 he published the collection of poems entitled *Norway in Our Hearts*, in which he tried to purge from the love of country all the false elements of jingoism and boastfulness. It was this lover of his country, in harmony with the Grieg of the common man, who became the patriot leader from the beginning of the Hitler war in Norway. From 1940 onward he wrote some of the most stirring national songs. He died in an air attack on Berlin in December, 1943.

K. Elster, Vol. VI, *Norsk Litteraturhistorie*, 2d ed. (Oslo), 1934; Vol. IV, *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon* (Oslo), 1929. T. J.

GRILLPARZER, FRANZ (Austrian, 1791-1872), is the leading classical dramatist of Austria, whose dramas, written in verse of rare melody and beauty, unite the idealistic and imaginative attitudes of his time with modern psychology. He develops the milieu of his dramas realistically and with contemporary reference, whether in his magnificent trilogy on the Medea theme, *The Golden Fleece* (1820); in historical dramas treating the problem of the ruler who is both divine and human (*King Ottokar's Fortune and End*, 1824; *A Faithful Servant of His Master*, 1828; and the posthumously published *The Quarrel of the Brothers in Hapsburg* and *The Jewess of Toledo*); in dramas on the conflicts of the artist (*Sappho*, 1818), of frustrated love (*The Waves of the Sea and of Love*, 1831), of overweening ambition (*The Dream of Life*, 1834), of the struggle for truth (*Woe to Him That Lies*, 1838). Despite the problematic themes of his plays, the lyric tone prevails, particularly since his mood is one of disappointment and resignation, a modern pessimism that considers happiness a shadow and fame an empty dream.

S. Liptzin, *Hist. Survey of German Lit.* (N. Y.), 1936.

S. L. S.

GRUFFYDD, WILLIAM JOHN (Welsh, b. 1881), is one of those that, at the Bangor Eisteddfod of 1902, brought a new spirit into Welsh poetry. His later poetry has deepened and has shaken off foreign influences. He has written two plays, besides stories, essays, and a volume of *Old Memories* (*Hen Atgoffion*). As Professor of Welsh Literature at University College, Cardiff, he has published a number of scholarly works. Since 1922 he has been editor of

Y Llenor, the leading Welsh literary magazine, and has been influential in directing the development of contemporary Welsh literature.

Llew G. Williams, *The Poetry of W. J. G. in Welsh Outlook*, VI (1919).

J. J. P.

GRUNDTVIG, N. F. S. (Danish, 1783-1872). The greatest influence in Danish literature, culture, and folk life, moulding it into selfconscious form, and giving it national expression. His historical and mythological works are invaluable; his poetry inspirational. Among his poetic contributions are his hymns, which are incomparably majestic.

C. M. V.

GUDMUNDSSON, KRISTMANN (Icelandic, b. 1902), whose major works until a few years ago were written in Norwegian and have won him wide recognition outside his native Iceland and Scandinavia, has revealed uncommon narrative skill, mastery of life-like characterization, and psychological penetration in such works as *Livets morgen* (*The Morning of Life*; 1929); *Den blaa kyst* (*The Blue Coast*; 1931); *Det hellige fjell* (*The Holy Mountain*; 1932), and *Gudinnen og Oksen* (*Winged Citadel*; 1938), not least in the two last-named, where his imaginative and descriptive qualities, together with his vigorous and varied style, are seen to excellent advantage. His first novel written in Icelandic since his return to his native land some years ago, *Nátttröllid glottir* (*The Giant Grins*; 1943), is also a noteworthy work with respect alike to plot-construction, to characterization and to style. Narrative art of a high order also characterizes many of his short stories.

S. Einarsson, "Five Icelandic Novelists," *Books Abroad*, July, 1942; R. Beck, *Icelandic Poems and Stories* (Princeton and N. Y.), 1943.

R. B.

GUIRAIDES, RICARDO (1886-1927), Argentine novelist and short story writer, spent his life when not in Europe either in Buenos Aires or on the ancestral *estancia*. He wrote *El cenorro de cristal* (1915), a volume of verse; *Cuentos de muerte y de sangre* (1915), a collection of sketches; *Raucha* (1917), a biographical novel including sketches of life in Buenos Aires and Paris; *Rasaura* (1922), a novelette of small town life in the Argentine; *Xaimaca* (1923), an account of a journey up the west coast of South America; and his masterpiece, *Don Segundo Sombra* (1926; trans. 1935), which contains his celebrated depiction of the gaucho type. In 1924 he collaborated with Jorge Luis Borges in establishing the literary periodical *Proa* and continued to contribute to it. Posthumously the *Poemas solitarios*, *Poemas místicos* and *Seis relatos* were

published. His chief importance as a writer lies in his portrayal, in original but highly artificial style, of ranch life in the Argentine.

J. R. S.

GUIRAUT DE BORNEIL (Provençal troubadour, fl. 1175-1220), native of Dordogne, in the vicinity of Périgueux, was known as the "master of troubadours." Of his poems, 77 have survived, chiefly *chansons*, and some *sirventes*. He was very skillful in his technique, making frequent use of dialogue. He argued against the *trobar clus*, but he sometimes was a little obscure himself. His sincerity and elevated tone are marked throughout his work. He had various patrons, including Alfonso VIII, Alfonso II, and the Viscount of Limoges.

U. T. H., Jr.

GUNNARSSON, GUNNAR (Icelandic, b. 1889), resided until recently in Denmark and wrote in Danish the novels that have earned him international reputation. Among his most important works are the stories *Borgslaegtens Historie* (*The Story of the Borg Family*, 1912-14; abridged Eng. version, *Guest the One-Eyed*), a gripping story on a powerful theme; *Edbröðre* (*Sworn Brothers*, 1918), a fine historical novel; *Salige ere de enfaldige* (*Seven Days' Darkness*, 1920), a profound psychological study and a very original and highly provocative book. The strongly autobiographical 5 v. series *Kirken paa Bjerget* (*The Church on the Mountain*, 1923-28; the first 3 v. in Eng., *Ships in the Sky and The Night and the Dream*), is probably, however, the author's greatest work. He is noted for his insight, excelling in revealing the innermost soul-life of his characters, and also possesses great technical skill, which is apparent not only in his novels but no less in his short stories and literary essays.

S. Einarsson, "Five Icelandic Novelists," *Books Abroad*, July, 1942; "Return of An Iclander," *The American-Scandinavian Review*, Sept., 1941.

R. B.

GUTHRIE-SMITH, WILLIAM HERBERT (b. 1861), New Zealand writer and naturalist, came from Scotland to New Zealand in 1880 as a cadet on a sheep-station and settled down in his own station, Tutira, in the North Island in 1882. After several volumes on wild life and the countryside he published in 1926, *Tutira, the Story of a New Zealand Sheep Station*. It is a remarkable volume, the history of a few acres which in the end becomes a microcosm of the whole Dominion of New Zealand. Geography, geology, topography, anthropology, and human philosophy all find a place. It is not merely the history of the sheep station. It is the history of the whole process by which settlers from the British Isles have come and remained, sometimes unwillingly, in a strange country, until in the end they

find that they belong not to Britain but to their adopted Dominion.

E. H. MacCormack, *Letters and Arts in New Zealand* (Wellington), 1940.

I. A. G.

GUTZKOW, KARL (German, 1811-78), dramatist, novelist, publicist, was a leader of the Young German group whose writings were banned in 1835. In the *novelle Wally the Doubter* (1935), he boldly advocates the "glorification of the flesh"; in the classical drama *Uriel Acosta* (1847), he pleads for religious freedom; in the novel *The Knights of the Spirit* (1850-52), he treats the problem of political power. The panoramic pattern of the *Nebeneinander*, the simultaneous development of plot, in this novel became the model for the German social novel. In his plays, novels, and journalistic writings Gutzkow gave point to the radical trend of thought of his time.

S. Liptzin, *Hist. Survey of German Lit.* (N. Y.), 1936.

S. L. S.

GWAS MYHAL. See Jenner, Henry.

HAFIZ (Muhammad Shams al-Din; Iranian; ca. 1325-1389), the greatest of the lyric poets of Iran, like his eminent predecessor Sa'di, is often called Shīrāzī, a native of Shiraz. He enjoyed the favors of many princes and rulers of his time, especially those of the Muzaffari dynasty. His fame also extended beyond Iran, and he received many flattering invitations from the rulers of neighboring lands, which he flatly refused. His poetical compositions are remarkable for their melody, rhythm, and beauty of style. The rose and the nightingale, love and wine, all in symbolic and mystical language, form the theme of his verses. His power of expression is unequalled by any other Iranian poet, except Sa'di. Besides his ghazals, or odes, for which he is famous, his *Divān* comprises panegyrics, quatrains, double rhymes, fragments and pento-rhymes. His poems were collected by Muhammad Gulandām, who also edited his *Divān*.

H. Wilberforce Clark, *The Divan* (Calcutta), 1891.

M. A. S.

HAGALIN, GUDMUNDUR GISLASON (Icelandic, b. 1898), outstanding novelist, has published several volumes of short stories of everyday life, especially of the life of the Icelandic fishermen, splendidly told tales, revealing, sympathetic. He has also written a number of significant novels, including *Kristrín í Hamravis* (1933), a great stylistic achievement; *Sturla í Vogum* (1938), a rich work conceived on a grand scale; *Blítt laetir veröldin* (*Pleasant Appears the World*, 1943), a very well-told story, marked by penetrating insight and the author's characteristic humor; *Móðir Ísland* (*Mother Iceland*, 1945), a vivid story, dealing with Iceland during the stay of

American forces in the country. His biographies are noted for their narrative excellence and cultural significance.

S. Einarsson, "Five Icelandic Novelists," *Books Abroad*, July, 1942; R. Beck, *Icelandic Poems and Stories* (Princeton & N. Y.), 1943.

R. B.

HALBERTSMA BROTHERS (Frisian) were the best known and the most popular writers in their language during a large part of the 19th c. Their prose and poetic works are collected in *Rhymes and Tales*, 1871 (5th ed., 1918). The volume contains enduring verse, especially folksongs, by Eeltsje (1797-1858), who because of his studies in Heidelberg, had come under the influence of German romanticism. There is a more rationalistic trend in the contributions of his brother Joast Hiddes (1789-1869), who gained considerable reputation as a philologist and through such works as *Tribute to Gysbert Japiks*, 2 v., 1824-27, and *Literary Gleanings*, 1840, did much to bring about a true appreciation of Gysbert Japiks.

Dr. G. A. Wumkes, *Introd. to Rimen en Teltsjes* (Ljouwert), 1918.

B. J. F.

HALEVI. See Judah Halevi.

HALIBURTON, THOMAS CHANDLER (Canadian, 1796-1865), was one of the first great American humorists. In his *The Clockmaker Or The Sayings And Doings Of Samuel Slick Of Slickville*, first published serially in *The Novascotian* of 1835, he satirized the manners, customs, and prejudices of his fellow colonials and Americans; and tried to unite all English-speaking peoples. He was first on the North American continent to write what could not have been written by a European. Not only was his material new but so were his manner, tone, and attitude. He made popular humorous exaggeration and comic characterization in dialect, and created in Sam Slick, the Yankee pedlar, one of the great characters of English literature.

J. D. Logan, T. C. H. (Toronto), 1923.

C. J. V.

HALIDE EDIB. See Adivar.

HALLGRIMSSON, JONAS (Icelandic, 1807-45), who shares with Bjarni Thorarensen the foremost place in Icelandic literature during the early 19th c., was one of the founders of the important annual *Fjöltnir* (1835-46), dedicated to the purpose of arousing their countrymen and of improving their literary taste and purging their native tongue of foreign importations and imitations, and was a central figure in that crusade of far-reaching consequences for the purification of the Icelandic language. A master of exquisite lyric form and unusually pure diction, he was a Romanticist, deeply influenced by Heine; there is, however, much classical restraint in his

poems, and the impact of Old Icelandic literature upon him is pronounced. His descriptive poems have unusual charm and reveal the keen eye of the natural scientist for the peculiar beauty of Iceland. His popularity remains undiminished and he has had great influence on succeeding writers.

W. Kirkconnell, *The N. Am. Book of Icelandic Verse* (N. Y. & Montreal), 1930; R. Beck, *Icelandic Poems and Stories* (Princeton & N. Y., 1943).

R. B.

HAMSUN, KNUT (Norwegian, b. 1859); distinguished novelist. He came into the foreground in 1890 with the novel *Hunger*. The strikingly new tone in his works had been heard in other lands, notably with Dostoyevsky\* in Russia. A constant preoccupation with lyric personal nuances of feeling and caprices of thought keeps the Hamsun reader in a state of eager surprise. The lonely romantic figure near the footlights of the story is always Hamsun's chief concern; where a milieu is portrayed, it is generally only for the purpose of enhancing the effect of this figure. Hamsun is unsurpassed in the impressionistic brilliance of his style. His works have a tendency to play with the sordid in human nature, but in novels such as *Victoria*, 1898, *Pan*, 1894, and *Growth of the Soil*, 1917, he shows a fine understanding of deep and sensitive humanity. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1920; but he has lost much of the esteem he once enjoyed. He took the German side in World War II; but this must not blind us to the essentially non-political values of his books.

E. Skavlan, K. H. (Oslo), 1929; H. A. Larsen, K. H. (N. Y.), 1922.

T. J.

HAN YU (Chinese, 768-824), the most striking figure in the Chinese world of letters of the great Tang period (618-906), essayist and poet. In official life he got himself into trouble by his outspoken attacks on the degenerated form of Buddhism, but he died loaded with honors. In prose he originated a clear and robust style, still popular. Besides prose he wrote a large quantity of good verse on an immense variety of subjects: "under his touch the commonplace was often transmuted into wit." His writings were collected and published under the title *Han Chang Li Chuan Tsi* (the complete works of Han Yu). His reading public is still large. Readers admire him because he was above all things of a kindly and humane nature.

H. A. Giles, *Hist. of Chinese Lit.* (N. Y. & London), 1929.

S. C. L.

HARDENBERG, FRIEDRICH VON (German, 1772-1801), better known by his pseudonym Novalis, is probably the most original creative writer of the German Romantic school. Novalis's most significant

work is his unfinished novel, *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (1799-1800), in which the hero goes through various symbolic stages of inner spiritual evolution in the attainment of his goal, the 'blue flower' of his romantic poetic ideal. After learning successively about nature, history, and poetry, Heinrich, through the death of his sweetheart—a motif that reflects Novalis's strongest personal experience, the untimely death of his betrothed, Sofie von Kühn—becomes capable of appreciating the ideal as well as the real world. Novalis's theory of magic idealism is derived from Fichte's subjective philosophy. It seeks, by developing our will power, imagination, and faith to the highest level, to bring about the triumph of the inner over the outer world, and aims finally at a synthesis between nature and reason. As a lyric poet, Novalis made an important contribution by his religious songs with their heartfelt piety and sincerity, but his greatest lyrical achievement is the free-verse poem, *Hymns to the Night*. In it Novalis makes use of a motif frequently employed by romanticism, the celebration of, and longing for, night or death as a means of reunion with his betrothed in the world beyond.

S. Liptzin, *Hist. Survey of German Lit.* (N. Y.), 1936.

P. M.

HARDY, THOMAS (English, 1840-1928), novelist and poet, was at his best when writing of his native Wessex, excelling as the interpreter of village life and giving the people of Dorsetshire the permanence of a folk tradition. Like Eliot, he was a psychologist, but added the quality of realism, the influence of Zola and DeMaupassant. Hardy's genius is in his creation of characters, such as *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, *Jude the Obscure*, Gabriel Oak, with their tragic struggles against circumstances. Criticism of his extreme realism turned Hardy from fiction to poetry, which—especially his sweeping poetic drama, *The Dynasts*—has been received with great enthusiasm.

S. C. Chew, T. H. F. F. M.

HARTE, [FRANCIS] BRET[R] (U. S. A., 1836-1902), was a pioneer in local color fiction, with popular tales and poems of California. Born in Albany, N. Y., he lived from 1854 to 1871 as an itinerant journalist and teacher in the midst of the gold-rush, and then spent the rest of his life in the East or abroad unsuccessfully striving to match his early successes in *The Luck of Roaring Camp* (1868), *The Outcasts of Poker Flat* (1869), *Tennessee's Partner* (1869) and *Plain Language from Truthful James* (1870). Although the matter of these was realistic, the manner (influenced by Irving, Dickens, and Poe) was consciously artistic, theatrical, rather fastidious, and basically sentimental in its combined appeal to pathos and humor. His

*Condensed Novels* (1867) contains amusing parodies of popular novelists of the day.

G. R. Stewart, B. H., *Argonaut and Exile* (Boston), 1931.

E. C. S.

HAUPTMANN, GERHART (German, b. 1862), has, in an impressive series of plays, novels, short stories, tapped many veins of modern literature: naturalism, neo-romanticism, neo-classicism, expressionism. It is, however, safe to predict that his lasting, towering significance will rest not on his excursion into the classical world (*Griechischer Frühling*, *Greek Spring*), nor on his experiments with abnormal psychology (*Der Narr in Christo Emanuel Quint*), but on his ability to make the most effective use of the naturalistic technique, by depicting and analyzing with it the life of the poor classes and the crushing weight of their inner and outer environment. With his heartrending presentation of social misery—Silesian weavers emaciated by starvation wages (*The Weavers*; 1892); a poor girl attempting to commit suicide to escape her brutal father (*Hanneles Himmelfahrt*, *Hannele's Journey to Heaven*; 1893); peasants being sacrificed in an abortive rebellion (*Florian Geyer*; 1895); a good natured drayman ruined by a sensuous wife (*Fuhrmann Henschel*; 1898); a young girl blackmailed into seduction (*Rose Bernd*; 1903)—Hauptmann, even if he has no theoretical solution to offer, attunes the emotions to a state of keener social awareness.

K. Holl, G. H. (London), 1913.  
H. B.

HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL (U. S. A., 1804-64), one of the country's classic novelists, represents in his fiction a searching ethical realism concerned primarily with central dilemmas of human adjustment. Molded by his family roots in Puritan Salem, by a sensitive and introspective temperament, and by such liberalizing experiences as a sojourn at the cooperative experiment of Brook Farm, he carefully developed his rich, somber prose through numerous fine short stories and sketches to the longer masterpieces which he preferred to call Romances. Almost invariably his method was one of bodying-forth critical moral problems in terms of history or imagined and observed events, especially as he had recorded these materials in his notebooks. At its best (as in *The Scarlet Letter*) this allegory achieves a unity and compelling conceptual realism, enhanced by clean, rhythmical prose and subtle shades of description.

N. Arvin, H. (Boston), 1929.  
E. C. S.

HAZLITT, WILLIAM (English, 1778-1830), drama critic, essayist, lecturer, was a difficult man, often writing sharply of his contemporaries. He wrote on practically every author from Elizabethan days to his own, giving one of our most valuable series of

critical judgments. His *Dramatic Literature of the Age of Elizabeth* and associated writings contributed greatly to the increasing romantic appreciation of Shakespeare. Hazlitt wrote in an unaffected familiar style, with lucidity combined with sensitiveness, gusto, and subtlety. He was able, as few others, to describe a work in its total effect.

A. Birrell, W. H.  
F. F. M.

HEBBEL, CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH (German, 1813-63), was a dramatist, in whose plays the relations of individuals to each other and to their world are analyzed in a tortured interplay of question and answer, as they reveal their passions and repressions. His characters succumb in a tragic conflict with uncontrolled desire (*Judith*, 1839; *Genovera*, 1843), the convention of society (*Mary Magdalen*, 1846), jealousy in love (*Herod and Mariamne*, 1850), the rights of the state (*Agnes Bernauer*, 1852), personal honor (*Gyges and his Ring*, 1856), or the clash of two ages (the trilogy, *The Nibelungs*, 1862). While not an innovator in verse or prose style or in dramaturgic form, Hebbel's concern with the rights of the individual, his penetrating psychological motivation, and his realistic portrayal of the milieu in which the problem is fought out, make him a precursor of the modern social dramatist.

S. Liptzin, *Hist. Surrey of German Lit.* (N. Y.), 1936.

S. L. S.

HEIDENSTAM, VERNER VON (Swedish, 1859-1940), the only child of a noble family, was born in Olshammar, a manor estate, with traditions from the Middle Ages. His first poems were *Vallfart och vandringar* (*Pilgrimage and Years of Wandering*, 1888). Through his idealistic hedonism and his passion for beauty, he became the foremost representative of the opposition against the naturalism of the 80's. In cooperation with Oscar Levertin he published the satire *Pepitas bröllop* (*Pepita's Wedding*, 1890). In his allegoric novel, *Hans Alienus* (1892), he develops an aesthetic idealism. His later poetry expresses a profound nationalism, which also characterizes his historical novels—*Dikter* (Poems, 1895); *Karolinerna I-II* (*The Charles Men*); *Heliga Birgittas pilgrimsfärd* (St. Birgitta's Pilgrimage, 1901); *Folkungsträdet* (2 v., 1905, 1907; *The Tree of the Folkings*, trans. A. J. Chater, N. Y., 1905); *Svenskarna och deras hövdingar* (2 v., 1908-09; *The Swedes and Their Chieftains*). In 1915 he published *Nya dikter* (New Poems), in which he expresses a religious humanism and a noble resignation (*Selected Poems*, trans. Charles Wharton Stork, New Haven, 1919). He received the Nobel prize in 1916.

J. Landquist, V. von H., 1909; A. Gustafson, *Six Scandinavian Novelists* (N. Y.), 1940.  
A. W.



HEINE, HEINRICH (German, 1797-1856), poet, essayist, novelist, literary historian, political pamphleteer, the wittiest of the Germans, the last of the Romanticists, the pioneer of Realism, an embattled thinker, deprecated by some as blackguard and apostate and adored by others as continuator of Goethe and as bard of democracy. His *Buch der Lieder* (*Book of Songs*, 1827) is the most popular collection of love lyrics in the German language. His *Reisebilder* (*Travel Sketches*), appearing from 1824 on, are excellent examples of a literary genre of the post-Napoleonic generation. They are not merely chronicles of trips through Germany, Italy, and England, but primarily descriptions of the poet's inner moods, his emotional reactions to the scenes visited, his reflections on universal themes or on contemporary political events, thought-associations aroused by incidents experienced. In Paris from 1831 on, he became intermediary between French and German culture. His finest satire *Deutschland, Ein Wintermärchen* (*Germany, A Winter's Tale*, 1844) is a sardonic mocking of Biedermeier Germany and of European institutions in general. *Romanzero* (1851) contains his profoundest but also most disillusioned verse utterances on eternal problems. His poetry rarely depicts cold, clear, objective phenomena, but rather phenomena as they are mirrored in the imperfect minds and illogical hearts of men and women. Even as he himself loved intensely and smiled at the seriousness of his love, even as he hated fiercely and wondered why, so too his poetry is a reflex of contradictory moods, a poetry not wholly moral, not always beautiful, not entirely sincere, but a poetry that is at all times human, fascinatingly human, with the breath of humanity in its every pore.

Louis Untermeyer, H., *Poet and Paradox* (N. Y.), 1937.

S. L.

HELIODORUS (Greek, 3d c. A.D.), one of the most readable of the Greek novelists; his tale of romantic adventure, the *Aethiopica*, influenced not only his immediate successors, but also European writers, after the work became known through the translations of Amyot and Underdown. The interest of the story is more in its picturesque settings and skilfully worked out plot than in the character drawing. Both in theme and style, Heliodorus is indebted to his classical and Hellenistic predecessors, but his blend of romance and action in out of the way parts of Egypt and Abyssinia make his book a worthy ancestor of the picaresque tale.

E. H. Haight, *Essays on the Greek Romances* (N. Y.), 1943.

C. A. R.

HEMINGWAY, ERNEST [MILLER] (U. S. A., b. 1898), has best expressed the modern novelists' lesson to the world that life is dangerous and de-

mands dangerous living. All of his fiction—including the masterful short stories, the best of which are collected along with a drama of the Spanish Civil War in *The Fifth Column and the First Forty-Nine Stories* (1938)—is marked by his love for action and danger (frequently in war), and by his gift for catching the unique characteristics of people among whom he has lived. His *Farewell to Arms* is widely deemed the finest American war novel, and, along with *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, has won him wide esteem. His stylistic influence upon modern prose has been extensive.

E. C. S.

HERBERT, GEORGE (English, 1593-1633), a poet of the school of Donne, was a clergyman of the Church of England. In *The Temple*, a collection of short poems pertaining to the Church, he wrote sonnets, conceits, and euphuisms. He strove to apply forms already in use to religious verse. Unlike Donne's, simplicity was the power of Herbert's verse, which reflected his moral earnestness and sincere piety.

Izaak Walton, *Life of H.*, 1670.  
F. F. M.

HERCZEG, FRANCIS (Hungarian, b. 1863), has often been referred to as the Hungarian Maupassant. Of German extraction, his attitude toward Hungarian history and characters is often detached. His stories portray army officers and men about town, whose interest centers on society gossip, horses, and adventuresses. Though well aware of the evils of society, Herczeg is content with presenting life as it is, and rarely voices criticism. He abandons this attitude, however, in his historical novels and dramas, e.g., *Byzantium* (1904), *The Bridge* (1923), which serve as vehicles of his views. He owes his popularity with the masses to his entertaining novels and short stories, e.g., *The Gyurkovics Girls* (1893) and to a score of clever social comedies, several of which, like *The Blue Fox* (1917), formed part of the repertoire of many stages abroad.

E. Csaszar, Fr. H. in *NRH*, 1932.  
A. S. and F. M.

HERDER, JOHANN GOTTFRIED (German, 1744-1803), one of the great minds that helped to create and shape the modern period. A disciple of Kant and Hamann, he was anti-rationalistic and humanitarian in his philosophy. In his many essays on literature—*Fragments on Modern German Literature* (1767); *Critical Forests* (1769); *On the Origin of Language* (1772); *On German Life and Art* (1773)—he presented the view that poetry was man's mother tongue and should be lyric in character, naive and spontaneous as a folksong. He exerted a strong influence on the writers of the Storm and Stress period, especially Goethe, who later called him to Weimar. Although not a creative writer himself, Herder showed remarkable artistry in his trans-

lations of folksongs, *Voices of the Nations in Songs* (1778-79). His scholarship was most comprehensive and was incorporated in works that have contributed to our knowledge of the evolution of mankind and the development of modern historical science (*Ideas toward a Philosophy of the History of Mankind*, 1784-91).

Frank McEachran, *The Life and Philosophy of J. G. H.* (Oxford), 1939.

S. L. S.

HERODOTUS (Greek, ca. 485-425 B.C.), the "Father of History," born in Greek Asia Minor, spent much of his life traveling in the Greek and barbarian lands of the eastern Mediterranean, gathering material at first hand and writing his account of the clash of Greeks and barbarians which culminated in the Persian Wars. Herodotus was possessed of an enquiring mind and a taste for anecdote, so that everything he saw and heard was grist for his mill. Yet his exercise of discrimination and willingness to present both sides of a case made his work the first in which the necessity of evidence for historical judgment was recognized. He has recreated the world of archaic Greece with something of the gusto and simplicity of Homer, which has made his work a delight for posterity to read, although it was not a model of historiography even for his immediate successors.

T. R. Glover, *H.* (Berkeley, Cal.), 1924.  
C. A. R.

HERRERA, FERNANDO DE (Spanish, 1534-92), was polished both in love poetry and in the great patriotic ode, such as the *Song on the Battle of Lepanto*. His Andalusian pompousness pleased the eternal Spanish baroque taste, helped give him the title of "Divine Poet." He developed a more flowery style than that of his model Garcilaso.\*

A. Coster, *F. de H.* (Paris), 1908.  
H. A. H.

HERRICK, ROBERT (English, 1591-1634), the best known of the Cavalier poets, reflected two viewpoints in his poems, Cavalier gaiety and Puritan seriousness. The priest of a remote English parish, he paints a delicate picture of the countryside, and a vigorous picture of rustic life, as in *The Hack Cart*. His life was a feast of the senses, not of sensibility. His religious poems, though not his best, rank high among devotional writings. He is best known as creator of countless little poems, such as *Corinna Goes A-Maying*, in which he conveys his delight in the exquisite surface of life. There is unrivaled verbal music in his poetry.

F. W. Moorman, *Life of R. H.*  
F. F. M.

HESIOD (Greek, 8th c. B.C.) was the traditional creator of didactic poetry. Born on a Boeotian farm, he was cheated of his inheritance through the connivance of a brother, Perses, and the judges in his

suit. This wrong stirred Hesiod to write the *Works and Days* for the edification of his brother. In it a practical program for righteousness and prosperity is set forth: hard work and proper methods of farming, for which Hesiod gives a long list of practical hints. Hesiod's earnestness, insistence on a universal principle of justice, and homely philosophy, reinforced by the proverbs of his countryside, gained him a number of immediate imitators, and renewed popularity in the Alexandrian period among the *literati*, as well as imitation by Vergil in the *Georgics*.

T. A. Sinclair, *H., Works and Days* (London), 1932.

C. A. R.

HIRAYAMA TOGO. See Ibara.

HOFFMANN, ERNST THEODOR [WILHELM] AMADEUS (German, 1776-1822), is one of the most intriguing of the German romanticists. His life, particularly in his last Berlin years, reflects the peculiar dichotomy of his art. At that time he used to spend his days as a conscientious jurist, then while away his nights with his cronies in the wine-room of Luttener and Wegener, delighting them with his fantasies or using their peculiarities as material for his types. His technique stems from Tieck's romantic *novelle*, but he develops a greater distinctness and brings about a closer union between the real and the imaginary. Thus, in *The Golden Pot* (1813), although to the practical citizen it seems that the student Anselmus lives with his sweetheart, the archivist's daughter, in Dresden, his poetic soul, through the dowry of the 'golden pot,' symbolically transforms their earthly estate into the wonder-land of Atlantis. Another type of story is the 'murder mystery,' so popular in America, which Hoffmann was one of the first to develop. Hoffmann had great influence in France, among others, on Victor Hugo and George Sand, and found a strong soul-mate in the American Edgar Allan Poe, whose technique and subject matter greatly resemble those of the German author.

S. Liptzin, *Hist. Survey of German Lit.* (N. Y.), 1936.

P. M.

HOLBERG, LUDVIG (1684-1754), the father of the Danish stage and comedy. His comedies were generally satires directed against the platitudes of the lower strata of society, as well as against the foreign and sophisticated elements in the upper stratum. His works helped establish the National Theatre.

C. M. V.

HOLDERLIN, FRIEDRICH (German, 1770-1843), a poet whose absorption in the classic ideal of Greek culture was so intense that he identified himself in early years with the Greek gods and his

fatherland with Greece. Unfortunately, madness shrouded the latter half of his life, so that his work and position remain somewhat a riddle. His lyric is infused with the idealistic inspiration of the classical tradition, and is marked by lofty universality of theme and tone, hymnic rhythm and melodious harmony (*To the Parcae; Hyperion's Song of Fate; Hymn to the Ideals of Humanity*). The epistolary novel, *Hyperion or the Hermit in Greece* (1794), and a tragedy *The Death of Empedocles* (1799), both show his power of expression and sensitivity of soul. His creative use of symbols, the spirituality of his images, and the pessimism of disillusionment in his works have led in recent years to a Hölderlin renaissance, strongly reflected in both poetry and painting.

Stefan Zweig, *Master Builders*, (New York), 1939.

S. L. S.

HOLMES, OLIVER WENDELL (U.S.A., 1809-94), for many years professor of anatomy at Harvard, was also 19th c. Boston's most celebrated talker, occasional poet, and familiar essayist. His urbane, aristocratic conservatism in most aspects (including his prosody) threw into startling contrast his scientific empiricism as it was applied to moral problems, and it is this latter liberalism, combined with a gift for eliciting surprise, that raises his writing above polished dilettantism. His modified literary neoclassicism operated best amid the mixed wit, satire, and sentiment of familiar verse, occasional compositions, and especially the personal essay as collected in the four volumes which are represented best by *The Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table* (1858). His serious poems are few, and except for occasional passages his three novels are literary curiosities.

S. I. Hayakawa and H. M. Jones, *O. W. H.* (N. Y.), 1939; M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *H. of the Breakfast-Table* (N. Y.), 1939.

E. C. S.

HOMER (Greek, 9th c. B.C.) was, according to tradition, the blind composer of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Nothing is known of his personality or of his life, although a persistent tradition indicates that he was a native of Greek Asia Minor where epic poetry arose from saga of the Mycenaean Age in Greece. Since the poems are purely narrative, the poet's own personality is never obtruded. The "Homeric Question," concerning the composition of the poems, which provoked so much discussion in the 19th c., has scarcely been answered definitively. The main objection to the separatist theories remains the unity of composition and conception, which can only be adequately explained as the work of one mind. More important, however, than the authorship of the poems is their literary greatness. They have set the standards for epic poetry

and have been a living part of the tradition of European literature for almost three thousand years.

C. M. Bowra, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad* (Oxford), 1930.

C. A. R.

HOOFT, PIETER CORNELISZ (Dutch, 1561-1647), poet and playwright. Son of a mayor of Amsterdam, he traveled extensively through Italy and France. He translated Petrarch, wrote a pastoral play, *Granida*; a comedy, *The Miser*; the tragedies *Geeraert van Velsen* and (*Baeto or the origin of the Hollanders*). In 1610 he married and wrote moving love lyrics. In his castle at Muiden he gathered a circle of literary and artistic friends (known as the "Muiderkring"), which made Muiden the center of Holland's intellectual life. When Hooft was about 40 he devoted himself entirely to works of a historical nature.

J. G.

HORACE (Q. Horatius Flaccus, Roman, 65-8 B.C.), one of the notable group of poets that owed their encouragement to Maecenas, a wealthy friend of Augustus. His first literary work was a book of *Satires*, the avowed purpose of which was "to speak what is true with a smile on your lips." The brief lyrics, known as *Odes*, reflect the cheerful outlook of one who, in a period of relative peace and security, is content with simple pleasures. In delicate fashion, with the admirable sententiousness for which he became noted, he administers gentle reproofs and urbane counsel to faithful slave or famous statesman. Next to Aristotle's *Poetics*, Horace's literary epistle, known to the world as *Ars Poetica*, has had the most profound influence on European literary criticism.

J. F. D'Alton, *H. and his Age*, (London), 1917; G. Showerman, *H. and his Influence* (Boston), 1922.

J. J. S.

HORNKLOVI, THORBJORN (Norwegian, fl. ca. 900); distinguished poet at the court of King Harald the Fairhaired. Known principally for two works, the skaldic poems *Haraldskvadet* and *Glymdrápa*. The eulogy of King Harold (*Haraldskvadet*) is a remarkably vivid description of what Thorbjörn himself had seen in the famous battle of Håfrstjörd. The author speaks of the "drottin nordmanna," the king of the Norsemen, and gives one of the earliest demonstrations of national loyalty and pride. In the *Glymdrápa*, which takes its name either from the splendor of Harald's reign or from the strongly auditory effect of the verses themselves, Thorbjörn rears a monument to the popular king. This poem is not so spontaneously imaginative as the other; it tends, like most of the skaldic verse, to seek glory in virtuosity. But even in the eulogy to Harald he is able to break through the heavy form and make

us sense the personal impulses of a great historical era.

F: Jonsson, *Skjaldedigtning* 4 v. (Copenhagen), 1912-15; *Den oldnorske og oldislandske litt. hist.* 2d ed., 3 v. (Copenhagen), 1920-24.

T. J.

HOUSMAN, ALFRED EDWARD (English, 1859-1936), poet and classical scholar, is known to the world as author of *A Shropshire Lad* (1898), a volume of ballads about the everyday life of the Shropshire people. Like Fitzgerald he voiced a philosophy of pessimism and defeat. Even his gayest poems reveal an inner sadness. Housman's verse is condensed and stripped of all superfluity of ornament, having as its outstanding virtue an extraordinary simplicity of tone. His poems are fastidious, small, limited in range, and restricted in outlook, but considered by many as nearly perfect as lyrics can hope to be.

A. S. F. Gow, A. E. H. (Cambridge, Eng.), 1936.

F. F. M.

HOWELLS, WILLIAM DEAN (U.S.A., 1837-1920), chief early champion of American literary realism, believed (*Criticism and Fiction*, 1891) in the supremacy of truth, actuality, average normalcy, and exact depiction of character and motive in fiction. A self-educated Ohio journalist whose campaign biography of Lincoln (1860) made him Consul to Venice, he followed his early poems and travel sketches with nearly 80 volumes (short stories, plays, essays, verse, autobiography, novels) which move somewhat fitfully from a surface contrast of manners to treatment of social conflict in the light of Tolstoian socialism and his own experience. Despite the limits of his genteel, decorous, aristocratic outlook, his stronger novels (*A Modern Instance*, 1881-2, *The Rise of Silas Lapham*, 1884-5; *A Hazard of New Fortunes*, 1889-90) are memorable for richness of tone, dialogue, and description. *Years of My Youth* (1916) is his most revealing book of reminiscences.

O. W. Firkins, W. D. H., *a Study* (Cambridge), 1924.

E. C. S.

HSUN CH'ING (Hsun Tzu, Chinese, ca. 298-238 B.C.), outstanding philosopher and writer of the Confucian school of thought, lives in China's literary history as one of the inventors of a new form of poetry called *Fu*. As a philosopher, he inquired into the nature of man, the order of the universe, the problem of knowledge, and the nature and scope of education. His philosophical work comes to us under his honored name Hsun Tzu (Master Hsun). He believed firmly in the moral order of the universe and in the power of education to change the congenital nature of man from evil

to good. Man, he said, is the noblest being on earth because he has a sense of justice. And "if there be justice, then there will be concord. If there be concord, then men will be united: if united, then their strength will be multiplied: if their strength be multiplied, then they will be powerful enough to conquer the world of creatures. . . ." The business of education, then, is to harmonize men's raw instincts by means of music and the performance of religious and social ritual.

E. R. Hughes, *Chinese Philosophy in Classical Times* (London & N. Y.), 1942; H. Dubs, *The Works of H. Tz.* (London), 1928.

S. C. L.

HSUN TZU. See Hsun Ch'ing.

HU SHIH (Chinese, b. 1891), one of China's greatest scholars, was born in Shanghai of an Anhwei family of scholars. He studied in America, receiving his B.A. from Cornell and Ph.D. from Columbia. He was the leading figure in the "literary revolution" and the "New Thought" movement, while serving on the faculty of the National University of Peking. In 1928 he started a monthly, the *Crescent Moon*, which stood for fundamental rethinking, civil rights, liberty, and good government. It was suspended in 1933 and was replaced by the *Independent Critic*, an organ of debate and untrammelled criticism. He served as China's ambassador to the United States from 1938 to 1942. He is author of numerous articles both in Chinese and English, all of which show that he is a strong liberal and a deep thinker. Among his best known books in Chinese are *History of Chinese Philosophy*, Vol. I; *Experiments*, a collection of poems written in *pai hua*; and *The Collected Writings of Hu Shih*. His works in English include *The Development of Logical Method in Ancient China* and the *Chinese Renaissance*.

*China Year Book*, 1937-43 (New York), 1943.

S. C. L.

HUET, C. B. See Busken Huet, Conrad.

HUGHES, JOHN "Ceiriog" (Welsh, 1832-87), was the greatest lyricist of the 19th c. While in Manchester he came under the influence of the European movement for the freedom of oppressed peoples, which he applied to Wales; he projected himself back into the times of the struggle for national independence, and wrote passionate war lyrics and laments for the fallen. He loved peace and hated war, but he felt that freedom was worth fighting for, and that it was "better to die on old Rhuddlan Marsh, better to sink into the freedom of the sea," than to endure servitude. He was a great lover of nature, and his *Alun Mabon*, often considered his best work, is a pastoral of the Wales of his own

day. Many of his best lyrics were written to be sung to old Welsh tunes.

*Gweithiau Ceiriog*, 9 v. in 3, (Wrexham);  
A. Graves, *English Verse Trans. of the  
Welsh Poems of C. H.* (Wrexham),  
1926.

J. J. P.

HUGO, VICTOR (French, 1802-85), incarnates the Romantic spirit in French literature. Taken to Spain while a boy, he never forgot the vivid life and rich color of that land; as a young man he set out to make himself chief of the Romantic school and succeeded so well that he dominated the movement from its inception until its death as an organized entity. His first manifesto was the Preface to his play *Cromwell* (1827), in which he expounded the whole Romantic doctrine of the combination of comedy and tragedy, the mixture of the sublime and the grotesque, the preponderant role of the 'jeune premier.' He then proceeded to embody his doctrine in a series of dramas that stand today as the most typical expressions of the Romantic spirit in France. Among these plays are *Hernani* (1830), the first and best; *Lucretia Borgia* (1833); *Ruy Blas* (1838). But soon the Romantics were driven from the boards and Hugo, realizing his defeat, turned to poetry and the novel. A series of truly great volumes of verse established his fame beyond cavil: *The Punishments* (1853), *Contemplation* (1856), *The Legend of the Centuries* (1859) would in themselves have guaranteed his fame, but they are supported by a dozen minor volumes, each of which has its charm: *Pictures from the Orient* (1827), *Autumn Leaves* (1831), *Songs of Eventide* (1835), *Voices Within* (1837), *Lights and Shadows* (1840). Although this poetry is constantly marred by Hugo's overweening vanity and love of the pose, although its content of philosophy and idea is unimportant nevertheless its color and harmony and vividness give it freshness and power. Hugo, in spite of his philosophic shortcomings, was the father of most of the modern poetic movements in France. No Frenchman has ever equalled him in virtuosity; he is the master versifier of his tongue. However, his high place as arbiter of things literary did not shield him from political difficulties. Having incurred the anger of Napoleon III, whom he had called the 'small,' he was banished to the Channel Isles, where he spent the years 1851-70, engaged as always in a staggering literary production, included in which was his famous novel, *Les Misérables* (1862). He had already created a reputation as a novelist with *Notre Dame de Paris* (1831) and in spite of the length of his novels, in spite of their lack of organization, their pedantry, their hopelessly involved plots and romantic dodges, they are still among the best-read works in French literature. Hugo is today the most widely known author of the 19th c. in France; his huge literary production has

many faults, most of them serious, but even his worst detractors cannot deny the power and life and color of his tremendous work.

M. Josephson, V. H. (N. Y.), 1942.  
R. J. N.

HUNT, LEIGH (English, 1784-1859), essayist, poet, editor, was a bookman all his life. Although a talented poet, his greatest service was to discern greatness in others, as Coleridge, Keats, Shelley. His poems show the quality of his appreciation for literature and art; but his most important work was done as an essayist, as in *What is Poetry?* which most clearly states the aesthetic beliefs of the romantic school. Many of the writings of this school first appeared in his journals, *The Indicator* and *The Examiner*.

E. Blunden, L. H. and *His Circle*.  
F. F. M.

HURTADO DE MENDOZA, DIEGO (Spanish, 1503-75), was the first Spanish pragmatic historian and philosopher of history. His *War of Granada* (pub. 1622) presents first-hand observations and keen comments on the uprising of the Moriscoes of the Alpujarras, doing full justice to the enemy point of view. In style the work is a balanced imitation of Sallust and Tacitus.

J. D. Fesenmair, *Don D. H. de M.*  
(Munich), 1882-4. H. A. H.

HUSAYN, TAHA (Arab, b. 1889), though born in obscurity, blinded in infancy, and reared in the reactionary Islamic seminary of Al-Azhar, rose to fame as prophet of Egyptian modernism. A university education in Paris and a serious training in Arabic and Greek classics drove him to the conclusion, unfalteringly espoused throughout his career, that Arabic studies must be pursued in a scientific, free atmosphere, untrammelled by Islamic theology, and that Egypt's reawakening must involve direct contact with the Hellenic heritage. His *al-Adab al-Jāhili* (*Pre-Islamic Literature*; 1927) shocked orthodox Moslems by expounding the theory that pre-Islamic poetry was forged after the rise of Islam. In *Mustaqbal al-Thaqāfah fi Miṣr* (*Future of Culture in Egypt*; 1939) he advanced the view that geographically, historically, and culturally Egypt belongs to the Hellenic world, that she is as Mediterranean as Italy or France. Despite his Egyptian particularism, Husayn is popular with Arab liberals. His style, rambling and redundant, possesses fine qualities, is psychological, personal and effective, enriched by touches of wisdom and penetrating insights. Under constant attack by the conservative die-hards, Husayn's greatness remains apparently unimpaired among the intellectuals.

A. S. Eban, *The Modern Literary Movement in Egypt*, in *International Affairs*, v. xx, no. 4 (London), April, 1944.  
E. J. J.

HUSAYN, IBN-, ABU AL-HASN AHMAD. See Mutanabbi, Al-.

HUYGHENS, CONSTANTIJN (Dutch, 1596-1687), poet, born in The Hague. In 1625, he became secretary of King Henry Frederick; by that time he had already published a number of poems. During his whole life he was closely associated with the House of Orange. Its fall, in 1650, gave him more time to devote to his writing. In 1658 he published his collected poems "Korenbloemen" (Cornflowers). His last poems, in which he reflects about his youth, reveal a still youthful mind.

J. G.

IBARA SAIKAKU (pseud. of Hirayama Togo, Japanese, 1642-93) was born of a wealthy merchant family in Osaka. The starting point of his literary career was the composition of *haiku*. His *haiku* cannot be valued very highly as poetry, but he is peerless in his ability to depict life free of conventions. As a novelist, he was the founder of a new school of realistic popular writing which had been neglected since Murasaki Shikibu and Sei Shōnagon of the Heian period (794-1192). With complete disregard for the traditional manner of novel writing, with profound and critical observation, he pictures the life of the demi-monde. His style is rhythmical and impressionistic. Saikaku's works were considered extremely gross and were denounced as defying the general standard of morality. In recent years, however, they have become very popular. *Kōshoku Ichidai Otoko* (Life of a Voluptuous Man) and *Kōshoku Ichidai Onna* (Life of a Voluptuous Woman) are two of his typical works.

Fujimura, Tsukuru, *Nippon Bungaku Daijiten* (Comprehensive Dictionary of Jap. Lit.; Tokyo), 1934.

Y. U.

IBN AL-MUQAFFA' ('Abdullāh; Iranian, d. 757) was of great service to the cause of culture, in translating from Pahlavi into Arabic works (many earlier, from Sanskrit and Greek) that are otherwise lost. The Arabs of the period referred to the "Persian style" as especially effective; that of Ibn al-Muqaffa' was distinctive, simple and vigorous. Among his best works are Dehqān-e Dāneshvar's *Khōday-nāma* (Book of Kings), later continued by Daqīqī and Firdausi; *Book of Mazdak*; *Ā'in-nāma*; *Kalīla and Dimna*.

A. Iqbal, *Abdollah ibn-al-Muqaffa'* (Berlin), 1926.

M. A. S.

IBN EZRA, ABRAHAM BEN MEIR (Hebrew, 1092-1167), medieval Hebrew poet, scholar, and traveler, was born in Toledo, Spain. His poetry is distinguished by beauty of form, richness of language, and many patterns of rhythm and rhyme. He was a great student of the Hebrew language, and his

thorough knowledge of philology served him in his commentary on the Bible, where his linguistic studies helped him place different parts of the Bible in their proper periods. Thus he was the first scientific critic of the Scriptures, and paved the way for Biblical scholars of modern times.

M. Waxman, *A Hist. of Jewish Lit.* (N. Y.), 1940-1.

L. A.

IBN EZRA, MOSES BEN JACOB (Hebrew, 1070-1150), poet and hymnist, was born in Granada, Spain. Prevented from marrying his niece whom he loved passionately, he wandered through the world, restless and dejected. A great master of the Hebrew language and a poet of unusual gifts, he composed some of the most beautiful Hebrew poems of the period. His early poems were mostly secular and in light vein, devoted to love, wine and song. After his disappointment in love, they were more serious. He composed a great many sacred and penitential poems and has often been referred to as Moses the Hymnist. He was also a philosopher and scholar of merit. Because he traveled through many non-Moslem countries he was the first Hebrew-Spanish writer to compose all his works in Hebrew.

M. Waxman, *A Hist. of Jewish Lit.* (N. Y.), 1940-1.

L. A.

IBN GABIROL, SOLOMON (Hebrew, 1021-58), the profoundest of all Hebrew poets, and the first great poet of the Golden Period of Moorish Spain. There is very little known of his life except that he was born in Malaga, Spain, and died in Valencia. From the many references in his poems we know that he was orphaned in his teens, and suffered greatly from want. He is often bitter, despondent and pessimistic; at times, however, he indulges in humor and frivolity. In most of his poems he is deeply religious and philosophic. Many of his religious poems have been incorporated into the ritual service; particularly noted is his great philosophical poem *Kether Meluth* (Royal Crown), incorporated into the service of the Day of Atonement. His poetry is noted for richness of imagery, conciseness and beauty of style, and deep thought. Gabirol wrote also in Arabic: several books on philosophy, as his *Mekon Hayn* (Fountain of Life), translated into Latin as *Fons Vitae* under the garbled name of Avicbron, long thought to be a Moslem or a Christian Arabic philosopher. His teachings were accepted by the Franciscans, and figured prominently in the controversy between Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas.

M. Waxman, *Hist. of Jewish Lit.* (N. Y.), 1930-41.

L. A.

IBN SINA (Abū al-Husayn ibn 'Abdullāh; known as Avicenna; Iranian, 980-1037) is a scholar of

world renown, of high repute in theology, logic, astronomy, mathematics, and especially in medicine and the art of diagnosis. Over 100 works, in Arabic, include *Kitāb al-Shifā'*, a philosophical encyclopedic treatise dealing with logic, physics, mathematics, astronomy and metaphysics, and his chief book on medicine *al-Qānūn*. In Persian he wrote a book on philosophy, *Dānesh-nāma-ye 'Alā'i*; a number of quatrains, and two romances.

A. M. Goichon, *Lexique de la Langue Philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā* (Paris), 1938.  
M. A. S.

IBSEN, HENRIK (Norwegian, 1828-1906), by far the greatest dramatist in Norwegian literature. From a middle class merchant home, he came into the literary circles of Oslo in the 1850's as a writer of national romantic plays, of which *Lady Inger*, 1854, and *The Vikings*, 1858, are best known. In the 60's he achieved tremendous moral power in *The Pretenders*, 1863, *Brand*, 1866, and *Peer Gynt*, 1867. The group was finished in 1873 with the publication of *Emperor and Galilean*. Between the years 1877 and 1899 he wrote an even dozen of plays dealing with the problems of the individual in a modern society. Best known are *A Doll's House*, 1879, *Ghosts*, 1881, *The Wild Duck*, 1884, *Rosmersholm*, 1886, and *Hedda Gabler*, 1890. He had a profound influence on the form of the modern drama, reestablishing somewhat the unities of time and place by the extensive use of retrospective conversations. During the 80's and the 90's he also pioneered in the so-called symbolic plays, in which the principle of overtones is used. Most of his mature productions achieve remarkable intellectual intensity, with an inward questioning. He is always absorbed in the problems of the individual personality and has been spoken of as the great individualist in Norwegian letters, but although he hates the shams and the pretenses of society, it cannot be maintained that he hates society as such. He has had the effect of a tremendous searchlight.

Wm. Archer, *The Collected Works of H. I.*, 13 v. (N. Y.), 1916-27; H. Koht, *The Life of H. I.*, 2 v. (N. Y.), 1931.  
T. J.

IMMANUEL BEN SALOMON OF ROME (Immanuel ha-Romi; Hebrew, 1268-1330) though born in Rome, is looked upon as the last of the great poets of the Golden Spanish Period. His fame rests on his *Mahberoth* (*Book of*) *Immanuel*, in which are his short, mostly secular, poems, between prose tales and essays. His best poem is the *Hotsfeth ve-ha Eden* (*Paradise and Hell*) modeled on Dante, who is said to have been a friend of his. His poetry is distinguished by his great humor. He enriched the Hebrew vocabulary and introduced the sonnet and the Italian meter to Hebrew literature. Immanuel

is also known for his commentary on the Bible and for his poetry in the Italian languages.

M. Waxman, *Hist of Jewish Lit.* (N. Y.), 1930-41.

I. A.

INGEMANN, B. S. (1789-1862), the father of the Danish novel. The term, Ingemann's novels, has become a byword in the mind of every child, youth, and adult in Denmark. His novels are all taken from the historical records of the middle ages, their chief characters being national heroes and heroines. His seasonal hymns are exquisite, in childlike simplicity.

C. M. V.

IOLO MORGANWG. See Williams, Edward.

IRVING, WASHINGTON (U.S.A., 1783-1859), literary ambassador of good will, was the first American author to be widely acclaimed in England. In such representative works as *Bracebridge Hall* (1822), *The Alhambra* (1832), and *Oliver Goldsmith* (1849) his literary charm lies in his genial temperament, which could vary from pure sentiment and romance to wit and urbanity, and in his graceful style, which achieved its careful effortlessness by a consciously simple, tasteful correctness, combined with a remarkable natural receptivity to physical color and line. Spending many years abroad both as traveller and diplomatic official, he later retired beside his native Hudson, where he wrote the meticulous but ponderous *Life of Washington* (5 v., 1855-9).

S. T. Williams, *The Life of W. I.* (N. Y.), 1936.

E. C. S.

ISBAHANI, AL-, ABU-AL-FARAJ or Isfahāni (Arab, ca. 897-967), born in Isbahān, Persia, was a Qurayshite and a lineal descendant of Marwān II (744-50), last Umayyad Caliph. In Baghdad he devoured the contents of classical Arabic poetry and antiquities. His minor works are overshadowed by *Kitāb al-Aghāni* (*Book of Songs*) composed in Aleppo, a composite of rich ingatherings from the ancients, from historians, musicians, belles-letttrists, and sages. Ibn-Khaldūn (d. 1406) declared it "the register of the Arabs . . . the final resource of the literary scholar." It is a history of all Arabic poetry, set to music; an indispensable source on Islamic culture. It brought him 1000 gold pieces from Sayf-al-Dawlah (944-67), Hamdānid ruler of Aleppo, and an equal sum from the Umayyad al-Hakam II (961-76) of Cordova. Toward the end of his life, he also won the favor of al-Muhallabi, vizier of the Buwayhid sovereign, Mu'izz-al-Dawlah (932-67).

C. Brockelmann, *Abu'L-Faradj*, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

E. J. J.

ISLWYN. See Thomas, William.

ISOCRATES (Greek, 436-338 B.C.) was one of the great prose writers and educators of 4th c. Greece. He established a school of rhetoric in Athens and, through his students and pamphlets, had considerable influence on Greek letters and political thought. In his writings the periodic style of Greek prose is brought to a smooth perfection and, by his political pamphlets, Isocrates had some effect in preparing the way for the unity of culture that characterised the Hellenistic age. His educational methods were criticised by his contemporaries, and they had the unfortunate effect of giving a rhetorical turn to Greek historiography through the work of his pupils. Yet his dignified, easy type of prose was carried on by his school and played a part in the molding of Cicero's style, which had the greatest influence on European prose.

J. F. Dobson, *The Greek Orators* (London), 1919.

C. A. R.

JABARTI, AL- (Arab, 1756-1825), born in Cairo of an Abyssinian family domiciled in Egypt for generations, was a canny observer of the political scene, keeping a meticulous diary: *'A jā'ib al-Aḥbār fi al-Tarājim wal-Akhlāq* (Marvels of Documents: on biography and tradition). As a distinguished Cairene Moslem sage and a contemporary of the last Mamlūk rulers, he was a watchful eye-witness of the French occupation and a silent critic of Muḥammad 'Alī's first 17 years in power. By the possible connivance of the latter, he met violent death. For his own entertainment he constructed a now lost recension of the *Arabian Nights*. He cast his lot with the French, later with Muḥammad 'Alī, in both instances with an open mind. His literary work reflects the thought and spirit of the early Arab 19th c.

D. B. Macdonald, *al-Jabarti, in Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

E. J. J.

JAMES, HENRY [Jr.] (U.S.A. and British, 1843-1916), brother of the philosopher, William James, achieved lasting distinction with his contributions to formal structure of fiction, his 'psychological realism,' his precision and beauty of style, and his power to create atmosphere. Although born in New York City, he led from the first a highly cosmopolitan existence, and became a British citizen in 1915. His fiction (especially the later novels, *The Spoils of Poynton*, *The Wings of the Dove*, *The Ambassadors*, and *The Golden Bowl*) is marked by his method of thoroughly developing a single "germ" situation, mood, or set of relationships; by his feeling for relatively massive structural blocks; and by his non-omniscient attitude in "revealing" situations simultaneously to reader and characters, usually through a 'Greek-chorus' character. At the

core of James' writing lie a patrician veneration for the aesthetic, and an almost transcendental insistence upon moral values, especially in his recurrence to the theme of resignation—giving up something of price for something priceless.

Lyon Richardson, *H. J.* (N. Y.), 1941.  
E. C. S.

JAMI (Mullā Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān; Iranian, 1414-92) was one of the most remarkable poets of Iran. The six greatest poets of Iran are considered to be: Firdausi, for epic poetry, Nizāmī for romance, Rūmī for mystical poetry, Sa'dī for his verses on ethical subjects, Ḥāfiz for lyrics, and Jāmī for general excellence in all these forms. He is regarded as the last of the classical poets of Iran. He wrote numerous works. His poetry, not including minor productions, consists of 3 *Dirāns* of lyrical poetry, and 7 romantic *masnavis* which are collectively known as the *Sab'a (Septet)* or *Haft Aurang (Seven Thrones)*. The fifth of the *Seven Thrones*, the *Romance of Yūsuf and Zulaykhā*, is by far the most popular and accessible, both in the original and in translation.

F. H. Davis, *The Persian Mystics II. Jami* (N. Y.), 1909.

M. A. S.

JANDEL, RAGNAR (Swedish, 1895-1939), son of a painter, chose the same trade. His intellectual interests were responsible for his attending the people's high school in Brunnsvik, where many other poets with a proletarian background received their education. As a poet, he preaches first the gospel of social democracy (*Till kärleken och hatet, To Love and Hate*, 1917) but in the long run political ideology gave him no satisfaction. His development gives his poetry a religious tone (*Under vårstjärnor, Under the Springtime Stars*, 1920; *Det stilla året, The Quiet Year*, 1923; *Kämpande tro, Struggling Faith*, 1928) but when a committee wanted to incorporate some of his poems into the hymnology of the Swedish State Church he protested energetically. Hardly, with better reason, could anyone else be called the poet of Swedish poverty, and it is Jandel's greatness that he was able to cultivate the idyl in spite of the poverty, as, e.g., in *Barndomsminnen (Memories from Childhood*, 1936).

H. Ahlenius, *Arbetaren i svensk diktning* (221-32).

A. W.

JAPIES, GYSBERT (Frisian, 1603-66), was a poet of wide genius, representing the Renaissance in Frisian literature and challenging comparison with the greatest singers in his tongue. His *Frisian Poetry* (pub. 1668) has been and will continue to be the inspiration for many a literary revival. The volume is a collection of love verse, poetic dialogues, and psalms. Of great charm and lyric beauty are his



tuneful love songs, some of which show the influence of Dutch and classical writers. The dialogues, strikingly fresh and natural, depict peasant life and display the author's great power of dramatization and delineation. Though the psalms, written in later life, are less spontaneous and frequently marred by awkward word-combinations, they embody some great religious poetry.

D. Kalma, G. J. (Dokkum), 1938.  
B. J. F.

JEAN PAUL. See Richter, Jean Paul Friedrich.

JEFFERS, [JOHN] ROBINSON (U. S. A., b. 1887), born in Pittsburgh and educated partly in Europe, has lived most of his life in California, whose grim sea-coast and back-country people near his isolated home at Carmel appear often in his poetry. Showing influences ranging from Greek tragedy to Freud and Spengler, he has nevertheless been highly original. His daring treatment of sex as central in life and his constant melodramatic use of physical and spiritual violences are employed allegorically to show how much better than "the wolf in men's hearts" are "the primal and latter silences" of a non-homocentric Nature. More important than this theme, perhaps, is his technical mastery, in his best poems (*Selected Poetry*, 1938), of imaginative sweep and imagery, and of a new rhythmical use of stress and syllabic quality.

L. C. Powell, R. J.: *The Man and His Work* (Pasadena, Cal.), 1940.

E. C. S.

JELLES, PITER. See Troelstra, Piter Jelles.

JENNER, HENRY ("Gwas Myhal," Cornish, 1849-1934), was the father of the Cornish revival, the link between the old and the new. In his younger years he gathered some of the living tradition of the language from persons that had learned it in their childhood; before he died he saw the revival well established. As early as 1884 he had written poetry in Cornish. In 1904 he published his *Handbook* for the use of those that wish to learn the old language, and in the same year he induced the Pan-Celtic Congress to accept Cornwall as one of the Celtic nations. He was instrumental in founding *Gorseth Kernow*, the society of Cornish bards, in which he served as *Barth Mur* until his death. He was also the leader in organizing the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies (*Unyans an Cowethasow Kernow Goth*). To him is due the credit for changing Cornish from a language studied by a few foreign scholars to one cultivated by native patriots.

Caradar (A. S. D. Smith), in *Kernow*, June, 1934.

J. J. P.

JENSEN, JOHANNES V. (Danish, b. 1873). The most famous Danish writer of today; opponent of Brandes\*; winner of the Nobel Prize. His themes

are varied in character and cosmopolitan in scope, and in both lyric poems and novels he displays a tremendous power of imagination and beauty of language.

C. M. V.

JEROME, SAINT (345-420). Born at Stridon in Dalmatia, friend and adviser of Pope Damasus, who commissioned him to translate the *Scriptures* into Latin. Established a monastery in Bethlehem (386), spending the rest of his life in study and meditation. His works include Latin biblical translations and commentaries, lives of saints, controversial works, literary history (*De Viris Illustribus*, a continuation of Suetonius) and letters. The style of his letters bears comparison with that of Cicero. His version of *Scripture* (the *Vulgate*), one of the strongest influences in moulding Latin style of the Middle Ages, departed from classical usage because of his primary aim of reproducing the exact meaning of the original; hence, many Hebraisms and Graecisms came into Latin. A vigorous, if not stormy character, a great story-teller, profound scholar, devoted to classical literature.

F. Cavallera, St. J., *sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris), 1922.

E. A. Q.

JIBRAN, JIBRAN KHALIL, or KHALIL GIBRAN (Arab, 1883-1931), a Syro-American luminary, was born in Bsharri, a northern Lebanon village. Brought to the U. S. A. at 11, he applied himself to art and literature. In New York a band of Syrian writers, known as *al-Rabīyah al-Qalamīyah* (*The Literary Guild*), gathered about him. His Arabic works include *'Arā'is al-Murūj* (*Brides of the Meadows*); *al-Arwāh al-Mutamarridah* (*Souls in Revolt*); *al-Ajnihah al-Mutakassirah* (*Broken Wings*); *Dam'ah wa-lbīṣamah* (*A Tear and a Smile*); *al-'Awāṣif* (*Tempests*); *al-Mawākib* (*Processions*). During his last decade he excelled as a writer of English (and as an artist), producing *The Prophet* (1923), a continuing best seller in the U. S.; *Sand and Foam* (1926); *Jesus the Son of Man* (1928). A pure strain of lyrical inspiration permeates his writings, setting them apart in Arabic and world literature.

Khemiri and Kampffmeyer, *Leaders in Contemporary Arabic Literature*, in *Die Welt des Islams*; B. Young, *This Man From Lebanon*, 1945.

E. J. J.

JOCHUMSSON, MATTHIAS (1835-1920), generally considered the leading Icelandic poet of the later 19th c., was unusually many-sided and wrote on a great variety of themes. His historical, elegiac, and memorial poems are particularly noteworthy. His religious poems and hymns, reaching at times the highest peaks of inspiration, breathe deep faith and strong idealism. At his best he combines startling

imagery with profound thought, expressed in forceful and eloquent style. His inspired hymn, *Ó, Gud rors lands* (*Our Country's God*), written for the millennial celebration of the settlement of Iceland in 1874, has deservedly become the Icelandic national hymn. In literary significance his dramas rank far below his poetry, although one of them has remained a popular stage play. He translated excellently Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Othello*, *Romeo and Juliet*; Byron's *Manfred*; Ibsen's *Brand*; and Tegner's *Fritiof's Saga*.

R. Beck, "M. J.—Icelandic Poet and Translator," *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, XIII, 1935; W. Kirkconnell, *The N. A. Book of Icelandic Verse* (N. Y. & Montreal), 1930.

R. B.

JOHN, surnamed 'Chrysostom the Golden-mouthed' (Byzantine, d. 407), disputes with Bossuet the distinction of being the greatest orator ever to be heard from a Christian pulpit. Born in Antioch about 354 of a prominent family, he was educated in rhetoric and the classics by the famous pagan teacher Libanius; and by Diodorus of Tarsus, master also of Theodore of Mopsuestia, in theology and biblical exegesis. Becoming a monk after his baptism in 372, he soon won fame as a writer of apologetic and other works, notable among the latter the moving dialogue on the nobility and responsibilities of *The Priesthood*, still required reading in every Catholic seminary, and the interesting treatise on *Vainglory and the Education of the Child*. His ordination in 386 inaugurated his great ministry of preaching. After twelve years at Antioch, he was consecrated bishop of Constantinople in 397. He spent the princely revenues of his see on hospitals and the care of the poor and the sick. Courageously he undertook the reform of both clergy and laity; no respecter of persons, he "swept the stairs from the top down," to quote Palladius. His bold protest against vice in high places, his vindication of the right of asylum to the disgraced and condemned minister Eutropius, gained him the bitter hatred of Empress Eudoxia, at whose instigation he was banished. Three years of designed hardship and suffering broke his frail body though not the indomitable spirit that still breathes in his private correspondence, and he succumbed on the far shores of the Black Sea in 407. "Glory be to God for all things," were his dying words. Over 1,000 of his sermons, averaging two hours in length, have survived. His audience waited for them week by week "as eagerly as hungry little sparrows for the return of their mother," as he himself puts it. His greatness came from a mastery of eloquence surpassed by few if any in history, united with the flaming zeal and earnestness of a saint. Dauntless champion of the moral order, defender of the poor, protector of the persecuted of high or low degree, he lived the sublime Christian

(and Platonic) principle that he ever preached: the only evil is sin.

A. Fortescue, *The Greek Fathers* (London & St. Louis), 1908.

M. J. H.

- JOHN CYRILOTES (10th c.), usually known under his by-name "the Geometrician," excelled in the verse-form in which Byzantine Literature as a whole excelled: the epigram. George of Pisidia, and Theodore Studites, represent the finest in the brief poem on religious topics; Agathias, and Christopher of Mitylene, on secular and humanistic. John was first-rate in only the latter, with brevity, wit, and point; but he illustrates the range and variety of the Byzantine epigram generally. His pieces run from two to a hundred lines, in iambic trimeter, elegiac distich, or dactylic hexameter. His subjects include (1) secular: riddles; epitaphs; contemporary events, e.g., the civil war, the inroad of the Georgians; men he admired and loved, e.g., his teacher, the generous right hand of Emperor Nicephorus; famous literary and historical personages both pagan and Christian from Sophocles and Archytas to Chrysostom and Romanus and the writers of his own day; mythology, geography, art, e.g., the Muses, Mt. Olympus, Athens past and present; miscellaneous, the wine of Kræneste, the handsome man, the dwarf, the emperor's signature in purple ink, woman, and love; the themes inherited from the rhetoricians, the four seasons and works of art like the portrait of a spirited steed; (2) religious: the feasts of the liturgical calendar, e.g., the mysteries of Christ, the archangels, the apostles, the death of the Mother of God (a favorite Christian theme); pictures and statues of saints, prayers, confession of sins, paraphrases of the odes of the *Old Testament*. The verses *To Himself* represent a native Byzantine tradition that goes back to the autobiographical poetry of Gregory Nazianzen.

M. J. H.

JOHN DAMASCENE (674-749), poet, controversialist, theologian, shines out a lone beacon in the long night that fell upon Byzantine Literature after the death of Heraclius. Though some of his experiments in meter proved none too happy, he has left us hymns of great beauty, particularly the glorious office of Easter Sunday. In his polemic, he championed ably the independence of Church from State, and stood in the forefront of the opposition to Iconoclasm. Famous is his *Wellspring of Wisdom*, the first system of theology. It has three parts, (1) *Philosophic Principles*, fundamental definitions based chiefly on Aristotle, (2) *Heresies*, in which he supplies the historical background of the development of dogma, (3) *Scientific Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*. To John Damascene is paid the high tribute of being called the last of the Fathers. Yet, in spirit and outlook, in his versatility, in his encyclopedic grasp, he belonged not to the past but to the future, the age of Photius. His original speculations cen-

tered around the relation of Providence to free will, a typically medieval problem. Born a hundred years later, his genius could have inspired in the east a movement comparable in greatness to western Scholasticism.

M. Jugie, J. D., in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, VIII 693-751; A. Fortescue, *The Greek Fathers* (London), 1908.

M. J. H.

JOHN OF SALISBURY (1115-80). The best educated man of the Middle Ages, a pupil of Abailard and of all the great teachers of Paris and Chartres during the "Renaissance of the 12th C.," save Bernard of Chartres, under whose pupils he studied. His knowledge of the Classics was incomparable, his (Latin) style rivals that of Cicero. He was an intimate of Thomas a Becket, Bernard of Clairvaux, Nicholas Breakspear (Adrian IV, the only English Pope), and his admired master, Abailard. A vigorous defender of humanistic education against the proponents of a "modern, scientific curriculum" in his *Metalogicon*. His *Policraticus* is a mine of information about his times; it contains his political theory, the organic nature of the State and a Mirror of the Prince. His account of the teaching method of Bernard of Chartres is our most detailed source for the educational method of the 12th c.

C. C. J. Webb, *J. of S.* (London), 1932.  
E. A. Q.

JOHNSON, SAMUEL (English, 1709-84), poet, essayist, biographer, lexicographer, critic, is known for his great conversational ability. In his writing, he emphasized his classical dependence on accepted models, as opposed to romantic experimentation. He followed Pope in the use of the heroic couplet. His *Dictionary* became the best known, both because of its scholarship and because of Johnson's idiosyncrasies. His *Lives of the Poets*, one of the most important critical works of the time, shows his deep humanity, his wit, and his critical discrimination. Boswell's *Life of Johnson* is a record of the man and his mass of conversation. It portrays him in great intimacy of detail, as he talked to an enraptured age, of which he was literary dictator.

James Boswell, *Life of J.*; J. W. Krutch, *S. J.*

F. F. M.

JÓKAI, MAURUS (1825-1904), the best known Hungarian novelist, alone did not lose faith after the disastrous outcome of the Hungarian War of Independence of 1848-49. In many novels, he revived the former glory of his native land. He is still the most widely read author in Hungary; 22 of his 100 novels have appeared in English. In his immense output, many weaknesses are apparent. His novels lack depth; many aim solely at entertaining. But his optimism, his humor, his imagination capti-

vate the reader; he has an unsurpassed talent as a raconteur. No other author has so masterfully described the beauties of the Hungarian landscape and the typical characters of Hungary. His novels are essentially modern fairy tales told in a colorful, expressive language.

Z. Ferenczi, *List of the translations of Jókai's works into foreign languages* (Budapest), 1926; R. N. Bain, "J.," in *Living Age* (Boston), 1901; H. W. V. Temperley, "J. and the historical novel," in *Contemp. Rev. of Lit.* (London), 1904; E. Horn, "J.," in *Le Carnet* (Paris), 1904; A. Hevesi, "M. J.," in *Slavonic Review* (London), 1929.

A. S. and F. M.

JONES, JOHN MORRIS, later Sir John Morris-Jones (Welsh, 1864-1929), as Professor of Welsh at Bangor stimulated the "New Poets" of the early 20th c.; as judge of poetic contests of the eisteddfod, and editor, from 1911 to 1920, of the literary quarterly, *Y Beirniad*, he was influential in shaping literary criticism. He was thoroughly at home in the work of the classical poets of the middle ages, as is shown by his *Welsh Grammar Historical and Comparative* (1913), and his *Cerdd Dafod* (1925); while his *Psalm to Mammon* (*Salm i Famon*) shows that he can apply his knowledge to the writing of modern poetry. His *Caniadau* (1907) contains also admirable translations from English, French, German, Italian, Breton, and Irish, in many cases in the original meters; his translation of the *Rubaiyat* was made directly from the Persian, and is as poetical as that of Fitzgerald.

*Transactions of the Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion*, Session of 1919-20, pp. 152-5.  
J. J. P.

JONES, THOMAS GWYNN (Welsh, b. 1871). When his *Departure of Arthur* brought him into prominence in 1902, he had already published two novels, a number of critical essays, and a volume of poems. Since then his output has been prodigious (his bibliography, compiled in 1937, lists 605 items) and distinguished. He has written very good poetry in the free meters, but his more distinctive work has been in the standard classical meters and in modifications of them, with which he has experimented. He has made translations from a number of foreign languages, including a remarkable one of Part I of Goethe's *Faust*. As a critic, his viewpoint is liberalized by his knowledge of continental literatures; as Professor of Welsh Literature (now emeritus) at Aberystwyth, his influence has been wide.

Llew G. Williams, *The Poetry of T. G. J.*, in *Welsh Outlook*, VI (1919), 231-234; 257-260; J. S. Lewis, *The Critical Writings of T. G. J.*, *ibid.*, VII (1920), 265-267, 188-290.

J. J. P.

JONSON, BEN (English, 1573-1637), lyricist, dramatist, critic, fought the loose in form, laboring to supplant it with classical sanity and restraint. This classical quality marks the vivid pictures in his plays of everyday London society. As a critic, his qualities of aggressive decision and absolute honesty made him the literary dictator for a quarter of a century. His classical lyric poetry is noted for its sweetness and delicacy. Several songs from his masques, as the *Hymn to Diana*, are among the most charming in English. Many of his young contemporaries called themselves the Sons of Ben.

J. A. Symonds, *Life of B. J.*  
F. F. M.

JUDAH HALEVI (Hebrew, 1080-1140), born in Toledo, Spain, is regarded as the greatest Hebrew poet of the Golden Spanish Period. His poetry is marked by beauty of form, perfection of style and diction, lofty thoughts, deep feeling, and power of expression. His themes are universal; he sang of love, of nature, and of God. He was imbued with a burning love for his people and for the land of his ancestors. The most ardent of his poems are those devoted to Zion, which earned for him the sobriquet Sweet Singer of Zion. Halevi also wrote a poetic-philosophical work in Arabic. In its Hebrew translation, as *ha-Cusari*, it was very popular and is still read. In it, Halevi advanced the idea of the eternity of the Jewish prophet.

M. Waxman, *A Hist. of Jewish Lit.*  
(N. Y.), 1940-1.

L. A.

JUVENAL (D. Junius Juvenalis, Roman, 55-ca. 138 A.D.) belongs to a notable line of writers who regarded the social scene at Rome with the eye of a severe moralist. Where others, like Horace, wrote satires that had a certain mellowness of outlook and castigated vice with a smile, Juvenal introduces in his *Satires* a profoundly pessimistic note. In biting verses he attacks especially the wealthy and influential classes in Rome. Both men and women are exposed to the most scathing criticism embellished in rhetorical language after the manner approved of in the schools of declamation in his day. Juvenal also exhibits an intense dislike of the many foreigners then living in the metropolis. He warns his readers that the Tiber is gradually becoming a tributary of the Euphrates and the Orontes.

J. W. Duff, *Roman Satire, its Outlook on Social Life* (Berkeley, Cal.), 1936.

J. J. S.

KAKINOMOTO NO HITOMARO (Japanese, 8th c.) was probably the greatest poet of the Nara period (700-794). According to notes in the anthology *Manyōshū* (Collection of a Myriad Leaves), which is the only source material that throws light on his life, he seems to have been a court noble of some lower rank. He contributed a great number of verses

to the anthology. The important status attained by the *tanka* in Japanese poetry is in no small part due to his pioneering work.

Miyamori Asataro, *Masterpieces of Japanese Poetry*, v. 1 (Tokyo), 1936.

Y. U.

KALMA, DOUWE (Frisian, b. 1896) was the leader of the Young Frisian Movement which in 1915 ushered in for Friesland a national resurgence and a literary renaissance. His first writings unmercifully criticized the literary poverty and shallowness of the Waling Dykstra school. Emphasizing aesthetic standards and individual expression, and raising the cry "Friesland and the World," he and his school did much to raise the level of Frisian letters. Kalma, a prolific writer, has distinguished himself not only as a literary critic, but also as an outstanding poet, dramatist, and prose writer. In his classic *King Aldgillis*, 1920, an epic drama in verse, his genius probably appears at its freshest. His lyric poetry, collected in *Daybreak*, 1927, and *Songs*, 1936, displays superb artistry. His formal and finished prose is well represented in his critical study *Gysbert Japiks*, 1938, and in his *History of Friesland*, 1935.

J. Piebenga, *Koarte Skiednis fen de Fryske Skriftekennisse* (Dokkum), 1939.

B. J. F.

KAMAL. See Mehmed Namik Kemal.

KAMBAN, GUÐMUNDUR (Icelandic, 1888-1945), achieved a great theatrical success throughout the Scandinavian countries with his *Haadda Padda* (1914). This and his next drama, *Kongeglimen* (The Royal Wrestling, 1915), which depict modern Icelandic life, are romantic in spirit, written on a love theme, and recall the work of Jóhann Sigurjónsson. The scene of Kamban's later dramas is laid outside of Iceland; three of these, *Marmor* (Marble, 1918), *Vi Mordere* (We Murderers, 1920), and *Orkenens Stjerner* (The Stars of the Desert, 1925), were at least colored by the author's sojourn in America (1915-17). *Vi Mordere*, which was a great success on the stage in Copenhagen and Oslo, combines keen psychological analysis, individualized characterization, and excellent dramatic technique. Kamban's most important achievement in fiction is his historical novel *Skálholt* (1930-35; partial version in Eng., *The Virgin of Skálholt*). This is a dramatic recreation of 17th c. Iceland, conceived on a large scale, presenting a number of unusual, vividly portrayed persons against a colorful background. His historical novel *Jeg ser et stort skont Land* (I See a Wondrous Land, 1936) is also a notable achievement.

*Haadda Padda*, trans. S. L. Peller, with a foreword by Georg Brandes (N. Y.), 1917; S. Einarsson, "Five Icelandic Novelists," *Books Abroad*, July, 1942.

R. B.

KAMO NO CHOMEI (Japanese, 1154?-1216) was the son of a guardian of the Kamo Shintō shrine. Being an accomplished musician and poet, he was appointed to a post in the Department of Poetry at the court. Later, having been denied the succession to his father's position, he resented it deeply and retired to a mountain hermitage. He built a little hut ten feet square in which to live the life of a recluse, and is said to have written his famous *Hōjōki* (*Notes from a Ten Foot Square Hut*) in 1212. Although this work illustrates the author's utterly pessimistic view of the world of war and strife, it is to be valued highly for its excellent style, which is affected neither by stereotyped traditionalism nor by the too formal Chinese manner.

Heibonsha, *Dai Hyakka Jiten* (*Japanese Encyclopedia*) (Tokyo), 1933.

Y. U.

KARINTHY, FREDERIC (Hungarian, 1888-1938), when scarcely twenty, caught the spirit of contemporary authors in a volume of parodies, *This Is How You Write* (*Igy irtok ti*; 1912). His main theme is the unhappiness of modern man; his aim, to prepare man for a better future. He shows woman as a tyrant intent upon causing man to suffer, in several novels, e.g. *Trip to Capillaria* (1926), a grotesque Swiftian sequel to *Gulliver*, set in a submarine world where women are in control. Karinty's attempt to escape from the world of realities turned his interest toward the sciences and the fantastic. *A Journey around my Skull* (trans. N. Y., 1939) is the autobiography of a man of letters for the nine months before an operation on the brain. In *Report from Heaven* (*Mennyei riport*; 1938), Mr. Oldtimer goes on a trip to study the World Beyond. The only topic that Karinty treated without satire is student life; his stories and sketches on this theme (*Refund*, *Visszakérem az iskolapénzt*; trans. Boston, 1936) show him a keen psychologist of youth. Beneath the constant and sometimes pot-boiling humor watched a deep thinker on the social and psychological problems of mankind.

G. Strém, F. K., in *NRH*, 1933; V. D. Barker, F. K., in *Hung. Quart.* (London), 1937.

A. S. and F. M.

KARLFFELDT, ERIK AXEL (Swedish, 1864-1931), was named by Fröding as his successor as leader of Swedish poets. In his early poems there are some traits reminiscent of Fröding, but as a whole Karlffeldt's poetry is characterized particularly by its independence of outside influences. Old folk culture, a fine feeling for nature, scholarship, and humor are some of the components of his creation. His style is very personal, with new creations and archaic expressions; his rhythm is masterly. After his death, Karlffeldt's poetry was awarded the Nobel prize in 1931. The same year saw a memorial edition of his

works, including *Flora och Pomona* (first ed: 1906); *Flora och Bellona* (1918); *Fridolins visor* (*Ballads of Fridolin*, 1896); *Fridolins lustgård* (*Fridolin's Garden*, 1901); *Hösthorn* (*Cornucopia*, 1927), and *Vildmarks- och kärleksvisor* (*Ballads of the Wilderness and Love*, 1895). *Some Swedish Poems*, trans. Hildegard Wieselgren, Stockholm, 1909; *Arcadia Borealis*, trans. C. W. Stork, Minneapolis, Minn., 1938.

E. A. K., *en minnesteckning av Torsten Fogelquist*, 1931, 1940; C. W. Stork, E. A. K. in *The Am. Scand. Rev.*, Oct., 1931; A. J. Uppvall, *The Floral Element in the Poetical Works of K., in Scand. Studies*, 1942.

A. W.

KEATING, GEOFFREY (*Séathrín Céitinn*, Irish, d. ca. 1650), is perhaps the greatest name in modern Irish literature. Keating was a secular priest, learned in both Irish and Latin scholarship. He wrote a history of Ireland from the earliest times down to the Norman Invasion, *Forus Feasa ar Éirinn*, and three works on Catholic piety, which are models of classical modern Irish prose. He was an accomplished poet and used the bardic meters as well as the later song-meters, so that the transition may be said to begin with Keating.

D. Comyn and P. Dinneen, *The History of Ireland by G. K.; D.D.*, 4 v. (London), 1902-14; J. MacErlan, *Dánta Amhráin is Cavinte Séathrín Céitinn* (Dublin), 1900.

M. D.

KEATS, JOHN (English, 1795-1821), differed markedly from the other poets of the romantic period, and to many seemed a "poet of the most poetical kind." He live for poetry, itself, and loved it for its own sake, striving always for perfection. His work falls into three classes: first, such poems as *Hyperion*, with its Miltonic quality of nobility, expressing the classic spirit of perfection; second, such works as *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*, containing the essence of medieval romance; third, such shorter poems as *On a Grecian Urn* and his other odes, showing his love of beauty and his exquisite workmanship, his evoking of many senses. No other poet makes such an appeal to our ideal of poetry and verbal melody combined. A deep sense of sadness, reflecting the last three years of his life, is present in much of his writing.

S. Colvin, K. F. F. M.

KELLER, GOTTFRIED (German-Swiss, 1819-90), is regarded by the Swiss as their most representative writer, by virtue both of his consummate skill as a story-teller—often in cyclical form—and of his inestimable services as a spiritual mentor to his nation. His autobiographical novel, *Der grüne Heinrich*

(1879-80), ranking high in the tradition of German educational novels, may yet become for all Germans what it has long been for the Swiss: a guide-book for those that believe in democracy as the most adequate way of regulating civic relationships among men, but which for that reason requires unrelenting educational efforts to make us tolerant, public-spirited, and conscious of our responsibilities. This work, together with Keller's short stories, marks a most successful attempt to create a type of man and of woman who, while rich in individuality, is yet well prepared to act collectively for the common welfare.

E. F. Hauch; G. K. as *a Democratic Idealist* (N. Y.), 1916.

H. B.

KELLGREN, JOHAN HENRIK (Swedish, 1751-95), was the greatest writer of the Gustavian period (1772-1809). Born in the province of Västergötland, he went to Stockholm in 1777 and soon became the leader in the literary circles of the Swedish capital, using *Stockholms-Posten*, a paper founded in 1778, as his mouthpiece. Kellgren is the foremost representative of the ideas of "enlightenment" in Swedish literature. His early works were influenced by French libertinism, but through the years his philosophy became deeper and more noble, based on the humanitarian ideals. In his opposition, especially to mysticism and superstition, typical of this period, he used his gift of satire with crushing effect—*Mina löjen* (*My Caprices*, 1778); *Man äger ej snille för det man är galen* (*One Is Not a Genius Just Because One Is Foolish*, 1788); *Ljusets fiender* (*The Enemies of Light*, 1792). His later poetry, influenced by English literature, expresses deep, human feeling: *Till Kristina* (*To Christina*, 1789); *Den nya skapelsen* (*The New Creation*, 1790). Kellgren was the first director of the Swedish Academy, founded in 1786, whose duty it became, a century later, to award the Nobel literary prize.

Otto Sylvan, J. H. K., 1912, 1936.

A. W.

KEMPIS, THOMAS A. See Thomas a Kempis.

KHALDUN, IBN-, 'ABD-AL-RAHAM (Arab, 1332-1406), a Tunisian whose Arabian ancestors settled in Spain. His career includes episodes in North Africa, Spain, and Syria. His reflections on human nature and civilization are recorded in *Kitāb al-Ibar* (*Book of Instructive Examples*), a 7-volume critique on general history focusing upon the Arabs and Berbers of North Africa, of which the Prolegomena is most celebrated. His creative presentation of history is studded with novel definitions in political theory. He conceived of history as a special science incorporating the whole range of social phenomena. As historian, sociologist, and political theorist he broke virgin soil. His thought continues to nourish Islamic theology and fertilizes the attempts of those

seeking an adjustment between the *Koran* and modernism.

Nathaniel Schmidt, *Ibn Khaldun* (N. Y.), 1930.

E. J. J.

KHATIB, IBN-AL- (Arab, 1313-74). The Arab ancestors of ibn-al-Khaṭīb had migrated to the Iberian Peninsula from Syria. He is commonly referred to as Lisān-al-Dīn (Tongue of the Faith) to indicate his caliber as statesman, belles-lettrist, and author. Of 60 works ascribed to him, only a third are extant. Of these, *al-Iḥṣāl* (*The Encompassment*), a history of Granada, containing chiefly biographies of scholars, is the most notable. As a great poet and writer of *muwawshshahs* he stands in the evening twilight of an era. His extensive studies in history, geography, philosophy, medicine, and other fields, are couched in ornamental prose, wielded with facility and elegance and bearing the impress of a master mind. Long a vizier at the Naṣrīd court of Granada, he spent his latter years an exile in Fez. With his violent death, Spanish Islam lost its last great man of letters.

C. F. Seybold, "Ibn-al-Khaṭīb," *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

E. J. J.

KIELLAND, ALEXANDER (Norwegian, 1849-1906); distinguished novelist. Of a rich Stavanger merchant family, he did not seriously devote himself to literature until he was thirty years old, but then he at once astonished the public with the brilliant finish of his style. He was a realist; most of his novels are of the thesis variety. The scene of his works is Stavanger and the nearby coast. The novels are critical in tone, making sharp thrusts in the direction of religious and educational backwardness. He reached the extraordinary in books like *Garman and Worse*, 1880, and *Skipper Worse*, 1882.

P. L. Stavnem and A. H. Winsnes, A. K. *samlkede verker*, 5 v. (Oslo), 1919; G. Gran, A. K. *og hans samtid* (Oslo), 1922.

T. J.

KIERKEGAARD, SOREN AABYE (1813-55), the greatest Danish philosopher and theological thinker. Very original in his thought and expression, he exerted a tremendous influence on the religious thought of his day, still on the increase and far beyond the borders of his country. His books are being translated into all cultural languages. He believed that religion was an individual concern. Through his critical and somewhat negative attitude toward the conventional, he aroused both sympathetic appreciation as well as ardent opposition, which mental irritation was one of the positive and healthy influences from his works.

C. M. V.

KIKUCHI KAN (Japanese, b. 1888) was born in Takamatsu on the island of Shikoku. A neo-realist, he has been considerably influenced by Western authors, especially in his early works. His philosophy is that literature of lasting value should appeal to all types of people, and he has maintained such qualities in his own writings. He is a practical man of moderate temperament. Dealing as he does with current phases of life, he is sometimes called a "theme novelist," and possesses consummate skill in presenting his subject matter in an extremely terse style. Unlike most other writers of Japan, he is a very capable businessman and executive. Thus, as the editor-publisher of the literary magazine, *Bungei Shunjū*, and as a leader in many other activities of the literary circles, he is called the dean of Japanese writers. *Chichi Kaeru* (*Father Returns*) and *Tōjūrō no Koi* (*Tōjūrō's Love*) are among his best plays available in English; *Shinju Fujin* (*Madame Pearl*), 1920, and *Shōhai* (*Victory or Defeat*), 1933, are two of his representative novels.

Fujimara, Tsukuru, *Nippon Bungaku Daijiten* (*Comprehensive Dictionary of Japanese Literature*) (Tokyo), 1934.

Y. U.

KINCK, HANS (Norwegian, 1865-1926); distinguished novelist and short story writer. He belonged to the neo-romantic school, made his debut in the 90's but reached the highest achievement in 1918-19 when he published the series, *The Snow Crest Broke* (*Snøskavlen brast*). Other deeply significant works are the dramatic poem, *The Drover* (*Drifte-karen*), 1908, and a long series of short stories found in collections such as *Bat's Wings* and *From Sea to Mountain Ridge*, mostly written in the late 90's. Kinck spent much of his time in Italy. He loved the Italian renaissance and wrote many learned studies in the field. His style is in the highest degree impressionistic, deeply subjective, abounding in sudden leaps, bizarre in its fantastic imaginings. He is the kind of writer that gains fanatic supporters among like-minded intellectuals but not too many followers among the general public.

C. Gierløff, H. K. (Oslo), 1923; Herman Jaeger in Vol. VII, *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon* (Oslo), 1936.

T. J.

KIPLING, RUDYARD (English, 1865-1936), did much to deepen imperial self-consciousness, yet he is best remembered as a human poet. In poems and short stories he created the modern British soldier as a figure of literature. His children's stories—*The Jungle Books*—interspersed with verse, are wonderfully penetrating excursions of the imagination into the field of animal life. There is an element of fantasy in these stories, which show Kipling at his best.

G. MacMunn, R. K.: *Craftsman*.  
F. F. M.

KITABATAKE CHIKAFUSA (Japanese, 1292-1354) was a descendant of an imperial prince. He was a soldier-statesman who rendered eminent services to the cause of Emperor Godaigo and the Southern Court when the country witnessed dual imperial rule during the 14th c. *Jinnō Shōtōki* (*History of the True Succession of the Divine Monarchs*), a work of the mid-14th c., reflects his resolute patriotic sentiments. In spite of its small literary value, it gave tremendous inspiration to pre-Meiji champions of imperial nationalism, whose works in turn had much to do with the final restoration of the Mikado's power in 1868. Chikafusa was probably the first writer to apply philosophical principles to practical politics.

Heibonsha, *Dai Hyakka Jiten* (*Japanese Encyclopedia*; Tokyo), 1933.

Y. U.

KLAUSNER, JOSEPH (Hebrew, b. 1874), philosopher, scholar, and critic of erudition and taste, is a very prolific writer, author of many works on philosophy, philology, and history, and several books of biography, criticism and essays. His most important works are: *From Jesus to Paul*; *Jesus of Nazareth*; *History of Modern Hebrew Literature*; and a *Jewish History*. Born in Vilna, Lithuania, Klausner in 1926 settled in Palestine, where he is now professor of Jewish History at the University of Jerusalem.

L. A.

KLEIST, BERND HEINRICH WILHELM VON (German, 1777-1811), was a dramatist and novelist, whose life was marred by unhappy torments relating to love, knowledge, and ambition for his art and his country. These tragic conflicts are reflected in his works and produce scenes filled with devotion and renunciation (the dramas of intense passion, *Das Käthchen von Heilbronn*, 1810; *Penthesilea*, 1808), confusion and revelation (the classic comedy, *The Broken Jug*, 1808), despair and jubilation (the historical dramas, *The Battle of Hermann*, 1808; *The Prince of Homburg*, 1810). His *Novellen*, the most famous of which is *Michael Kohlhaas* (1810), revolve around similar problems, and are characterized by the same enigmatic and lapidarian style as the plays. While Kleist did not succeed in his attempt to create a drama that would embrace in its form both the Greeks and Shakespeare, his plays have been a powerful mirror to modern audiences of our own psychological conflicts and experiences.

S. Liptzin, *Hist. Survey of German Lit.* (N. Y.), 1936.

S. L. S.

KLOOSTERMAN, SIMKE (Frisian, 1876-1938), belongs to the best writers of fiction in the Frisian language. Her works, which testify to psychological insight and adeptness at characterization, are written in an elegant poetic prose and show traces of

the romantic tradition. There are delightful short stories in the volumes *Ruth* (1910) and *From My Treasure House* (1936). Unexcelled in the beauty of naturalness is her first novel *The Hoaras of Hastings* (1921), which has already become a classic. The long historical novel *Jubilee Year* (1927), though it contains passages of superb lyric prose, is often too labored and too discursive to be truly effective. She excels as a writer of fairy tales (*Twilight Tales*, 1928). Her lyric verse, collected in *The Wild Bird* (1932), is of a very individual quality.

E. B. Folkertsma, *It Jubeljier*, in *Toer en Tsjerke* (Dokkum), 1934.

B. J. F.

KLOPSTOCK, FRIEDRICH GOTTLIEB (German, 1724-1803), the creator of Germany's most important modern epic, the *Messiah* (1748-1773), which, in 20,000 hexameter lines divided into 20 cantos, treats the theme of Christ's redemption of mankind. The lyric element in the poem far outweighs the narrative, resulting in a work of little interest except for its intense emotionalism. Klopstock freed German literature from the formality of expression imposed on it by Gottsched; and he urged stimulation of the imagination, though this might lead to exaggerations of vague sentimentality or turbulence. Further, in his *Religious Poems* (1758, 1769), and in his 229 *Odes* (1747-1771), he initiated the German lyric of experience, warm and fervid in its emotion, personal in reference, yet with the universal themes of friendship, love, mankind, fatherland, God. Although the forms are generally classic, Klopstock experimented with "free rhythms" and a less formal syntax. Thus he inspired the younger generation to a free and passionate utterance. He stimulated them also in the nationalistic direction through the creation of the "bardic" song, particularly in a cycle of plays on the theme of the Germanic hero Arminius (*Hermann's Battle*, 1769, etc.). Here again Klopstock's genius reveals itself in the lyric passages, which are far superior to the dramatic.

J. G. Robertson, *A Hist. of German Lit.*  
S. L. S.

KOCH, MARTIN (Swedish, 1882-1940), was born in Stockholm. His father, a musician, soon deserted his family; his mother earned a meager livelihood managing a cigar shop. In his early years his artistic heritage and a feeling of inferiority dominated his attitude toward life. Defective eyesight had made him a dreamer even in childhood. When at the age of twenty-nine he published his first book (*Ellen*, 1911), he was a mature artist in his field, and in the ten following years he published several books, characterized by his social pathos, his sense of collectivism and solidarity, and strong realism: *Arbetare*, (*Workers*, 1912); *Timmerdalen* (*The Lumber Valley*, 1913); *Guds vackra värld* (*God's Beautiful*

*World*, 1916). Outside of the labor movement he hardly won the recognition he might have expected, and the following years he spent in Paris as a newspaper correspondent. Later, he returned to Sweden where he found a home in Hedemora, and wrote an autobiographical novel, *Mauritz* (1939). His *Selected Works* were published in 1940-41 in 7 v.

Th. Jonsson, M. K., 1941.  
A. W.

KOMENSKY (COMENIUS), JAN AMOS (Czech, 1592-1670), the last bishop of the Unity of the Bohemian Brethren, stands at the very head of modern educational theory and practice. Driven into exile by the Thirty Years War, he wandered through Western Europe, and during his long career outlined the needs of a modern school. Whether he was writing the *Labyrinth of the World and Paradise of the Heart* or producing the *Orbis Pictus*, the first illustrated schoolbook, or outlining a new method for the teaching of language, he was easily the most important figure in the intellectual life of the 17th c. He never lost his close attachment to the land and church of his birth, and in his final work, the *Last Testament of that Dying Mother, the Unity of the Bohemian Brethren*, he expressed his confidence in the final resurrection of the Czech people.

Matthew Spinka, J. A. C., *that Incomparable Moravian*, 1943.

C. A. M.

KOPRULU, MEHMED FUAD (Turkish, b. 1890), was professor of the history of Turkish literature in the University of Istanbul from 1913 until he relinquished that office to retain a deputyship in the Grand National Assembly. As head of the Institute of Turcology and author of many books, he has done much to stimulate historical research in accordance with the standards of western scholarship. In such studies as his *First Mystics in Turkish Literature* and his unfinished *History of Turkey* he has insisted on the importance of knowing the general social life of the various types of Turkish people as a background for an understanding of cultural and political history.

J. K. B.

KRASINSKI, ZYGMUNT (1812-1859), the third of the Polish Romanticists, like his companions spent most of his life abroad. He was a true poet-philosopher, conscious of the difference that exists between the instincts of love and hate and the true ideal measure of human goodness as seen in Christ. He tended to conservatism, at least in the sense that he knew that the triumph of the new world would not eliminate struggle and conflict, and in the *Undivine Comedy* and *Irydion* he held out the hope that only an unflinching acceptance of the highest standard would bring peace on earth and happiness to Poland. Yet he scarcely doubted that his people and nation



would in time be found worthy of their high destiny.

J. Kallenbach, Z. K., 1904.  
C. A. M.

KRUSENSTJERNA, AGNES VON (Swedish, 1894-1940), daughter of an army officer, married David Sprengel, a writer who was interested in philosophy and French literature. Through her marriage, as well as through some of her novels, which, in spite of their artistic value, were regarded as immoral, she became a stranger in the aristocratic, half-Philistine milieu, in which she had grown up; and she spent long periods in France, Spain, and Greece. In her books about Tony—*Tony växer upp* (*Tony Grows Up*, 1922); *Tonys läroår* (*Tony's Apprenticeship*, 1924) and the series, *Frökarna von Pahlen* (*The Misses von Pahlen*, 1930-35)—she portrays womanly sentiments and conceptions in their most secret moods. She had a penetrating knowledge of human nature, but there was also a tendency toward psychopathical phenomena. If there is a shadow over her literary efforts, it should not be overlooked, however, that besides the von Pahlen series, she has published several novels which characterize her as a master in the Maupassant school. Selected editions of her novels were published in 1934 (4 v.) and in 1939-40 (6 v.).

Sten Ahlgren, K. K.—*studier*, 1940.  
A. W.

KU YEN WU (Chinese, 1613-82), brilliant student of the classics, history, archaeology, philosophy, philology, and a practical political economist, stands foremost among the scholars of 17th c. China. He first laid down the principles for a revitalized classical scholarship and the method in various branches of study, which scholars pursued in the ensuing two centuries. He urged the men of letters to cultivate the sense of honor and to study all learning extensively and critically. He wrote many volumes on the scientific study of the evolution of word sounds, of the relics of antiquity, of the history and institutions of China, and of the teachings of Confucius. His collected works, entitled *Ting Lin Shih Chung*, were first printed in 1695. Among the items appearing in this collection are his learned essays and occasional poems. The work by which he is best known is the *Jih Chih Lu* (printed, 1670), a collection of carefully written notes gathered during 30 years of reading and observation.

A. W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, Vol 1, pp. 421-6  
Washington, D. C.), 1943.

S. C. L.

KUO MO-JO (Chinese, b. 1892), a native of Szechuan province, a premier scholar. At first a student of medicine, he has written 5 volumes of free verse, 6 volumes of essays, 6 plays, 10 novels, and 12 translations of German and Russian authors

(Goethe's *Faust*; Tolstoi's *War and Peace*). There is a touch of poetry in all his writings. Among his best known works are *The Goddess*, a long poem beautiful in thought and fine in feeling, and *The Three Female Rebels*, a play setting forth his criticism of the old order of things. His books on archeology include *A Study of Ancient Chinese Society*, in which he sets forth his materialistic interpretation of history. Since 1940 he has been serving the National Government at Chungking as chairman, Cultural Work Committee of the Political Training Board.

Edgar Snow, *Living China* (N. Y.), 1936;  
*China Year Book*, 1937-43 (N. Y.),  
1943.

S. C. L.

KVARAN, EINAR HJORLEIFSSON (Icelandic, 1859-1938), an unusually versatile and brilliant writer, exerted a far-reaching influence on the literature and the cultural life of the Icelandic nation. He made his greatest contribution in the field of fiction, with his short stories, many of which are veritable masterpieces, and his novels on contemporary life in Iceland, graphic and faithful pictures of society, but still more profound psychological studies. The most important of these, such as *Ofurefli* (*The Unconquerable*; 1908), *Gull* (*Gold*; 1911), and *Sálin vaknar* (*The Soul Awakens*; 1916), are characterized by great skill in story-telling, sympathetic and often masterful character delineation; fluent and mellow style, at times good-naturedly humorous, though not particularly virile or striking. His dramas, not by any means insignificant, are inferior to his best stories in literary artistry.

R. Beck, "E. H. K.—An Icelandic Novelist and Dramatist," *Poet Lore*, Vol. XLIII, 1936; *Icelandic Poems and Stories* (Princeton & N. Y.), 1943. R. B.

LA BRUYERE, JEAN DE (French, 1645-96), bases his very solid glory on a single book of prose, the *Characters* (1688). Imitated from the Greek of Theophrastus, these *Characters* are much more than a translation: they are a wholly new and original work in the composition of which La Bruyère employed to the best advantage not only his fine talent for observation, but also the excellent vantage point of French high society provided him by his position as tutor in the house of the great Condé family. The *Characters* consist of 16 essays on varied subjects—literature, the great commonplaces (personal merit, friendship, etc.), the court and its types (which are described in no favorable light), the abuses of society. Few authors in French have created finer prose than La Bruyère; clear, simple, with the greatest emphasis on the *mot juste*, the precise word; it is the perfectly distilled classic French style.

Edmund Gosse, *Three French Novelists* (N. Y.), 1918.

R. J. N.

LA FONTAINE, JEAN DE (French, 1621-95), is the great exponent of the literary fable. Taking his subjects wherever he found them, from Aesop, from Phaedrus, from the medieval fabulists, out of the stiff and dry didactic pieces of his predecessors he created a new genre. La Fontaine could observe life and nature with marvelous accuracy, and translate his observations with fidelity, in a poetry whose effects are often stunning in their complexity and difficulty. He is far more interested in the story he has to tell than in the moral he is to point and indeed it is often said that his moral system is cynical and pessimistic, for often he gives the 'beau rôle' to the deceiver and the cheat. Whatever his defects as a teacher of the young, his poetry is so fascinating and the human comedy he paints is so complete that his place as the greatest of poetic fabulists is unchallenged. His *Fables* appeared in twelve books in 1668, 1678, 1694.

C. A. Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits of the 17th C.*, trans. K. P. Wormeley (N. Y.), 1904.

R. J. N.

LAGERLOF, SELMA (Swedish, 1858-1940), was born in Mårbacka, a little manor estate in Värmland, and she was educated to become a school teacher. She liked to write poetry, and one day, while walking on a street in Stockholm, she conceived the idea of writing a novel, using as material the stories that she, as a child, had heard old people tell in her home province. The book was called *Gösta Berlings saga* (1891). Its genuine originality and imaginative richness brought the young author world fame. Her artistic talent was more mature in the following collection of stories: *Osynliga länkar* (*Invisible Links*; 1894) and *Drottningar i Kungahälla* (*The Queens of Kungahälla and Other Sketches*; 1899). It reached its peak in *Jerusalem 1-2* (1901-02), a novel about a group of Swedish farmers who emigrated to Palestine. A profound knowledge of mankind and a psychological insight characterize many of her other novels, e. g. *Körkarlen* (*Thy Soul Shall Bear Witness*; 1912); *Kejsaren av Portugallien* (*The Emperor of Portugallia*; 1914); *Lövensköldska ringen* (1925) and *Charlotte Lövensköld* (1925). Her children's book, *Nils Holgerssons underbara resa* 1-2 (1906-7), has also been translated into many languages (*The Wonderful Adventures of Nils*). Other works in Eng.: *From a Swedish Homestead*; *Harvest*; *Mårbacka*; *The Diary of Selma Lagerlöf*. In 1909 she received the Nobel prize.

S. Arvidson, S. L., 1932; H. A. Larsen, S. L. (N. Y.), 1936, with bibliog.

A. W.

LAMARTINE, ALPHONSE DE (French, 1790-1869), typifies one aspect of French Romanticism, its insistence on love as the dominant sentiment of life. Born

to a noble family, he was the victim of an unfortunate love affair which he glorified in some of his best works. He attained popularity with his *Poetic Meditations* (1820) and increased his reputation with the *New Meditations* (1823) and the *Harmonies* (1830), books of verse of deep personal inspiration and vague charm. Lamartine's life was only partially dedicated to literature, for he also played an important role in the politics of the time, rising to be Chief of State in 1848, only to end his life in poverty and disillusion. As a poet he is characterized by a kind of ingenuousness (his poems are constantly marred by lack of serious study) and a deep sincerity, which, coupled with the predominantly 'gray' tone of the background, has brought him many admirers, from the literary ladies of the 1830's to the present.

H. R. Whitehouse, *The Life of L. (Bos-ton)*, 1918.

R. J. N.

LAMB, CHARLES (English, 1775-1834), was one of our master essayists, and one of the most widely read prose writers of the romantic period. The best loved of his works, *Essays of Elia*, reveals two very human qualities, sympathy and humor. Some, as *My Family and Recollections of Christ's Hospital*, are autobiographical. Lamb left high seriousness to the other great romantics, but showed how happily life can be lived under moderate circumstances, with courageous good cheer against fear and grief. There is a whimsical note in many of the essays, as well as a magic touch of intimacy and privacy.

A. Ainger, L. F. F. M.

LAMPMAN, ARCHIBALD (Canadian, 1861-99), was the leading poet of the "Golden Age" of Scott, Roberts, Carman, and Campbell. His greatness lies in the musical and accurate response to the landscape of his native province, Ontario, and in his easy, natural style, in which he anticipates the impressionists. He was the first to produce a sustained volume of verse which met standards other than those of the community. In his own words, he wrote poems "local . . . in incident and spirit, but cosmopolitan in form and manner." Wordsworthian in his love of nature as a quiet refuge and Keatsian in his sensuous interpretation of rural scenes at different seasons of the year, he wrote in *Among The Millet* (1888) and in *Lyrics of Earth* (1893) some of the richest regional poetry in America.

C. Y. Connor, A. L. (N. Y.), 1929.  
C. J. V.

LANDOR, WALTER SAVAGE (English, 1775-1864), a contemporary of Coleridge,\* became a close friend of Browning.\* Reputedly violent of disposition, he appears in his writings full of calm and restraint. His prose *Imaginary Conversations*, especially *Pericles and Aspasia*, illustrate his interest in the culture

of the Mediterranean peoples. His poetry—his best loved *Rose Aylmer* of his youth; *Hamadryad* of his later years—shows a persistence of freshness of feeling through his long literary career. His work is marked by simplicity and classical workmanship.

S. Colvin, L.  
F. F. M.

LANFILI, LUGAIR (Irish, 6th c.), was a *fili* or professional poet and historian. Some fragments of his verse have been preserved and are important documents for the history and for the language of ancient Ireland.

M. D.

LANIER, SIDNEY (U. S. A., 1842-81), was a natural musician and poet who practiced law briefly but spent his final years in absorbed artistic study and creation, while struggling for relief from tuberculosis contracted in a Civil War prison. His love of chivalric ideals, intense moralism, firm religious belief, and anti-industrial hope for Southern and national post-war progress were conditioned by a genius for music, a faith in human brotherly love, a spiritualized worship of nature, and his Southern background. His *Poems* (1877; 1884) are noted for the ballads and lyrics which derive much from the sound-patterns of music; and his *The Science of English Verse* (1880) was important as an early scientific study of versification, although it took, from musical analogy, the untenable position that length of interval is the determining element in prosody. Lanier's poetry is probably greatest in his long orchestral odes, particularly *The Marshes of Glynn* (1878) and *Sunrise* (1882).

A. H. Starke, S. L.: *A Biographical and Critical Study* (Chapel Hill, N. C.), 1933.

E. C. S.

LAO TZU (Lao Tze; Chinese, ca. 6th c. B.C.), the reputed author of the *Tao Te Ching* (*The Canon of Reason and Virtue* or *The Way and Its Power*), was, according to Ssu-ma Chien, a native of the feudal state of Ch'u. His family name was Li and his proper name was Er. In the House of Chou he once served as state historian in charge of the secret archives. For the writing of his biography no authentic materials existed even in Ssu-ma Chien's time (ca. 145-97 B.C.). His *Tao Te Ching*, in 81 brief chapters of prose and verse, "is like a string of pearls, each chapter being distinct and separate as a philosophic doctrine, but all bound on the single filament: the belief that all these consecrations of the Spirit must eventually lead to Tao" (the Eternal, the Way of life, according to the canons of reason and virtue).

Frances R. Grant, *Oriental Philosophy* (N. Y.), 1936.

S. C. L.

LA ROCHEFOUCAULD, FRANCOIS, DUKE OF (French, 1613-80), is one of the finest representatives of the 17th c. French tendency toward the extreme refinement of thought and expression. His *Maxims* (1665) are undoubtedly the best of their kind in French; they are the essence of subtlety, the perfect reflection of the highly civilized society that gave them birth. In spite of their light and worldly tone, there is a current of very real pessimism in the *Maxims*; La Rochefoucauld forces his doctrine that all human actions, even those which are outwardly the most laudable, are the result of self-interest and vanity. In spite of their brilliance and the marvelous style that clothes the thought, in spite of the very real truths they contain, the *Maxims* produce an impression of monotony that is the result of this sameness of doctrine. As models of pure expression they are unexcelled; as a guide for morals they are too cynical, too over-simplified, to be of great avail.

C. A. Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits of the 17th C.*, trans. K. P. Wormeley (N. Y.), 1904.  
R. J. N.

LARRA, MARIANO JOSÉ DE (Spanish, 1809-37), is the most modern of the Romantic critics. His sarcastic pictures of Spanish life, signed "Figaro," combine folkloristic taste with national criticism. He wrote in his own periodical, *The Poor Speaker* (1832), in form and purpose akin to the 18th c. English weeklies, as the *Spectator*. Though his ideas made him one of the first "European Spaniards," his language is rich in the color and idiom of Spain.

A. Sanchez Estéban, M. J. de L., "Figaro" (Madrid), 1934.

H. A. H.

LAWSON, HENRY (Australian, 1867-1922), is conceded to be the outstanding writer of short stories and fictional sketches in Australian literature. In both prose and verse Lawson was, in effect, an articulate man of the people; he was to but a limited extent a self-conscious artist. His work enjoys immense popularity with the Australian public. His prose qualities make his work a notable contribution to literature; on his verse, there is a sharp division of opinion. His popular audience accepts it for what it is: rhymed expressions of common sentiments, but sophisticated critics reject any claims that may be made for it as poetry. There is all through Lawson's work an ambivalence of attitudes toward the Australian environment and life—melancholy and hilarity, hatred and love, gentleness and cruelty, brutality and sentimentality—which gives his stories an altogether remarkable range of appeal.

H. L., by His Mates, Sydney, 1931; T. D. Mutch, *The Early Life of H. L. in Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Australian His. Soc.*, vol. 18, 1932.

C. H. G.

LAXNESS, HALLDOR KILJAN (Icelandic, b. 1902), a central literary figure in Iceland, has to his credit, aside from a host of essays and short stories, a large number of significant novels, revealing unusual gifts: colorful and eloquent style, keen observation, strong powers of characterization, and great narrative talent. These qualities, already evident in his earlier works, are seen to increasing advantage in the two-volume serial *Salka-Valka* (1931-32) and still more so in such works as *Sjálstaett fólk* (*Independent People*, 1934-35) and his most recent series of novels *Íslandsklukkan* (*The Bell of Iceland*, 1943), a brilliantly conceived, deeply moving story, historically important, and *Hid ljósa man* (*The Fair Maiden*, 1944), relentless in its realism, but told with deep understanding and sympathy and great technical skill, centered around an unforgettable heroine. In these stories the author finds his themes in the past; more generally his novels are broad social satires of contemporary life. He has greatly influenced other present-day Icelandic writers.

S. Einarsson, *Five Icelandic Novelists*, in *Books Abroad*, July, 1942; R. Beck, *Icelandic Poems and Stories* (Princeton & N. Y.), 1943.

R. B.

LEACOCK, STEPHEN B. (Canadian, 1869-1944), a writer of satire and nonsense, is at his best in his earlier works like *Sunshine Sketches Of A Little Town* (1912) and *Behind The Beyond* (1913), where he holds up to gentle ridicule the social foibles and intellectual pretensions of his time. His method is a mixture of exaggeration, understatement, and parody. His style is such that often "the sense emerges with a queer incongruity between the fact that it does make sense and yet it ought not to." He is ingenious in devising laughable situations (*The Sorrows of a Summer Guest*), and in identifying himself with another person (*Under the Barber's Knife*). In spite of his sympathy and understanding, he has created no great character; but he has drawn many brilliant caricatures ranging from the Reverend Mr. Drone of *Sunshine Sketches* to Dr. Doomer of *Moonbeams from the Larger Lunacy*. Addressing himself to both the American and the Canadian reader, he demonstrates in his work the emergence of an English literature common to the North American continent.

P. McArthur, S. L. (Toronto), 1923.  
C. J. V.

LEBENSOHN, ABRAHAM DOV (Adam; Hebrew, 1794-1874), and his son Micah Joseph (Michal; 1828-52) were the chief poets of the Haskalah (Enlightenment) period. Adam is cherished as the grandfather of Modern Hebrew poetry in Russia. His *Shire Sefath Kodesh* (*The Song of the Holy Tongue*; pub. 1842) ushered in a new period in Hebrew literature. His poems are clear in form though conventional in style; they served as a model

for many disciples. Of greater poetical gift and lyrical feeling was Michal. During the short span of his life, he composed a few very fine poems, wherein he displayed great descriptive powers, a tender lyrical soul, and a perfect command of classical style and diction. While studying in Germany he was strongly influenced by Goethe and Schiller, many of whose poems he rendered into excellent Hebrew.

L. A.

LEIVIK, H. (Yiddish, b. 1888), one of the most important contemporary Yiddish poets and dramatists. Born in White Russia into a poor family, at the age of 16 he joined the "Bund," the popular revolutionary party, and two years later was sentenced to four years' imprisonment. From the Moscow prison he sent his first poem to New York. In 1912 he was transferred to Siberia, whence, the following year, he escaped to America. Making his debut with *Sibirer Lider* (*Songs of Siberia*) and poems of *Keynems Land* (*Noman's Land*), he unfolded the problem of world salvation, of the roles of spirit and physical force in the struggle for progress, and other problems of contemporary society in two long symbolic dramas, *Der Goylem* (1921), and *Di Geule Komedye* (*The Comedy of Redemption*). Afflicted with tuberculosis, for many years his poetry had been preoccupied with death and dissolution, but it attained to a subtle joy of life in his *Lider fun Gan-Eyden* (*Songs of Paradise*, 1937). It is now sinking into sadness and impotent rage at the destruction of Eastern European Jewry. Other important plays are *Hirsh Lekert* (Russian Jewish Socialist hero and martyr), *Shimates* (*Rags*), *Keytn* (*Chains*), *Di oreme Melukhe* (*The Poor Kingdom*), *Der Poet iz blind gevorn* (*The Poet became blind*), and his latest work, on the Jewish uprising in the Warsaw ghetto, *Der Nes in Geto* (*The Miracle in the Ghetto*, 1944).

Y. M.

LEON, LUIS DE (Spanish, 1527-91), was an outstanding writer of mystic verse and prose. Despite his admiration of the ascetical ideas of the age, he leans toward a mild Erasmian compromise of Christian and Renaissance ideas, as in *The Perfect Housewife* (1583). In his *Names of Christ* (1583), Platonism and Arabic speculations fuse with high Christian spirituality. His poetry is of impeccable style and music, with thoughts on God and immortality as conceived by a Catholic humanist.

Aubrey T. G. Bell, *L. de L.* (Oxford), 1925.

H. A. H.

LEONTIUS OF BYZANTIUM (Byzantine, 485-543) reached new heights in the rarefied realms of pure thought where dwell the ultimate abstractions. He was the first to attain to the definition of personality now generally accepted by metaphysic, and the first also to introduce Aristotelianism into theology. His

writings are all devoted to a refutation of the heresies against the Incarnation, a mystery that he studied with a depth, delicacy, and precision of insight previously unknown. His works fascinate one by their crystalline, irrefragable logic. Little appreciated though he is today, Leontius of Byzantium ranks among the foremost contributors to the intellectual heritage of Christendom.

V. Grumel, *L. de B.*, in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, IX.

M. J. H.

LEOPARDI, GIACOMO (1798-1837), was the greatest Italian poet since Dante. A sickly constitution, a repressed childhood, and an unhappy personal life contributed to a deep pessimism derived essentially from his contemplation of human nature and life. Although Leopardi's intellect was vigorous and his learning extensive, he was not a great or original thinker, as revealed in his various prose writings. The perfection of his lyric poems is due to the combination of poetic technique and intense personal emotion, which, although he was not a member of the Romantic school, link him with the basic principles of that group. His first major poems, *To Italy* (1818) and *On the Monument to Dante* (1818), are of patriotic inspiration; the poems from *The Lone Sparrow* (1819) to *Memories* (1829) are primarily concerned with individual emotions and sorrows. Leopardi passed gradually to more general philosophical themes, culminating in the universal pessimism and concern with the human race of *The Broom-Plant* (1836).

G. A. Cesareo, *La Vita di G. L.* (Palermo), 1900.

R. A. H. Jr.

LERMONTOV, MIKHAIL YUREVICH (Russian, 1814-1841), the son of an army officer of Scotch descent and of a mother belonging to one of the proudest families of old Russia, was well educated but possessed of a diabolical pride and a determination to play a tragic role. He acquired fame by his poem on the death of Pushkin, for which he was exiled to the Caucasus and the active army. The service inspired him; he became the great poet of the mountains. Filled with a fierce love of freedom, a freedom not necessarily limited by law, his heroes, whether the Demon, the fallen angel, or Pechorin in *The Hero of our Time*, have extreme and rhetorical passions. Yet many of his poems have become true folk songs. He was killed in a duel at the age of twenty-seven, and his death marked the end of a period of Russian poetry. He was himself the same mixture of sneering and sincerity that characterized his model, Byron; his ability for sympathetically drawing heroes of the people is matched only by his unblushing contempt for the aristocracy to which he belonged.

E. Duchesne, *M. Y. L. sa vie et ses oeuvres* (Paris), 1910.

C. A. M.

LESAGE, ALAIN RENE (French, 1668-1747), is most read today in two works of realistic cast, a novel, *Gil Blas* (1747), and a comedy, *Turcaret* (1709). *Gil Blas*, the best picaresque novel in French, is a long, often badly composed recital of the adventures of the shrewd protagonist in all social milieux. It is a true novel of manners, and its value for us lies not in its complicated and factitious episodes but in its clear delineation of the mores of the times. Lesage is constantly a realist, even in his most inventive moments, and is, to boot, a satirist of no mean powers. His qualities of keen observation, attention to precise detail, and cutting satire are nowhere better seen than in *Turcaret*, a comedy that is in reality a sharp, hard study of a group of thoroughly vicious characters. It is in the style of Molière, but is more polished, more brittle, less gentle. Lesage exemplifies that change in the social temper which preceded the Revolution: his bitter satire is a reflection of the widespread exasperation that paved the way for the great emancipation.

C. A. Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits of the 18th C.*, trans. K. P. Wormeley (N. Y.), 1905.  
R. J. N.

LESSING, GOTTHOLD EPHRAIM (German, 1729-81), critic and dramatist of the German Enlightenment. He was concerned with the development of principles of criticism and the definition of the arts, in his contributions to the *Literary Letters* (1759-65); in *Laocoon: or on the Limits of Painting and Poetry* (1766; based on Winckelmann's description of Greek art as characterized by "noble simplicity and quiet dignity"); in the *Hamburg Dramaturgy* (1767-68), written as advisor for the German National Theatre in Hamburg, a work in which he attacked French pseudo-classical dramatic standards. In his essay on *The Education of the Human Race* (1780), he expressed his ideal of the best possible world striving to achieve the highest morality. Three of Lessing's dramas still have their place in the theatre, for their dramatic impact and theatrical effectiveness, despite the argumentation that is the natural method of the critic: *Minna von Barnhelm* (1767), one of the best German comedies, placed against a background of the Seven Years' War; *Emilia Galotti* (1772), a masterpiece of psychological necessity on the "Virginia" theme; and *Nathan the Wise* (1779), the monumental drama of religious tolerance, product of Lessing's struggle for humanitarian ideals.

James Sime, *G. E. L.: His Life and Writings* (London), 1877.

S. L. S.

LEVINSOHN, ISAAC BAER (Hebrew, 1788-1860), the greatest advocate of *Haskalah* (Enlightenment) in Russia. Because he was not ridiculing the Rabbis but rather arguing from Rabbinic sources the desirability of education and secular learning, his many volumes on this subject were very popular and con-

tributed appreciably to the spread of enlightenment in Russia. In his book *Efes Domin*, he came to the defense of his people against blood accusations.

J. S. Raisin, *The Haskalah Movement in Russia* (N. Y.), 1913; N. Slouschz, *The Renaissance of Hebrew Lit.* (Phila.), 1909.

L. A.

LEVITA, ELIAS (Yiddish, 1468-1549), the first prominent Jewish poet whose name and life history have come down to us, is known also as Eliyohu Ashkenazi. A Hebrew grammarian and Bible critic, he taught Hebrew to a number of the humanists; then became proofreader in the Jewish printing plant of (the Christian) Daniel Bomberg in Venice; then in that of Paulus Fagius in Isny (Württemberg). He rendered into beautiful and ingenious Yiddish octaves two long court romances; the subsequently very popular *Bovo Bukh*; and the forgotten but highly polished *Paris un Vienna*.

Y. M.

LEWIS, [HARRY] SINCLAIR (U. S. A., b. 1885), dean of living American novelists, is famed for his mordant satire and the phenomenal powers of observation that cast a cloak of realism over his studies of composite types in the U. S. Technically his novels show a superior use of catalogued details, mimicry, contrast by juxtaposition, and comic verve; his major fault is that of 'too much.' Aside from the unique masterpiece *Babbitt* (1922), his finest achievements are *Arrowsmith* (1925) and *Dodsworth* (1929), the former dealing with a doctor's thwarted devotion to the pure ideals of science, the latter an 'international novel' contrasting Europe with America and detailing an American business-man's attempt to escape from 'Babbitry.' Lewis's recent interest in the theatre has not proved notably rewarding. He was the first American (1930) to be awarded the Nobel Prize in literature.

C. Van Doren, S. L. (N. Y.), 1933.  
E. C. S.

LI PO (Chinese, 701-762), the best known Chinese poet, whose name has been variously romanized as Li Tai-pe, Li T'ai-po, Le Pih, Ly Pe, etc., and whose personality and poetry have been subject to various kinds of criticism. The reformer-statesman Wang An-shih (1021-1086), who was a didactic poet, said: "Li Po's style is swift, yet never careless; lively, yet never informal. But his intellectual outlook was low and sordid. In nine poems out of ten he deals with nothing but wine and women." To others he appears to be "a poet with the bravado traits of a soldier of fortune, and again he is sensitive and profound. . . . A man with great moments of exaltation and depression. Above all, a man who loves beauty for its own sake, even if it is only the beauty of a moment." To still others, he "was a senuous realist, who represented the world as he saw it, with beauty as his guiding star." Actually he

was a born poet, a romanticist, who wrote spontaneously in praise of Nature and of all that is beautiful to him. He was a free-lance writer, whose lyrics are distinguished by a delicate buoyancy and a sensitiveness to beauty in nature, by subtlety of thought and loveliness of expression.

Obata, Shigeyoshi, *The Works of Li Po* (N. Y.), 1928; F. Ayscough and A. Lowell, *Fir-Flower Tablets* (Boston & N. Y.), 1930; A. Christy, *Images in Jade* (N. Y.), 1929.

S. C. L.

LI TAI-PE. See Li Po.

LIANG CHI CH'AO (Chinese, 1873-1929), a voluminous writer, exercised tremendous influence in the intellectual world of China during the first decade of this century. With robust outlook and buoyant spirit, and with a powerful pen and profound knowledge of Chinese history, he wrote on such themes as nationalism, liberty, civic morality, patriotism. His style had the strength and energy born of passionate conviction. A tireless scholar, he combined the depth of Chinese thought and the breadth of Western knowledge. He not only opened the Chinese mind to a new outlook but also inspired Chinese imagination with a new purpose. Countless numbers of readers devoured whatever he wrote. In addition to the *Ching Yi Pao* (*The Pure Discussion Magazine*), the *Hsin Min Tsung Pao* (*The New Citizens' Magazine*), and the *Kuo Feng Pao* (*The National Tradition Magazine*), which he edited one after the other, he wrote numerous pamphlets to arouse his fellow-countrymen's zeal for political and social reform. After 1918 he gave himself entirely to literature, applying the scientific method to the study of ancient works. Best known are his *Method for the Study of Chinese History*; *A Critique of Mo Tzu*; *History of Chinese Political Thought*. His collected works are the *Yin Ping Shih Wen Tsi*.

S. C. L.

LIBANIUS (Greek, 314-393 A.D.) was the last great teacher and rhetorician of pagan Greek literature. Born in Antioch, he studied and worked in the cities of the Greek east and, finally, returned to his birthplace to establish a school, and to write his hundreds of minor works: declamations, studies on rhetoric, letters. Despite the establishment of Christianity as the official religion, he remained a sincere pagan who saw in the advent of the apostate emperor Julian the dawn of a new era for his faith and, after Julian's death, so impressed the Christian emperors with his integrity that he held official positions. His world was one of books and letters rather than action; his interest lay in the style of the classical prose writers, not their ideas. It was as a stylist and popular interpreter of Hellenism that his influence was exercised.

G. R. Sievers, *Das Leben des L.* (Berlin), 1868.

C. A. R.

LIE, JONAS (Norwegian, 1833-1908); distinguished novelist. A lawyer by profession, he did not turn seriously to literature until 1870, after he had suffered bankruptcy. His books deal mainly with the problems of the home and with the life of seamen, but the most strikingly original portion of his genius finds expression in a series of Nordland fairy tales in which the folkloristic trolls and other highly fantastic creatures appear. Lie stepped on the scene of literature just as the realistic school became established. He too published thesis novels, but his lasting contribution was made in more romantic and impressionistic works. He had considerable influence on the literary style of his age, being one of the earliest cultivators of impressionism. *The Family at Gilje* (1883) is a good introduction to Lie, but he has written stronger works, notably *Trolls* (1891-2), *Majsa Jons* (1888), *Niobe* (1893) and *When the Iron Curtain Falls* (1901).

A. Garborg, J. L. (Oslo), 1893; Erik Lie, J. L. (Oslo), 1933.

T. J.

LIN YU-TANG (Chinese, b. 1895), brilliant and prolific writer, was born in Changchow, Fukien, and educated in mission schools. He took his M.A. at Harvard and Ph.D. at Leipzig (1923). He has served several educational institutions and was on the editorial staff of five journals—three in Chinese and two in English. His best known Chinese journal is the *Lun Yu*, a bi-monthly of illuminating wit and humor. He published four stimulating books in Chinese: *Woti Hua* (*It Seems to Me*), *Taihuang Chi* (*The Lone Wayfarer*), *Chienfu Chi* (*Skirmishes*), and *Yenyu Hsueh Lun Ts'ung* (*Philological Essays*). While in America he wrote several volumes in English, of which the most talked about are *My Country and My People*, *The Importance of Living*, *Between Tears and Laughter*, *The Vigil of a Nation*, *Moments in Peking*, *With Love and Irony*, and *A Leaf in the Storm*. The first four are philosophical, cultural, and political in nature and are shot through with what some critics termed "intuitive" wisdom. The last three are novels, dominated by China's heroic war of resistance against Japanese military aggression. His prose both in Chinese and in English is brisk, witty, erudite, earnest. He edited two significant books, *The Wisdom of Confucius* and *The Wisdom of China and India*, with fine interpretative introductions and many new translations.

China Year Book, 1937-1943 (N. Y.), 1943; Book-of-the-Month Club News (N. Y.), 1937, 1945.

S. C. L.

LINDORM, ERIK (Swedish, 1889-1941), was born in Stockholm in a middle-class family. He belonged to the extremely radical circles that were always expecting a revolution. But he was no active poli-

tician, and when, after World War I, the political and social development in Sweden entered its typical middle way, he transferred his position as columnist for the social-democratic to the conservative press with no apparent feeling of political conversion. In his poems he tenders glimpses of Stockholm's proletarian quarters, with sober reality and delicate tenderness (*Min värld, My World*, 1918; *Bekännelser, Confessions*, 1922). He also wrote some popular plays. He died of cancer at a time when he seemed to have entered a new creative period as a poet.

H. Ahlenius, *Arbetaren i svensk.*  
A. W.

LINHAURE. See Raimbaut d'Aurenga.

LIU HSU. See Ou-Yang Hsiu.

LIU, TSUNG YUAN (Chinese, 773-819), a most versatile writer of prose and verse, who "has left behind him much that for purity of style and felicity of expression has rarely been surpassed." He was not only an outstanding student of general prose literature but also a master of calligraphy. Though a faithful follower of the Confucian tradition, his views were often tinged with Buddhist thought. He excelled in political satire, writing against over-government and the hardships of over-taxation, and he suffered for the sting of his pen. His death called forth the short but beautiful lament *In Memoriam* by his intimate friend Han Yu. His works were collected and published under the title *Liu Tsung Yuan Wen Tsi*.

H. A. Giles, *Hist. of Chinese Lit.* (N. Y. & London), 1929.

S. C. L.

LIVY (Titus Livius; Roman, 59 B.C.-17 A.D.) is the first representative Roman historian to mould into a unified and consistent whole the heterogeneous records of the past of his country. He aimed to win his readers by an attractive style rather than by a strict adherence to the facts of history. The loss of that part of his work which dealt with the more recent events of his day makes it difficult to form a clear estimate of his achievement in its entirety. Livy was evidently most interested in dramatic presentation of individual characters. His bias appears in his confirmed conviction that Rome had suffered a decline and fall from its past greatness.

W. M. Roberts, L., *History of Rome* (London), 1912, 1924.

J. J. S.

LLOYD, MORGAN. See Llwyd, Morgan.

LLWYD, MORGAN (Welsh, 1619-59; when he wrote in English he used the form Morgan Lloyd), was the heir, probably the grandson, of the poet Huw Llwyd. He could write excellent *englynion* in the strict metres

O Merion dirion i dario—ynddi  
Yn dda rwi'n dy gofio  
Nid hawddgar ond ath garo  
Fy anwyl bresswyl am bro.

(O Merioneth, pleasant to abide in, well do I remember thee! It is difficult not to love thee, my beloved dwelling-place and my country); but the bulk of his poetry is in the free metres, and much of it in English. It shows a violent partisanship in politics (Llwyd was a supporter of the Parliament and later a Fifth Monarchy man) and a gentle liberalism in domestic religious matters. Most of his prose is in Welsh, and several of his books are translations, through the English, of works of the German mystic Jakob Boehme. *The Book of the Three Birds* (1653; the full title is, *A Mystery for some to Comprehend and others to Mock at, that is, Three Birds, the Eagle and the Dove and the Raven, talking together, or a Sign to Greet the Welsh in the Year One Thousand, Six Hundred and Fifty-three, before the Coming of 666*) gets much of its symbolism from Boehme, but it contains also many of Llwyd's own ideas. He was pastor of a "gathered church" at Wrexham, and after the Restoration those that had adopted his mysticism were persecuted; in 1682 a party emigrated to Pennsylvania where they founded a settlement which they called Merion after their old home.

T. E. Ellis and J. H. Davies, *Gweithiau M. L. o Wynedd*, 2 v. (Bangor), 1899-1908. (There is a trans., not a very good one, of *The Book of the Three Birds* in the *Transactions of the National Eisteddfod* for 1896.)

J. J. P.

LLYWARCH THE OLD (HEN) (Welsh) may have been a historical character of the 6th c., where tradition places him, but the poems that bear his name date, probably, from the mid 9th c. By that time he had become a stock character, the old warrior who relived his own wars in the exploits of his sons, and who was constantly goading them into battle.

Maen Wyn, when I was your age

No one trod on my mantle,

No one ploughed my land without bloodshed.

(Maen Wynn, tra vuwm y'th oet,

Ny sethrit vy llenn i a thraet.

Nyt erdit vyn tir i heb waet.)

When he sends his last son, Gwen, off to die, his chief concern is with his own honor.

If you survive I shall see you again,

If you are slain I shall weep for you.

Do not lose a warrior's honor on account of the hardship.

(O, diengyd, ath welif.

O'th ryledir, ath gwynif.

Na choll wyneb gwr ar gnif.)

Even in his lament for him Llywarch's chief thought is "Since he was my son, he did not flee (Kan bu

mab ymi ny thecas)." But the last of his 24 sons is now dead, destroyed by his father's pride, and he is left old, lonely, wretched, and cold.

Ifor Williams, *Canu Llywarch Hen* (Cardiff), 1935. (Some of the same material, in Eng., is in *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, XVIII, 1932.

J. J. P.

LONGFELLOW, HENRY WADSWORTH (U. S. A., 1807-82), persistently remains the general reader's favorite native poet, despite critical strictures upon his lack of profundity, power, and high imagination. Also, his contributions to American poetic growth were many: As a scholar and traveler he brought a wider knowledge of European literature to America through his translations (esp. Dante's *Divine Comedy*, 1867) and adaptations of foreign metrical forms and themes. He shaped native as well as medieval European material into America's first fine body of narrative poetry. He used his effective imagery and effortless verse to interpret beautifully the unsophisticated side of his countrymen. And he achieved a real mastery of the sonnet form. His work almost as a whole exhibits distinguished merit, although it rarely approaches the range of full genius.

L. R. Thompson, *Young L.* (N. Y.), 1939.  
E. C. S.

LOPEZ DE MENDOZA, INIGO, Marquis of Santillana (Spanish, 1398-1458), was an early imitator of Dante and Petrarch as well as a theoretician of literary art. He affixed to his poems, sent to Peter, Constable of Portugal, the *Proemium and Letter*, the first Spanish "Art of Poetry." Though he does not refer to the Provençal troubadours, he recognized that French and Portuguese poetry had been superseded by the Italians, masters of the hour.

M. Perez Curis, *El M. de S.* (Montevideo), 1916.

H. A. H.

LORENZO (il Magnifico). See Medici, Lorenzo de'.

LOVEIRA, CARLOS (Cuban, 1882-1929), is the most vigorous novelist his country has produced. A propagandist and social critic, he has worked zealously in the Caribbean countries for the betterment of the downtrodden. An autobiographical sketch in 1917 (*From 1926 to 1935*) first gave evidence of his story-telling ability. With *The Immortal Ones* he resorted to the novel as propaganda for a divorce law, but the three that followed admitted him to the Cuban National Academy. His last novel, *Juan, the Creole* (1927) is his best. Like Zola and Pérez Galdós, a realist vitally interested in sociological problems, Loveira devoted little attention to revision of his novels and none to literary embellishment. Their value lies in their genuineness, their photographic portrayal of Cuban life, their very human characters. Truth rather than beauty, sincerity rather than artistry, mark his work. His main themes,



largely autobiographical, are labor as a means to something more than existence, and marriage as a union growing out of love, congeniality or common interests.

M. P. González, C. L. in *Revista de estudios hispánicos*, II (1929), 177-193;  
J. R. Spell, *Contemporary Spanish-American Fiction* (Chapel Hill, N. C.), 1944.

J. R. S.

LOWELL, JAMES RUSSELL (U. S. A., 1819-91), was New England's foremost humanist and critic of the 19th c. As poet, professor, editor, and diplomat, his expressed goal was "making men better by arousing in them a perception of their own instincts for what is beautiful, and therefore sacred and religious." This universality emerged in his work after preliminary periods of romantic idealism and ardent nationalism. Although diffuse, Lowell's criticism (*Among My Books*, two series, 1870, 1876; *My Study Window*, 1871) at its best is both discerning and expressive, marked by historical perspective, sensitiveness, wit, sagacity, common sense. His natural political conservatism was, to the end (as in *Democracy and Other Addresses*, 1886), tempered by hope for reform; and his recognition of the inevitability of change did much to deny him consistent unity of view or effort. In both aspects he was typical of his America.

H. E. Scudder, J. R. L.: *A Biography* (Boston), 1901.

E. C. S.

LOWENHJELM, HARRIET (Swedish, 1887-1918), was never known as an authoress in her lifetime. Her poems were collected and published in book form after her death. (*Dikter, Poems*, 1919, enlarged ed. 1927.) Daughter of an army officer, she received an education in art. Her first poems were written for pleasure and the entertainment of her friends, but after she contracted tuberculosis of the lungs her thoughts about death gave her poetry a darker color and changed her poems into moving self-confessions. In her last poem, her artistic gifts master her feeling of desperation. For this reason she has received a prominent place among the poets of her generation, in spite of the fact that her total production is quite meager.

O. Holmberg, *Madonnan och järnjungfrun* (243-283).

A. W.

Lu Hsun. See Chou Shu-Jen.

Lu You (Chinese, 1125-1210), foremost poet of 12th c. China, who styled himself Fang Weng (Free Old Man). At the age of twelve he had already distinguished himself in literary pursuits. In the course of his long life he did a great deal of creative writing in verse. Among his poetical works are the *Fang Weng Tz'u* (*The Filled-out Verse of*

*Fang Weng*) and the *Chien Nan Shih Tsi* (*The Collected Poetical Works of Chien Nan*). His poems of wars and battle against the Golden Tartars are still read with appreciation, for they inspire feelings of patriotism. He originated a type of poetry, later known as the "Chien Nan School" of verse-making.

C. M. Candlin, *Poems of Patriotism*, in *Asia*, October, 1938.

S. C. L.

LUCIAN (Greek, ca. 120-180 A.D.) was the great satirist of Greek literature. Although the early part of his career was devoted to the teaching of rhetoric in various parts of the Mediterranean world, he became disgusted with its pretentiousness and hypocrisy, and settled in Athens to make a living as a man of letters. His wit was exercised on the religion, philosophy, and art of the past, and the social practices and beliefs of his own day, but Lucian himself had no positive solution for the evils he satirized. To express his views, Lucian combined the dialogue form of philosophical writing with the motives of comedy, and infused in the speech of his characters a high degree of actuality, most evident perhaps in his *Dialogues of the Gods* and the *True History*.

F. G. Allinson, L., *Satirist and Artist* (Boston), 1926.

C. A. R.

LUCRETÍUS (T. Lucretius Carus; Roman, 95-ca. 54 B.C.) is the greatest ancient exponent of Epicurean philosophy. His is the voice of one expressing in magnificent hexameters his profound conviction that men everywhere are slaves to superstition. Epicurus is a divinity and Lucretius is his prophet. In six books *On the Nature of Things* he expounds with evangelical zeal the materialistic bases for all phenomena. The very modern theory of atoms, derived from Greek sources, is declared to account for every phase of nature, for every concept, for even the soul of man. Creation came about by a chance deflection of the atoms. There are far too many scientific explanations introduced always to constitute good poetry, which is furnished in excellent prologues and digressions.

G. D. Hadzsits, I. and *Epicureanism* (N. Y.), 1931; G. Masson, L., *Epicurean and Poet* (London), 1907-09.  
J. J. S.

LUGONES, LEOPOLDO (Argentine, 1874-1938), best and most representative Argentine writer of the 20th c., turned to a literary career in Buenos Aires in 1896 when he came under the influence of Rubén Darío. With the years his political ideology veered from the socialistic and pro-Ally to bitter denunciation of democracy; his literary from the romantic grandiloquence of the *Mountains of Gold* (1897) and the ironic extravagance of *Sentimental Lunar Almanac* to the simplicity of his *Romancero*

and the familiar vernacular of the *Poems of the Home Place*. While he has given great impetus to spiritual life and exerted a wide and profound influence, his contribution is less in his subject matter than in his highly personal treatment. His style is unmistakably his own, and his art, achieved through the employment of learned words and sought-after effects, is highly intellectual.

G. Uriarte, *The intellectual work of L. L.*, in *Inter-America* (Eng. ed.), II (1919); F. Onís, *Antología de la poesía española e hispanoamericana (1882-1932)* (Madrid), 1934.

J. R. S.

LUIKEN, JAN (Dutch, 1649-1712), poet (*Dutch Lyre*; 1671). He soon turned his back on his "licentious past," under the influence of mystical philosophy, and wrote mainly religious poetry, which he illustrated with his own etchings: *Jesus and the Soul*; *The mirror of human life*.

J. G.

LUSIN. See Chou Shu-Jen.

LUZZATO, MOSES HAYIM (Hebrew, 1707-46), born in Padua, Italy of a prominent family, received an excellent Hebrew and secular education, and displayed literary talents when quite young. At 17 he wrote a book on rhetoric; then proceeded to illustrate his thesis by writing poems free from the ornamentations of the Spanish period. He introduced the allegorical drama into Hebrew; in this, he displayed his great poetical gifts, dramatic feeling, power of description, and an easy, flowing style. He was the vanguard of the renaissance of Hebrew literature. At a tender age he came under the spell of Cabalistic mysticism and thought of himself as a Messiah; for this, he was persecuted, and his Cabalistic works were destroyed.

L. A.

LUZZATTO, SAMUEL DAVID (Hebrew, 1800-65), born in Trieste, Italy, the son of a poor carpenter, acquired a vast amount of knowledge. He advanced ideas that became the vogue in the 20th c. He wrote on philosophy, philology, archaeology, and poetry and in every field he was an erudite scholar and original thinker. He sought, deciphered, and edited old manuscripts. As a philosopher he clung to orthodox Jewish attitudes. He anticipated the ideas of Zionism by advocating the reestablishment of the Jewish people in Palestine.

N. Slouschz, *The Renaissance of Hebrew Lit.* (Phila.), 1909.

L. A.

LYESSIN, ABRAHAM (Yiddish, 1872-1938), singer of the heroic struggle and martyrdom in Jewish history, one of the greatest Yiddish poets. A descendant of a Lithuanian rabbinic family, he joined the revolutionary movement in Russia; dissatisfied with the

cosmopolitan character of that movement among the Jewish youth, he projected a more nationally inclined tendency, which came to be designated by the name of Waltism (Lyessin's real name was Walt). In 1897 he came to the U. S., where he edited the monthly *Di Tsukunft* (*Future*). He elevated the social poem to finesse, picturesqueness and sonorousness, and gave a chain of romantic militant characters of rock-like firmness that sacrifice themselves for their people and their faith.

Y. M.

MA'ARRI, AL-, ABU-AL-'ALA' (Arab, 973-1057), a Syrian born in Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, south of Aleppo. A prodigious memory was his compensation for loss of sight in infancy, from smallpox. Biographers portray him, now as a denying agnostic, now as a Moslem believer. His fruitless stay in Baghdad, then hub of empire and melting-pot of races and philosophies, drove him back to his birthplace, where his long life was crowned with honor and lasting fame. A mediocre artist, he reaches poetical peaks by a singular skepticism, mellowed with rare wisdom. His early *Saq al-Zand* (*Sparks of Fire-Sticks*) is not free from traditionalism and imitative literary technique. A bold spirit and original expression, characteristically sombre, form the basic power of *al-Luzūmiyāt* (*Observance of non-essential prosodic rules*). He is rated as one of the keenest intellects of medieval Islam's evening glow. Authorities differ on whether or not his *Risālat al-Ghufrān* (*Epistle of Forgiveness*) formed a model for Dante.

D. S. Margoliouth, *Letters of Abu'l 'Alā'* (Oxford), 1898.

E. J. J.

MACAULAY, THOMAS BABINGTON (English, 1800-59), poet, essayist, reviewer, was one of the most purely literary men of the early Victorian period. All his work emphasizes his historical and classical background. The *Lays of Ancient Rome* are vigorous narrative poems, but lack imaginative and emotional depth. His purely literary essays, as *Milton, poet and statesman*, lack warmth; but his historical essays, as *Lord Clive*, and his *History of England*, are effective. He sought to present the facts with the attractiveness of fiction. His style is not subtle but is admirable for its mechanical excellence, orderly arrangement of material, careful paraphrasing, and absolute clearness.

G. O. Trevelyan, *The Life and Letters of Lord M.*

F. F. M.

MACHADO DE ASSIS, JOAQUIM MARIA (1839-1908), first president of the Brazilian Academy, was born in Rio de Janeiro of poor parentage. He worked as a type-setter; his first collection of poems appeared in 1864. Though his genius found its highest expression in prose, Machado de Assis modernized Brazilian poetry in much the same manner that his

contemporary, Rubén Darío, modernized Spanish poetry. He was a profound thinker, a pure stylist, a tireless worker; his best poems are characterized by the resigned disillusionment and ironic humor that pervade his masterpieces of fiction, *Braz Cubas*, *Quincas Borba* and *Dom Casmurro*. José Veríssimo, the noted Brazilian critic, characterizes him as the outstanding figure of Brazilian literature. In his psychological interpretation of character he paved the way for the sophisticated city novels of more recent times.

E. J. G.

MACDONALD, ALEXANDER (Scottish, fl. 1751), who is commonly known as Mac Maighister Alasdair, was the chief poet of the Fortyfive and the subsequent literary movement in Gaelic Scotland. Besides his Jacobite poems, he wrote love-poems and descriptive poetry that have won him local fame. He compiled a vocabulary of Scottish Gaelic (pub. 1741). A volume of poems by MacDonald entitled *Aiseiridh na Sean Chanain Albannaich* (*The Resurrection of the Old Highland Language*) was the first literary work to be printed in Scottish Gaelic (1751).

M. Maclean, *The Literature of the Highlands* (London), 1925.

M. D.

MACGREGOR, SIR JAMES (Scottish, d. 1551), was Dean of Lismore in Perthshire. He made a collection of poetry in the early 16th c., apparently from oral sources. In collaboration with his brother, Duncan, the Dean wrote the poems in a phonetic script that seems to be his own invention and is marred by inconsistencies that make the interpretation difficult. While most of the poems are in the literary language of Ireland, and the majority are found in other manuscripts, there are some forty that are known only from the Book of the Dean of Lismore; these show to some extent the influence of the vernacular of the time.

A. Cameron, *Reliquiae Celticae* I (Inverness, 1892; W. Watson, *Scottish Verse from The Book of the Dean of Lismore* (Edinburgh), 1937.

M. D.

MACHIAVELLI, NICCOLO (1469-1527), was the leading political thinker of the Italian Renaissance, and one of its most original men of letters. His experience as Secretary of the Florentine Republic, together with his readings in classical history and his reflections on contemporary events, led him to a purely descriptive and scientific analysis of political structure and action. He studied men and their behavior as they were, not as they should be, with complete disregard of ethical or moral considerations. Machiavelli's analysis is expounded most extensively in the *Discourses on the first ten books of Livy* (ca. 1513) and most concisely in *Il Principe* (*The Prince*, ca. 1513), in addition to his less important

treatises (*How to treat the rebellious peoples of the Val di Chiana*, 1502; *How Duke Valentino murdered Vitellozzo Vitellozzi* . . ., 1503; *The Art of War*, 1516; *Life of Castruccio Castracani*, ca. 1520) and his *History of Florence* (1520-23). In purely literary creation, Machiavelli's *Mandragora* (ca. 1513) is the greatest and possibly the only truly original Renaissance comedy, despite—to its contemporaries and to most moderns—its repellantly immoral atmosphere and amoral outlook. Machiavelli's style reflects his training and personality: a combination of Latinizing vocabulary and syntax with very popular, almost sub-standard forms and turns of phrase, unified by a peculiarly vigorous manner of expression.

G. Prezzolini, *N. M. the Florentine* (N. Y.), 1928; Dorothy E. Muir, *M. and His Times*, (N. Y.), 1936.

R. A. H., Jr.

MACRAE, DUNCAN (Scottish, fl. 1693), the scribe of The Fernaig Manuscript, was a Scottish Gaelic poet and author of some of the poems in the manuscript. He is thus doubly responsible for the earliest considerable document extant in the Scottish vernacular.

A. Cameron, *Reliquiae Celticae* II (Inverness), 1894; M. Maclean, *The Literature of the Highlands* (London), 1925.

M. D.

MCCRAE, HUGH RAYMOND (Australian, b. 1876), is a controversial figure in Australian poetry. His verse, which at its best is charmingly lyrical, is also decorative by intent—decorated with nymphs, fauns, satyrs, and the like, which many Australian critics labor valiantly to show he has acclimatized to the continent. To such writers as Randolph Hughes, the expositor of Brennan, and T. Inglis Moore, he ranks among the greatest, and if his lyricism were unimpeded this claim would be generally accepted.

C. H. G.

MACVURICH, NIALL MOR (*Mac Mhuireadhaigh*, Scottish, fl. 1715) belonged to an old bardic family of Scotland, which claimed descent from the Irish poet Muireadhach Ó Dálaigh (fl. 1228), commonly known as Muireadhach Albanach (Murray The Scot) because he spent fifteen years as an exile in Scotland. Niall Mór is notable as the last of the bards of the learned tradition.

M. D.

MADACH, IMRE (1823-64), Hungarian poet, wrote *The Tragedy of Man*, (1859), in a pessimistic mood caused by matrimonial difficulties. The 15 scenes of this dramatic poem, successfully produced inside and outside of Hungary, trace the history of mankind via the regimentation of Communism to a completely selfish future. *The Tragedy* ends, like *Faust*, in a compromise, but it sees life as continuing progress. Although in many details *Faust*

and *Manfred* have left their imprint upon the *Tragedy of Man*, its concept shows more affinity with Hugo's *Légende des siècles*. Whereas Faust is an individual with all the weaknesses of man, Adam is a fighter for the loftiest ideals.

L. Juhász, *Un disciple du romantisme français* (Szeged), 1930; J. Biztray, E. M. in *NRH*, 1933; E. Bencze, *La Tragedie de l'Homme*, in *Revue de litt. comp.* (Paris), 1934; L. Doblhoff, *La Tragedie de l'homme de M. in NRH*, 1934.

A. S. and F. M.

MAERLANT, JACOB VAN (Dutch, mid 13th c.), founder of the middle-class literature. He started his literary career by translating French epics. In 1265, he became town clerk of Damme, turning his back on the artificial world of the *chanson de geste*, to side with the middle-class. He wrote a rhymed universal history, *The historical Mirror*, and his famous *To Arms, Martin!* a passionate denunciation of social injustice.

J. G.

MAETERLINCK, MAURICE (Belgian, b. 1862) born in Ghent, left Belgium after his reputation as a playwright had been established there, for France. His book of poetry, *Serres Chaudes* (1889), is of great significance in the evolution of modern poetry. It went beyond symbolism and brought to the fore till then unused motives and techniques. As a dramatist he attained universal fame with *La Princesse Maleine*, *L'Oiseau Bleu*, *Pelléas et Mélisande*, and many other plays. They all suggest the same atmosphere of death and doom; they convey the idea that present existence is but a transition period full of symbols. Maeterlinck developed his ideas on the philosophy of life in a number of essays and maxims. He was constantly interested in natural history and in the discoveries of science as a means of explaining the universe. In *The Life of the Bee*, *The Life of the Ant*, etc., he succeeded in allying scientific accuracy with great beauty in writing.

C. Turquet-Milnes, *Some Modern Belgian Writers, A Critical Study* (New York), 1918.

J.-A. G.

MAGNUSSON, GUDMUNDUR ("Jón Trausti"; Icelandic, 1873-1918), who shares honors with Einar H. Kvaran as the leading novelist of the period, has achieved even greater success with his short stories. He interpreted rural life effectively in such novels as *Halla* (1906) and the series *Heidarvílið* (*The Heath-Farm*, 1908-11), town life equally ably in *Borgir* (1909). His historical novels are also noteworthy. He has written excellent short stories of the life of the fishermen, splendid in characterization, and breathing the atmosphere of the sea. His narrative art is always vivid and fluent, and he succeeds in creating a number of strong, unforgettable char-

acters. His novels on contemporary themes are a significant contribution to the cultural history of Iceland.

S. Einarsson, "Jón Trausti: Afskipti af verkum," *Tímarit: Þjóðtrúnaðsflags Íslendinga* (Winnipeg), 1928; R. Beck, *Icelandic Poems and Stories* (Princeton and N. Y.), 1943.

R. B.

MAIMONIDES, MOSES BEN MAIMON (Hebrew, 1135-1204), physician, scholar and the most important Jewish philosopher of the middle ages. Born in Cordoba, Spain, he was compelled to embrace Islam when thirteen, but adhered to his Jewish religion in secret. Later his family escaped to Egypt, where Maimuni re-avowed Judaism. In his *Guide to the Perplexed* (first in Arabic, but known through its Hebrew translation), Maimonides sought to synthesize Aristotelian philosophy and Judaism. It exerted a tremendous influence on non-Jewish philosophers of the period. In his *Mishneh Torah*, or *Jad he-Hazakah*, he compiled and arranged systematically all the laws found in the *Talmud*. He similarly arranged the 613 precepts in his *Sefer Hamitzvot*. He was an erudite scholar and wrote many works on logic, mathematics, and medicine. He was undoubtedly the outstanding Jewish personality of the Middle Ages, and his influence on Jewish thought is unparalleled.

I. Husik, *A Hist. of Medieval Jewish Philosophy* (N. Y.), 1930; D. Yellin and I. Abrahams, M. (Phila.), 1936.

L. A.

MALHERBE, FRANÇOIS DE (French, 1555-1628), the 'bespectacled grammarian', was one of the chief architects of the Classic school in France. Himself a poet of but moderate talent, he nevertheless contributed largely to the formation of the classic doctrine through his ceaseless efforts toward the purification of the language and toward the 'disciplining' of literature. His own poems, mostly occasional in character, treat the great commonplaces of human experience with elegance and restraint and with the pronounced lack of self-revelation that was the cardinal tenet of Malherbe's creed. Malherbe likewise accomplished a grammatical purification of the language by means of his famous *Commentaries* on the poems of Desportes; true, he concerns himself here with the details of composition, but so forceful was his example, so sure his taste that his dicta were to remain law for more than two centuries. He served as disciplinarian to the new Classic school, forcing it into the fields that were to prove fruitful, and as such he richly deserves the solid place he holds in the second rank of French writers.

E. Gosse, *Aspects and Impressions* (London), 1928.

R. J. N.

MALLARME, STEPHANE (French, 1842-98), while living the quiet life of a professor of English in Paris, exerted a powerful influence on the symbolistic movement in French verse. Nearly all the great figures of the school of 1900 were his guests and disciples at the famous 'Tuesday evenings' in his apartment. Mallarmé began writing as a Parnassian poet, but soon changed to the obscure manner of the symbolists. Like Verlaine, he believed in the suggestive power of poetry, declaring that higher realities can be exposed only through the medium of musical verse. For his vehicle he created a new kind of language, freed of many of the trammels of formal grammar, and a new vocabulary likewise; with these weapons he set out to translate his inner visions, hallucinations (which are never sickly—cf. his *Après-midi d'un faune*) that have nothing to do with logic, but that constitute a kind of superior reality based for the most part on analogy. His intent was to create a poetry that could be understood only by another poet; hence, each reader creates his own sense for each work, his own poem.

Remy de Gourmont, *Decadence*, trans. W. A. Bradley (N. Y.), 1921.

R. J. N.

MALORY, SIR THOMAS (English, ca. 1394-1471), the first great English prose writer, while imitating French originals, set his *Mort d'Arthur* in simple, flowing English. His style is highly flexible, fitted alike for simple narrative and for lofty imaginative passages. He chose consciously the concrete, sensuous words that were the natural language of the poets from whom he obtained his material, though he wrote in prose. Though compiled by 1470, *Mort d'Arthur* was published in 1485 by the first English printer, William Caxton.

E. Venauer, M.  
F. F. M.

MANFALUTI, AL-, MUSTAFA LUTFI (Arab, 1876-1924), an Egyptian of Turkish-Arab descent, was basically the product of the al-Azhar school of Moslem theology. He began as a poet, but made his name as a prose writer. In *al-Nazarât* (*Speculations*, 1910) he expressed the confused outlook of his generation. His sermonic exhortations were new in Arabic literature. In addition to pan-Islamic zeal, nationalism, and Syrian literary influence, his prose is marked by native Egyptian wit. Turning to both romanticism and naturalism, he became an outspoken critic of the environment that gave him birth, lapsing at times to a state of despair illustrated in his other famous work *al-Abarât* (*Tears*).

H. A. R. Gibb, *Bulletin, School of Oriental Studies* (London), 1929, vol. 5, pt. 2.  
E. J. J.

MANING, FREDERICK EDWARD (New Zealand, 1811-93), was born in Dublin and went to New Zealand in 1833. He was for many years intimately

associated with the Maori people and in 1865 became a judge in the Native Land Court. In 1863 he published *Old New Zealand*, which, because of the raciness of the style and his great knowledge of native customs, has been reprinted several times. It is one of the few books that have attained the status of a New Zealand Classic.

A. Curnow, *Annals of New Zealand Lit.* (Wellington), 1936.

I. A. G.

MANN, THOMAS (German, b. 1875), Nobel prize winner (1929), is the greatest living German writer. Whether it be an autobiographical novel like *Buddenbrooks* (1901), a novel portraying the spiritual atmosphere of pre-war Europe like *Magic Mountain* (1924), or the more recent *Joseph* cycle with its study of the psychological evolution of religion, Thomas Mann's chief concern in his writing is with the problem of the relation of art to life. To its delineation in its various aspects and its final solution he has devoted the major part of his life. This was also a favorite topic of Goethe's and Grillparzer's, although each dealt with the question in a different manner. Thomas Mann's literary career may be said to parallel that of Goethe, his aesthetic aloofness in his earlier period resembling Goethe's middle classical period, his present absorption in moral, political, and social questions finding its counterpart in Goethe's similar interests at the close of his career. Another favorite topic of Mann's is the relation of death to beauty, which finds its finest expression in his *Death in Venice* (1913). Perhaps the most striking characteristic of Mann is his capacity of combining devotion to the best ideals and traditions of German literature with a sensitiveness to the problems of our own time.

H. Slochower, *No Voice Is Wholly Lost*, 1945.

P. M.-

MANRIQUE, JORGE (Spanish, 1440-79), typical fence-sitter between the Middle Ages and modern times, is noted for the *Couplets on the death of Don Rodrigo Manrique his Father* (1476). In elegiac but sober mood, he embodies the personal sorrow in a general philosophy of death, with picturesque examples from history (well rendered in English by Longfellow).

Anna Krause, *J. M. and the Cult of Death* (Berkeley), 1937.

H. A. H.

MANSFIELD, KATHERINE (Kathleen Beauchamp, 1888-1923), was born in Wellington, New Zealand, and died at Fontainebleau, France. She is the best known and most highly valued of New Zealand writers. Her best work was done in the short story, which she developed with sensitivity and insight. Collections of her stories were published from 1918 (*Prelude*) onwards. After her death the publication

of her *Journals*, *Letters*, and critical reviews, *Novels and Novelists*, though severely edited, revealed her as a critic and commentator of great integrity.

E. M. Smith, *A Hist. of New Zealand Fiction* (Wellington), 1940.

I. A. G.

MANZONI, ALESSANDRO (1785-1873), was the leader of the Romantic movement in Italy, and the author of the best-known Italian novel, *I Promessi Sposi* (*The Betrothed*, 1828-1840). Manzoni's best work was done in the years from 1812 to 1840; his earliest products were poetical, a series of warmly lyrical and deeply religious *Sacred Hymns* (1812-22), and two romantic tragedies, *The Count of Carmagnola* (1816) and *Adelchi* (1820). After the early 1820's, Manzoni's work was chiefly in prose: several theoretical discussions of literary principles, especially *On Romanticism* (1823); treatises on linguistic matters (1845-69); and philosophical and other writings. The *Promessi Sposi*, his only novel, is a story of two young people and their misadventures in the early 17th c. Manzoni's basic technique of the historical novel derives from Scott, but he adds to it his own psychological insight, balance of outlook, and religious feeling.

A. Momigliano, *A. M.*, 2d ed. (Messina), 1929.

R. A. H., Jr.

MAQQARI, AL-, AHMAD IBN-MUHAMMAD (Arab, 1591-1632), was born at Tlemcen, Algeria. In 1628-30, at the suggestion of his Damascus friends, he composed *Naffi al-Tib* (*Gust of Fragrance*), a history of Arab Spain combined with a biography of ibn-al-Khaṭīb (d. 1374), its last important Moslem author and statesman. This is a presentation of historico-literary aspects of Moslem Spain, extracted in the main from sources now lost. It is the principal authority for that cultural effervescence which Spain experienced under the Saracens.

H. A. R. Gibb, *Arabic Lit.* (London), 1926.

E. J. J.

MAQRIZI, AL-, TAQI-AL-DIN (Arab, 1364-1442), was born in Cairo, but his forebears were from Ba'labakk in Syria. In Cairo and Damascus he occupied high office as deputy qāḍi and learned teacher. His title to fame rests upon *al-Mawā'iz* (*Sermons*), devoted to Egyptian topography, history, and antiquities.

Philip K. Hitti, *Hist. of the Arabs*, 2d ed. (London), 1940.

E. J. J.

MARCUS AURELIUS (Greek, 121-180 A.D.), although emperor of Rome from 161 to 180 A.D., wrote his *Meditations* in Greek, the language of the Stoic philosopher, Epictetus, whose *Discourses* had influenced Aurelius strongly in his youth. Written in an unpretentious style amidst the hardships of his

military campaigns along the Danube, the *Meditations* attest his sincerity and high sense of duty, and enable us to estimate the personality of the last of the great Roman Stoics by his own thoughts as well as his official acts as emperor.

H. D. Sedgwick, *M. A.* (New Haven), 1921.

C. A. R.

MARIANA, JUAN DE (Spanish, 1536-1624), was the first Spanish historian, as opposed to the older chronicler. With daring theories on government, political economy, rights of kings and conditional admissions of regicide, his colorful *Historia de España* (1601, earlier in Latin) presents lively anecdotes whose truth he himself suspects. His organization, style, and variety are drawn from Livy.

G. Cirot, *M.*, *historien* (Bordeaux), 1905.  
H. A. H.

MARINO, GIOVANNI BATTISTA (Italian, 1569-1625), was the leading spirit in the trend toward exaggeration and over-decoration in literature, at the beginning of the 17th c., known as 'Marinism'. After a stormy career at Naples and Turin, he spent the last years of his life at Paris, where the publication of his long poem *Adone* (1623) brought him wide, if ephemeral, fame. Marino's lyrics (collected in *The Lyre*, 1602-14; *The Gallery*, 1620), his other minor poems (*The Shepherd's Pipe*, 1620) and the *Adonis* embody his frank hedonism and sensuality, emphasized rather than veiled by excessive use of rhetorical devices and literary artifice.

A. Borzelli, *Istoria della vita e delle opere di G. B. M.* (Napoli), 1927.

R. A. H., Jr.

MARIVAUX, PIERRE (French, 1688-1763), specialized in studies of the kind of mannered, intellectualized love that became typical of decadent French society shortly before the Revolution. His plays, the best of which is *The Game of Love and Chance* (1730), all treat the same theme of courtly love, in which the characters analyze their feelings in a subtle, tenuous dialogue, 'marivaudage,' which well expresses the over-civilized, slightly decadent spirit of the times. His two unfinished novels, the *Life of Marianne* and *The Peasant Parvenu*, are of the confession type, well suited to the kind of psychological analysis that was his specialty. Marivaux was an exact mirror of his age, well equipped to catch its mood of skepticism and the persiflage with which it distracted itself from the social evils round about.

Arthur Tilley, *Three French Dramatists* (Cambridge), 1933.

R. J. N.

MARK TWAIN. See Clemens, Samuel L.

MARLOWE, CHRISTOPHER (English, 1564-93), the greatest of the scholar playwrights, was one of

the most striking figures of the English Renaissance. Marlowe's dramas marked the transition from the chaotic writers of his time to that of Shakespeare. His works contained the logical development of one idea, that man is dominated by a passion for power. His characters are well drawn and his success in the use of blank verse astounded his contemporaries. Each of his four dramas: *Tamburlaine* (1587); *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus* (ca. 1588); *The Jew of Malta* (ca. 1590); and *Edward II* (1593) shows remarkable growth in dramatic technic.

F. S. Boas, C. M., *A Biographical and Critical Study*, 1940.

F. F. M.

MARTENSEN, HANS LARSEN (Danish, 1808-84), the greatest Danish theologian in modern times. His field was especially that of systematic theology, his *Dogmatics* and *Ethics* being standard works of his time, and used in translation both on the continent and in the English speaking theological universities.

C. M. V.

MARTI, JOSE (1853-1895), Cuban apostle of independence, was early stirred by a hatred of oppression and imbued with revolutionary ideas; these motivate most of his writings. Twice deported to Spain, he settled in New York and devoted himself heart and soul to the freeing of Cuba. In 1889 he stirred the Spanish world with a speech which concluded: "Those who have a country, let them honor it; those who have not, let them conquer one"; and in 1892 he launched a revolutionary party which he directed until the outbreak of hostilities. He met death in action. For Cuba he is a **national hero**, but his influence, both literary and political, is much wider. One of the most original writers America has produced, his style, marked by intense earnestness and great dignity, especially in his articles in *La Nacion* (Buenos Aires), his prologues, and his many speeches, is one of the most personal in the Spanish language. Forty-five volumes of his collected works were published by 1943.

R. Meza Fuentes, *De Díaz Mirón a Rubén Darío* (Santiago), 1940.

J. R. S.

MARTIAL (M. Valerius Martialis; Roman, ca. 40-ca. 104 A.D.) has been called the greatest epigrammatist of all time. The extraordinary range and quantity of Martial's work, and the ease with which he depicts in incisive phrase the follies of men in high or low station, mark him as an outstanding commentator on human idiosyncrasies. In the restricted field of the epigram, he has won a place far ahead of any other poet in antiquity and rarely equalled or surpassed in modern times. The frequent occurrence of passages which offend by reason of their undue coarseness or obsequiousness does not

to a great degree lower Martial's position in the history of the epigram.

P. Nixon, M., *and the Modern Epigram* (N. Y.), 1927.

J. J. S.

MARTINS, JOAO PEDRO DE OLIVEIRA (Portuguese, 1845-94), one of Portugal's most penetrating thinkers of the 19th c., looked upon history as "the study of the dynamism of human societies that are formed statically with two primordial elements: the constitutional capacity of the race and the propriety of the place chosen for its establishment." Man, he believed, retained certain animal instincts in the play of which conflicts between societies have arisen. No amorphous society can have a history, for there is history only where there is drama. Oliveira Martins recognized sociological, but denied the existence of historical, laws. His most important works are: *Hellemism and Christian civilization* (1878); *History of Iberian civilization* (1879); *História de Portugal* (1879); *Brazil and the Portuguese colonies* (1880); *Portugal contemporâneo* (1881); *System of religious myths* (1882); *Outline of primitive institutions* (1883); *The regimen of wealth* (1883); *Portugal on the seas*, (1889, 1929); *The children of King John I* (1891); *The perfect prince* (1896).

M. C.

MASARYK, THOMAS GARRIGUE (1850-1937), president liberator of Czechoslovakia, played an enormous role in fashioning the modern state and in developing the philosophy and thoughts of its people. From the time when he was appointed professor of the Charles University in 1882, he continued the work of impressing upon the young students the value of a critical realism and a democratic point of view; his influence and personality far outweighed his books, e.g., *Russia and Europe*. There was hardly a problem of importance to the modern world that he did not discuss; it is no exaggeration to say that he was the intellectual father of an entire generation, as he was the actual inspirer and leader of his nation's struggle for independence and its organization after independence was secured.

Paul Selver, M., 1938.

C. A. M.

MASEFIELD, JOHN (English, b. 1878), poet, critic, dramatist, and novelist, is a man of varied experiences and travel. His early success with *Salt Water Ballads* (1902) gave him confidence in his ability and he has published several volumes of verse, in addition to novels for boys, which are more romantic than his poetry. He succeeded Bridges as Poet-Laureate (1930). In his poetry there is a blending of physical exultation and spiritual exaltation, profanity and ecstasy, sordid melodrama and spiritual elevation. His interest in ordinary men and his sympathy for them is a leading motive in his writing.

W. H. Hamilton, J. M., *A Popular Study*, 1925.

F. F. M.

MATRAN, KHALIL (Arab, b. 1872). Born in Ba'labakk, ancient Lebanese city whose archeological remains date back to Roman and Phoenician antiquity, Matrān's ancestral roots link him with the princely Christian Arab tribe of Ghassān. As a student he developed habits of diligent self-criticism and analysis which later appear in the painstaking revision and rewriting of his own poetry. From the parochial schools of his native land he went to Paris. His leading biographer, Ismā'il Ahmad Adham, hails him as "the creative poet of Arabic." Among his countrymen he enjoys a wide reputation as "Bard of Syria and Egypt." His innumerable odes, and his later theatricals, reflect the poetic genius of an Arab steeped in world culture. The first fruits of his verse, *Diwān al-Khalil* (1908), demonstrate originality and spirit. More than that of any other modern, his poetry reveals a marvelous equipoise in which forms and concepts, expression and feeling, are set in a happy harmony that suggests a great aesthetic sense.

E. J. J.

MATSUO BASHO (Munefusa; Japanese, 1644-94) is probably the greatest *haiku* poet. He was a native of Iga, studied in Kyōto, and finally flourished as a master poet in Edo. He denounced the epigrammatic style of the traditional schools and created his own, known as the *Shōfū*, which was characterized by symbolism, naturalism, and quietude. This revolution elevated the *haiku* school of poetry to the status of pure literature in the truest sense of the word. His style has continued to exercise a great influence, and it is not too much to say that all the schools of *haiku* writing today have taken over his spirit. Bashō lived up to his own idea of the essence of *haiku* composition, that "the eternal truths of nature and human life, and freshness of expression and technique" should be its guide.

Tsukura Fujimura, *Nippon Bungaku Dai-jiten* (Comprehensive Dictionary of Japanese Lit.; Tokyo), 1934. Y. U.

MAUPASSANT, GUY DE (French, 1850-93), is one of the finest products of the realistic school in France. God-son of Flaubert, he modeled his novelistic technique on that of the master and from him learned the double art of minute observation of reality and the rendering of life as a living whole. His literary career was brief (insanity cut it short when he was forty) but crowded, for he numbers in his literary baggage 27 volumes, mostly shortstories and novels, including the novels *One Life* (1883), *Bel-Ami* (1885), *Strong as Death* (1889), and the famous short-story *Ball-of-Fat* (1880). He sees life with a kind of sardonic irony and renders it in a perfect and impersonal style, with not so much as a reflection on its cruelty and bitterness. He was the perfect literary craftsman, the writers' writer.

Ernest Boyd, *G. de M.* (N. Y.), 1926.  
R. J. N.

MAURICE, FURNLEY (Frank L. T. Wilmot; Australian, 1881-1941), was a poet and critic whose quick intelligence never rested satisfied with any one style or manner. His poetry, therefore, tends to appear miscellaneous, ranging from quiet lyrics to oratorical public addresses, to sardonic attacks on political affairs, to amusing odes on such subjects as *Upon a Row of Old Boots and Shoes in a Pawnbroker's Window*. A similar exploratory attitude characterizes his criticism which is, to some extent, a defense of his approach to literature. But integrating all his work is the conviction that literature must keep pace with life, a principle he was prepared to put into practice at the expense of making a single, clean impact on the reading public. This also made him a determined partisan of an Australian literature that would reflect Australian experience. Consequently he was, in the Australian environment, a seminal figure whose stature is bound to grow with the years.

V. Palmer, *F. W. (F. M.)* (Melbourne), 1942.

C. H. G.

MAXIMUS CONFESSOR (580-662) culminates the development of Christian thought by the Fathers. In dogma, in the course of his famous polemic against the Monothelites, he rounds out the Patristic exposition of the Incarnation. Of mystical theology he became the true founder in his *Commentary* on an orthodox interpretation of Pseudo-Dionysius. His teaching may be summed up under two heads, the union of God with humanity by the Incarnation, the union of the individual with God by the exercise of perfection. This synthesis but gives intellectual expression to his own personality and ideal. Keen controversialist and logician, he was also monk and contemplative. For the faith he endured long imprisonment and mutilation. Every advance in the development of Christian thought had been won in the sufferings of saints and the blood of martyrs. Their glory finds a fitting crown and climax in the work and death of Maximus of Chrysopolis, theologian, confessor, Saint.

V. Grumel, *M. de C.*, in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, X.

M. J. H.

MEDICI, LORENZO DE', called *Il Magnifico* (Italian, 1449-92), was at the same time the leading Maecenas of 15th c. Florence, and, in innate genius at least, its leading lyric poet, although his manifold political and commercial activities occupied too much of his time, and his death occurred too early, for his poetical talent to realize its fullest capacities. His *Canzoniere* shows mingled traces of Petrarchesque and popular inspiration; the latter appears in fuller and fresher form in his *Carnival Songs and Dance Songs*, elegant and aristocratic adaptations, with delicately melancholy and Epicurean overtones, of popu-



lar lyric forms. The same, adaptation of popular genres, with lively humor and a touch of satire, appears in Lorenzo's *Nencia da Barberino*, a love-song in the manner of the Tuscan *rispetto*; in *The Symposium*, a parody of Petrarch's *The Triumphs*; and in his *The Hunt with the Falcon*, an account of a day's hunting.

E. Rho, *L. il M.* (Bari), 1926.  
R. A. H. Jr.

MEHMED NAMIK KEMAL, or Namik Kemal (Turkish, 1840-80), became as a co-editor with Shinasi Efendi, a founder of the New School. He was an active member of the Young Turk party. His poetry, much of which circulated clandestinely, was one of the most effective means of building a spirit of nationalism and stirring a revolutionary demand for liberty. His editorials, which introduced western ideas, and his historical writings, also were aimed at a political awakening. He is generally regarded as one of the great writers of the Turkish race.

J. K. B.

MELVILLE, HERMAN (U. S. A., 1819-91), now recognized as a major novelist, has only in the last quarter century been recovered from the virtual obscurity that attended his deliberate shift to unconventional metaphysical fiction from his early popular tales of South Seas adventure (*Typee*, 1846; *Omoo*, 1847) and of seafaring life (*Redburn*, 1849; *White-Jacket*, 1850). Although these tales are now more widely read than ever, the art and depth of the three symbolistic novels (*Mardi*, 1849; *Moby-Dick*, 1851; *Pierre*, 1852) are the major cause of his revival, despite the fact that only *Moby-Dick* achieves real mastery of the symbolistic method. This trilogy reveals Melville's lonely, undisciplined, but mighty search of the universe for ultimate truth; his disillusion is shown in *The Confidence Man* (1857) and *Clarel* (1876), a long philosophical poem; and a sort of reconciliation appears in the posthumous *Billy Budd* (1924).

W. Thorp, *H. M.* (N. Y.), 1938.  
E. C. S.

MENANDER (Greek, 342-291 B.C.) was the most representative of the writers of the New Comedy in Athens, who made a comedy of manners from the social life of their own period. His plots, dealing with the tribulations and eventual recognition of a foundling, are cleverly worked out by a variety of devices; they reflect the uncertainty and spiritual uneasiness of the period. That, combined with his lifelike characterization and dialogue, won him a reputation for realism and pathos, and continuous popularity throughout antiquity. The long fragments of the *Girl from Samos*, the *Girl with the Clipped Hair*, and the *Arbitrants*, known from papyri, now enable us to form a judgment at first hand rather

than through the adaptations made of his plays by Plautus and Terence.

P. Legrand, *The New Greek Comedy*, trans. J. Loeb (London), 1917.

C. A. R.

MENCIUS. See Meng Tzu.

MENDELE MOCHER SFORIM. See Abramowitz, Shalom Jacob.

MENDELSON, MOSES (Hebrew, 1729-86), renowned German philosopher, wrote very little in Hebrew, but brought the Enlightenment into the ghetto, which finally broke down its walls. He was the leading spirit of the *Measef* (Collector), which inaugurated a new epoch in Hebrew literature. His *Biur*, the translation of the Bible into German with a commentary in Hebrew, opened eyes to the beauty and grandeur of Hebrew. In his essays, and as editor of the *Measef*, he advocated secular education, the love of classical Hebrew, and a simple straightforward style of writing. He is justly called the Father of the Haskalah (Enlightenment).

S. Spiegel, *Hebrew Reborn* (N. Y.), 1930.  
L. A.

MENENDEZ Y PELAYO, MARCELINO (Spanish, 1856-1912), is the greatest literary critic of Spain. As a patriotic and religious task, he edited the master works of Spain, and contributed great fragments to a history of Spanish literature. He especially stressed the esthetic problems, which he approached with skill and intuition in his *History of esthetic ideas in Spain*.

M. Artigas, *La vida y la obra de M. P.* (Zaragoza), 1939.

H. A. H.

MENG Tzu (Chinese, ca. 372-289 B.C.), the greatest admirer of Confucius and his teachings, whose name has been a household word over the length and breadth of China for more than 20 centuries and whose Latinized name Mencius has been known to the Occident since the 18th c. The record of his teaching is found in the book under his name. Its philosophic root is his belief in the ethical goodness of man's nature and the importance of the people in the body politic. In his liberal and enlightened system of political economy, he advocated division of labor, inspection of work by government, maintenance of education, good roads, poor-laws, freedom of trade, the abolition of war, and the deposing of unworthy rulers. He developed his points by well-ordered arguments and apt illustrations. His thinking was realistic from the point of view of the idealists, and idealistic from the viewpoint of the hard-boiled realists.

L. Giles, *The Book of M.* (London);  
L. A. Lyall, *M.* (London), 1932.

S. C. L.

MEREDITH, GEORGE (English, 1828-1909), though a poet, is best known as one of the later

Victorian novelists. Like Eliot, he was a psychologist and somewhat of a moralist. His prose style is filled with poetic imagery; his poetic style is analytical at the same time that it is emotional. Behind all his writing is the intellectual spirit of comedy. Meredith is allusive in style, yet at vital moments he displays a heightened sense of realities.

R. E. Secourt, *The Life of G. M.*  
F. F. M.

MÉRIMÉE, PROSPER (French, 1803-70), one of the true artists of France's Romantic period, is best known for his tales of far places and colorful scenes. *The Chronicle of Charles IX* (1829), *Colomba* (1840) and *Carmen* (1845) are excellent novels combining the Romantic love of local color with the strictest realism of décor and sentiment. *Tamango* and *Matteo Falcone* are short stories of true psychological intensity, of the same Romantic-realistic type. Mérimée was an artist in the strictest sense of the word: always sober, fearful of the excesses of the Romantics; possessed of an evocative power that permitted him to suggest a whole scene or a whole moral complexion with a half-dozen lines of prose, he constantly sought the valid artistic effect. Never falling into the *recherché* or the 'arty,' he constantly remained the champion of the pure classical style and employed its best resources in the creation of some of the finest short compositions in French literature.

G. H. Johnstone, P. M. (N. Y.), 1927.  
R. J. N.

METASTASIO, PIETRO (Italian, 1698-1782), born Pietro Trapassi, was the leading 18th c. author of *melodrammi* and the imperial poet of the Austrian court after 1730. Of his *melodrammi*, famous in their time throughout Europe, the best known are *The Desertion of Dido*, 1724; *Cato in Utica*, 1727; *Semiramis*, 1728; *Artaxerxes*, 1730; *The Clemency of Titus*, 1734; *Themistocles*, 1736; *Attilio Regolo*, 1740-50. Metastasio treats epic and heroic themes, taken from classical sources, with 18th c. sentimentality, gallantry, elegance, and Watteau-like delicacy. His contemporaries admired the romantic interest of his dramatic situations, the nobility and morality of his sentiments, the purity of his language, and the facile skill and sweetness of his versification.

L. Russo, P. M., 2d ed. (Bari), 1921;  
G. Natali, *La vita le opere di P. M. (Livorno)*, 1923.  
R. A. H., Jr.

MEYER, CONRAD FERDINAND (German-Swiss, 1825-98), wrote a number of historical short stories (*Das Amulett*; *Der Heilige*; *Angela Borgia*) and one novel (*Jürg Jenatsch*, 1875) in which, in spite of great accuracy in details of time and place, the emphasis rests on the psychological analysis and elucidation of the characters; hence their influence on literary psychology. In his poems, a record is kept

of the author's troubled inner life. But in contrast with modern introspectionists, Meyer strove hard to conquer his problematical frame of mind by binding and neutralizing it through the medium of perfect form and expression, believing with Nietzsche that it is the function of art to make life bearable and even joyfully acceptable.

A. Burkhard: C. F. M., *The Style and the Man* (Cambridge, Mass.), 1932.  
H. B.

MICKIEWICZ, ADAM (1788-1856), the greatest of the Polish Romantic poets, was born in Lithuania, then part of Poland. He spent his early life and received his education at Wilno. Later he was exiled to Russia; from 1829 on he lived chiefly in Paris and died in Constantinople, where he was endeavoring to raise a Polish Legion to serve against Russia in the Crimean War. He early passed from the prevailing classical tendency to Romanticism. Nearly all of his great works were written before 1829, except his masterpiece *Pan Tadeusz* (1834). An ardent patriot, Mickiewicz lived only for Poland, which he lovingly pictured in all its strength and weakness; he showed his country as a truly martyred nation and inspired a sense of mission and of Messianism that has marked most of Polish thinking since his time. He was a world genius with a matchless power of picturing the nature of his country and the character of his people; *Pan Tadeusz* remains as a living monument of the Poland that was and can be.

M. Gardner, M., 1912; J. Kallenbach, M., 1925.  
C. A. M.

MIKSZÁTH, COLOMAN (1847-1910), the most widely read Hungarian novelist after Jókai, followed the latter with some historical novels. His outstanding works deal with contemporary society, especially his native Northern Hungary (*The Good People of Palocz*, trans. London, 1893). A skeptic, yet fundamentally an optimist, his portrayal of the lower nobility is far from flattering; still, he had sympathy for his easy-going, rather shallow, yet, on the whole, likeable characters, and saw with regret that these colorful, even though inwardly decaying, people were doomed to extinction. The gentry of his later novels are a ruthless, unscrupulous clan using all available means to achieve wealth and social position. Disillusioned by the experiences of his political career, Mikszáth was quick to detect human weakness, especially in exceptional characters that, in their attempt to escape reality, developed some fixed idea. The composition of his novels is loose; still, his works have not lost their appeal. Mikszáth is witty, his humor is delightful; the action of his novels often takes an unexpected turn; his language is most expressive and direct, free from affectation.

Zs. Harsányi, K. M., in *NRH*, 1933;  
E. Katona, C. M., in *NRH*, 1934.  
A. S. and F. M.

MILTON, JOHN (English, 1608-74), is, after Shakespeare, the greatest of English poets. In the first or Horton period of his work, he composed *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, which reflected two moods, cheerfulness and melancholy, Cavalier and Puritan. The middle period is that of the sonnets and prose works. His sonnets are masterful, dignified, even austere. His prose pamphlets are broad in scope, incisive in treatment. In the third period, Milton, though blind, created his masterpiece, *Paradise Lost*, the noblest of English epics. In it two interests are united: the problem of evil, and the love of beauty. Although the theme had long been a challenge to writers, none save Dante ever conceived an action so immense. Milton's prose had a tendency to be tedious, for its excessive use of Latinisms and an involved sentence structure; as a poet, he possessed an elevation, a majesty, and an integrity that have not been surpassed. Not only was his verse stately and melodious, but he was a master of words, choosing them for sound as well as for sense. In the conflict between righteousness and peace, the Puritan in Milton chose righteousness, and was satisfied.

M. Pattison, *Life of M.*  
F. F. M.

In the latest edition of Milton's works, nearly half of his total literary output is written in extraordinarily correct Latin prose. In his youth, he wrote Latin verses, memorial odes, congratulatory verses, and some vigorous lines on the Gunpowder Plot. His *Letters* to his friends and his *State Papers*, documents written in the name of Parliament, were accompanied by his lengthy theological treatise on Christian Doctrine. His famous controversy with Claude de Caumaise is contained in his *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*. Milton's efforts on this latter work resulted in the total failure of his eyesight. His sound training in the Classics was the source of the extraordinary mythological element in both his Latin and his English verse.

E. A. Q.

MIRANDA, FRANCISCO DE SA DE (Portuguese, d. 1558), spent the years 1521-26 in Italy, and introduced the spirit and forms of the Renaissance in the literature of his country. Essentially an innovator, without great creative powers, he exercised a widespread influence on his contemporaries. The sonnet, which reached noble heights with Camões\* and Qüental,\* was first cultivated by him. He also experimented with the tragic drama and wrote excellent verse in the traditional manner. Later in life he showed some bitterness at the changes that had overcome Portuguese society; in the field of literature he was largely responsible for the metamorphosis. An attractive personality of a certain patriarchal grandeur, he is one of the important figures of the productive Portuguese 16th c.

A. F. G. Bell, *Studies in Portuguese lit.*  
(Oxford), 1914. M. C.

MISTRAL, [JOSEPH ETIENNE] FREDERIC (Provençal, 1830-1914), helped bring back Provençal from the status of a dying dialect to that of a literary language. His genius was manifest early (the narrative poem, *Mirèio*, 1859, source of an opera of Gounod, is rich in scenes of the countryside) and Mistral was made first head of the *Félibriges*, a society (1854) founded to foster Provençal culture. To this goal Mistral's work contributed greatly, both in his further poetry (an allegory, *Calendau*, 1867; short poems with an autobiographical preface, *Lis Isclo d'Or*, 1876; an epic of the Rhone, *Lou Pouèmo dou Rouse*, 1897) and in his great collection of the Provençal language and lore, *Lou Tresor dou Félibrige* (1886). His works made modern Provençal literature known to the cultured world; in 1904, he was awarded the Nobel Prize.

F. Downer, M. (N. Y.), 1901.  
U. T. H., Jr.

MISTRAL, GABRIELA, pseudonym of Lucila Godoy Alcayaga (Chilean, b. 1889), first called attention to herself as a humble, sorrow-crushed rural teacher, with *Sonnets of Death* (1915). Brought to Mexico by José Vasconcelos, she visited New York, where *Desolation*, containing her best poems, was published in 1922. More unrestrained than the North American woman in voicing her feelings and expressing her emotions, she frankly laments her defeated instinct for motherhood. With an almost inexpressible tenderness toward all children, she has turned instead, as a means of expression, to their education, the betterment of the down-trodden, and the destiny of the Hispanic countries. Her poetry, characterized by depth of feeling, wistful tenderness, and great emotional power, represents the highest and best in American motherhood. Her themes are often the mother, the child, the home; her treatment of them is simple but indisputably her own. Her prose, as yet uncollected, has many of the qualities of her verse—simplicity, music, intense emotion, and—at times—even a shading of mysticism. She was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1945.

A. S. Blackwell, *Some Spanish-American Poets*, 2d ed. (Phila.), 1927; F. Onís, *Antología de la poesía española e hispanoamericana* (1882-1932; Madrid), 1934.

J. R. S.

MOLIERE, Jean Baptiste Poquelin called (French, 1622-73), is France's greatest comic poet. Taking the crude scenarios of the Italian commedia dell'arte, he so infused them with his genius as to give the old subjects the force and freshness of originality. Molière was the complete man of the theatre: author, actor, manager, he spent his entire mature life on the boards and died as he wished to die, playing one of the great roles he himself had conceived. His great successes (*Tartuffe*, 1664; *Don Juan*, 1665; *The Misanthrope*, 1666; *The Miser*,

1668; *The Bourgeois Gentleman*, 1670; *The Hypochondriac*, 1673) are comedies of character in which Molière's 'sad and manly gaiety' joins laughter with the profoundest observation of the foibles and weaknesses of mankind. His doctrine was constantly one of moderation: each one of his best plays is directed at some human type that makes itself ridiculous by its surrender to some passion—for money; for learning; for religion. Whoever so departed from the path of wisdom and moderation found himself the target of the wisest—though not the bitterest—satire in French literature. Though Molière's plots are sketchy and often weak, the verve that sparkles in them, the wit that flashes, the profundity of observation that brings the grave smile of reflection, have raised him to the eminence of a universal figure, his name the synonym for that jesting, girding spirit which is eternally Gallic.

P. A. Chapman, *The Spirit of M.* (Princeton), 1940.

R. J. N.

MOLIN, PELLE (Swedish, 1864-96), was a country boy who received his education as an artist in Stockholm. For years he lived alone in a cottage in his home province in northern Sweden. He died in northern Norway. After his death, the well-known author Gustaf af Geijerstam collected some of the short stories Molin had contributed to magazines and published them in book form under the title, *Adalens poesi* (*The Romance of Adalen*, 1897). This book gave the author the recognition he had never received in his lifetime. Pelle Molin introduced northern Sweden into modern literature, and the "romanticism of the wilderness" that characterizes some of his novels has had a mighty influence on a whole generation of provincial poets and novelists.

G. Attorps, P. M., 1930.  
A. W.

MOLNAR, FERENC (Hungarian, b. 1878), dramatist and novelist, pictures in his short stories woman who, by sex-appeal, selfishness, and unscrupulousness, turns man into her ever perturbed slave. *The Paul Street Boys* (*Pál utcai fiúk*; B'pest, 1907, trans. N. Y., 1927) is a moving story about children, their code of honor, their cruelties and sympathies. Outside Hungary, he is far better known as a dramatist. His masterpiece is *Liliom* (B'pest, 1909, trans. N. Y., 1929; adapted as the musical comedy *Carousel*, 1945). An idyl of the metropolis, it owes its great success to a combination of naturalism and romanticism, sophistication and sentimentality. The true-to-life characters of the big city 'tough' and his gentle mate, their inarticulate yet eloquent love, the harmless and hilarious satire on Heaven, the novel background, the transparent symbolism with its pathos and humor, are truly poetical. *Liliom* has local color, yet it is profoundly and universally human. Molnár's success is due partly to his sophistication, which is permeated with sentimentality,

and partly to his skill in finding dramatic elements in any situation. This latter ability is, however, a source of weakness at the same time, for his themes are at times too flimsy to be of more than passing interest. Still, in moments of inspiration, Molnár is not only a craftsman but a poet. His apparent cynicism and sarcasm never hide completely his pity and compassion for suffering humanity.

G. Stragnell, *A Psycho-Pathological Study of M.'s "Liliom,"* in *Psycho-Analytical Review*, 1922; J. Brophy, F. M. *et le théâtre anglais*, in *NRH*, 1937; F. W. Chandler, *Modern Continental Playwrights* (N. Y.), 1931.

A. S. and F. M.

MONTAIGNE, MICHEL EYQUEM DE (French, 1533-92), was the great introspectionist of the French Renaissance. Declaring that life in the world of affairs gave him no time to think, he retired to his chateau to read within himself the riddle of his existence. The *Essays* (1588) are the product of his searching. In them he treats literature, politics, religion, a thousand different subjects, but with pleasant egoism returns constantly to himself. This introspective habit brought him to an unembittered skepticism, summed up in his famous question: 'What do I know?' His rambling, sprightly style, reinforced by many an apt and quotable phrase, is a fit instrument for his smiling irony. This engaging style, with his gentle wisdom, has given him a reading public larger perhaps than that of any other Frenchman of his age.

I. C. Willis, M. (N. Y.), 1927.  
R. J. N.

MONTMAYOR, JORGE DE (Spanish, 1520-61), was the founder of the pastoral romance in Spain. His *Diana* (1559), imitating the Italian Sannazaro's\* *Arcadia*, swept court circles, with its casuistry of love, and the clever lyrical poems between the prose passages. The style is typical of the early Counter-reformation, in its softening of the sensuous scenes to an artificial chastity. His influence spread wide, especially to Sidney\* in England.

H. Rennert, *The Spanish Pastoral Romances* (Baltimore), 1892.

H. A. H.

MONTESQUIEU, CHARLES LOUIS DE SECONDAT, BARON DE (French, 1689-1755), was one of the creators of the modern science of political economy. His great work, the work that embodied his whole life and thought, was the *Esprit des Lois* (1748). In this abstract, systematic study, Montesquieu examines the three types of government, republican, monarchical, and despotic, then reviews the law in its application to the citizenry, finding the English system of the separation of powers to be the only one that guarantees liberty to the individual. Finally, he investigates the law in its relationship to climate,

geography, character of the race and so on, thus giving impetus to the study of the relativity of human institutions. Though Montesquieu's dry, incisive style is eminently suited to his theme, it is not as stylist that he is known today, but rather as the thinker who provided the first rational political argument against the despotism of the Old Regime.

C. A. Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits of the 18th C.*, trans. K. P. Wormeley (N. Y.), 1905.  
R. J. N.

MORE, (SIR) SAINT THOMAS. See Erasmus.

MORGANWC, IOLO. See Williams, Edward.

MORICZ, SIGISMUND (Hungarian, 1879-1942), novelist, deals mainly with dwellers on the great Hungarian plain, *Alföld*: all is somber and oppressive in the villages he depicts. He was repeatedly attacked for his naturalistic presentation of the peasant, shrewd, brutal, eager only to acquire land, led by animal instinct. But Móricz pitied this robust and gifted class, oppressed by its low social and economic status. His forceful novels express faith in the genius of the Hungarian peasant and bitterness over the misery and ruin brought upon him by the upper classes. Since 1908, Móricz has been the strongest influence in the development of the regional novel in Hungary.

Schöpfung, *Magyar Irók* (B'pest), 1919;  
G. Fépa, *M. Zs* (B'pest), 1940.  
A. S. and F. M.

MORIKE, EDUARD (German, 1804-75), Swabian poet and novelist, whose work is filled with a delight in melody and form, harmony and beauty. He wrote a great many occasional poems and gave artistic expression to even the least important of things (*To a Lamp*, 1846; *The Old Weather-Cock*, 1852). Some of his poems are perfect imitations of the folk song (*Agnes*, 1831; *The Soldier's Bride*, 1837; *Beautiful Rohtraut*, 1838). His novel, *Painter Nolten* (1832), is in the romantic tradition, more lyrical than novelistic. Among his *Novellen*, *Mozart on his Trip to Prague* (1856) is best known, for its charm and delicacy, its characteristic *Gemütlichkeit*.

S. L. S.

MORRIS, HUGH. See Morus, Huw.

MORRIS-JONES, SIR JOHN. See Jones, John Morris.

MORUS, HUW (Welsh, 1622-1709), was the greatest figure in Welsh poetry between the Middle Ages and the classical revival of the late 18th c. He spent his life on his father's farm, and he addressed neighboring gentlemen in *cywyddau* and *englynion* of the conventional type. But his most characteristic work is in the free meters, upon which he imposed so much of the old *cynghanedd* and such elaborate rhymes that they became almost as complicated as the old forms. He wrote elegies, "poems of asking," satires upon abuses of the time, religious and ethical

carols, love poems. Most interesting, as a class, are his political poems. He was a Royalist, and under the Commonwealth concealed his real meaning in animal allegories, as the writers of the *cywyddau brud* had done, but on the Restoration he wrote openly welcoming General Monk to London, with a satirical *Elegy of Oliver's Men* as well as a long and elaborate *Interlude on the Civil War*. He wrote a poem on the Rye House Plot of 1683, and lived long enough to write congratulatory poems to King William on the Battle of La Hogue and the war in Flanders.

*Eos Ceiriog, sef Casgliad o Bêr Ganiadu*  
H. M., 2 v. (Wrexham), 1823.  
J. J. P.

MOTOORI NORINAGA (Japanese, 1730-1801) was the outstanding *wagakusha* (Japanese classical scholar) of the Edo period. At 21 he went to Kyôto to study medicine, but at the same time he became interested in Confucianism, inspired by the works of Keichô. However, he soon fell under the influence of Kamo no Mabuchi, an eminent contemporary *wagakusha*. Motoori was a prolific writer; his monumental work is *Kojiki Den* (*Commentary on Kojiki*), 1798, to which he devoted the greater part of his career. It is not merely an exhaustive study of *Kojiki*, and that means of Shintô itself, but also an exposition of indiscriminating nationalism and a vigorous attack on Chinese ethics and philosophy. From the literary standpoint, his style is natural and plain and avoids the use of phrases too unfamiliar to his contemporaries.

Heibonsha, *Dai Hyakka Jiten* (Japanese Encyclopedia; Tokyo), 1933.

Y. U.

MUHAMMAD BEN SULEYMAN. See Fuzuli.

MULTATULI. See Dekker, Edouard Douwes.

MURASAKI SHIKIBU (Japanese, 978-1015?) was an outstanding authoress of the Heian period; her real name has not been handed down to us. She wrote *Genji Monogatari* (*Tale of Genji*), in the early 11th c., the first realistic novel in Japanese literature. Her lengthy sentences, which are full of detail, do not in any way impair the charm of her flowing style. Besides the *Tale of Genji*, Lady Murasaki contributed two other works: *Murasaki Shikibu Nikki*, her own diary, and *Murasaki Shikibu Shû*, an anthology that reflects her remarkable understanding of human nature.

A. Waley, *The Tale of Genji; a novel in 6 parts* (London), 1935.

Y. U.

MURETUS, MARCUS ANTONIUS (1526-85), is one of the greatest Latinists of the Renaissance, in the long line of classical scholars that imitated the style of the ancients. He is best known for the purity of his Latin prose style. His knowledge of Cicero seems

to be greater than that of his contemporaries; he was equally facile in the more trenchant style of Tacitus. His *Variae Lectiones* in 19 books are a collection of emendations of classical texts and discourses on Latin usage. His lectures on literature remind one of the *Pro Archia* of Cicero. He was tutor to Montaigne, an intimate of Dorat, Joachim du Bellay, and Ronsard, and was associated with Paulus Manutius in the publication of texts of classical authors.

J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge), 1908.

E. A. Q.

MUSSET, ALFRED DE (French, 1810-57), the 'enfant terrible' of French Romanticism, is the poet of passion and regret. Victim of an affair with George Sand, he drew from his sadness the fine inspiration of his best poems, the four *Nights* (*May Night*, 1835; *December Night*, 1835; *August Night*, 1836; and *October Night*, 1937, the greatest). In these lyric outpourings is to be found none of the pose of a Hugo, none of the bravado of a Byron, but only the deep, impassioned sentiment of a delicate soul wounded by life. Although he is best known as France's purest lyricist, Musset is likewise famous for his *Comedies and Proverbs*, a collection of small plays centered on the social aspects of ethics and philosophy, which depend for their charm on their cultivated dialogue and exquisite psychology. His bright spirit is perhaps best seen in his many poems of circumstance, poems in which his fantasy has free rein and where laughter gives way to touching meditation. No poet in France has ever displayed his heart more willingly or more sincerely. Few have been so charming.

H. D. Sedgwick, *A. de M.* (Indianapolis), 1931.

R. J. N.

MUTANABBI, AL- (Arab, 915-65), foremost poet of classical Arabic, was born an Iraqi, son of a Kūfah water-carrier. At Damascus and among the Syrian Bedouins he discovered his poetical genius and a certain mystical mania, hence the appellation 'al-Mutanabbi' (pretender prophet) supplanted his real name: abu-al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn-Ḥusayn. Presumably in connection with that prophetic claim, the governor of Ḥims, Lu'lu', had him jailed for about two years. Thereafter, his productive career opens in Aleppo at the Ḥamdānī court of Sayf-al-Dawlah (944-67), foe of the Byzantines and patron of such luminaries as the philosopher-musician al-Fārābī, the literary historian al-Iṣbahānī, and the preacher ibn-Nubātah. He eulogized Sayf in a vein elevating himself from the rank of encomiast to equal standing with royalty. Estranged at last, he went to Egypt's ruler, the former Negro slave, Kāfir the Ikshidid (966-8), then returned to Iraq. Next he appeared at the Buwayhid court of 'Adud-al-Dawlah (949-83) in Shiraz. While traveling in

Iraq he was slain by brigands. Noteworthy among commentaries on his *Divān* (*Poetical Collection*) which established his eminence, is that of al-Wāḥidī (d. 1075), ed. Dieterici, Berlin, 1858-61. His ornate imagery, lavish use of metaphors and proud expression have insured him continuing popularity, as demonstrated in Damascus upon the thousandth anniversary of his birth. Of him, his critic and admirer al-Tha'libī (961-1038) could sing:

"More merit can no man achieve  
Save that his faults are numbered."

Reynold A. Nicholson, *A Lit. Hist. of the Arabs* (Cambridge), 1930.

E. J. J.

NAMIK KEMAL. See Mehmed Namik Kemal.

NANMOR, DAFYDD. See Dafydd Nanmor.

NATSUME SOSEKI (pseud. of Natsume Kinnosuke; Japanese, 1867-1916) was born in Edo just before the epoch-making Meiji Restoration was completed. In 1893 he was graduated from Tōkyō Imperial University where he had majored in English literature. From 1900 to 1903 he continued the study of English literature in England. Returning to Japan, he became a lecturer at his Alma Mater until he became literary editor of the Tōkyō *Asahi* newspaper in 1907. At this time Japanese naturalism was at the height of its power, and Natsume was the first to raise a strong protest against it. His philosophy may be summed up in the distinctive term *Yōyū Bungaku* (Literature of the Leisure School), which emphasized that life was happy if people knew how to enjoy leisure. His moral, humorous, refined, and intellectual tendencies created a conspicuous world of its own, and his works were and still are welcomed, especially by the intelligentsia. Kikuchi Kan, Mushakōji Saneatsu, Kume Masao, and other contemporary writers have been greatly influenced by him. *Botchan* (*Master Darling*), 1906, and *Kusamakura* (*Unhuman Tour*), 1906, are but two of his many works that well represent his refined taste and moral attitude.

Heibonsha, *Dai Hyakka Jiten* (*Japanese Encyclopedia*; Tokyo), 1933.

Y. U.

NEDIM, AHMET (Turkish, d. ca. 1730), is the last of the four most famous poets of the classic period. He lived in the famous "Tulip Period" (*Lale Devri*) and his poems reflect, as do those of few other poets, the spirit of his times, "the love of pleasure, the passion for beautiful things, and the all pervading love of magnificence."

J. K. B.

NEFI or Erzrum (Turkish, d. ca. 1635), the greatest poet of the reign of Murad IV, 1623-40. He gained fame as a writer of the *kasida*, an Arabic poetic form, usually a poem in praise of some great personage. He showed grandeur of imagination and

brilliance of fancy, with imagery clothed in well nigh flawless language; yet his vocabulary and literary idiom and even his grammatical constructions were so Persian that he became known as the "founder of the artificial school." In his satires he sought revenge on many an enemy, and it is said that he was beheaded because of a violent satire on the Vezir Bayram Pasha.

J. K. B.

NEIRIN. See Ancirin.

NERUDA, PABLO (pseud. of Neftalí Reyes; Chilean, b. 1904), is probably the most gifted of the younger Spanish-American poets of today. His first volume of verse, *The Song of the Feast*, gave evidence of deep poetic feeling, but his *Crepusculum*, decidedly postmodernistic in tone, fully revealed his genius. Since 1927 the diplomatic service has provided him with colorful and changing background. Deeply American in spirit if not in theme, Neruda is a modernized romantic whose verse is characterized by extreme subjectivity and an all-pervading feeling of cosmic despair.

A. Alonso, *Algunos símbolos insistentes en la poesía de P. N.*, in *Revista hisp. moderna*, V (1939); Torres-Rioseco, *The Epic of Latin Am. Lit.* (N. Y.), 1943.  
J. R. S.

NEWMAN, JOHN HENRY, Cardinal (English, 1801-90), was the foremost religious writer of the Victorian age. He took orders in the Anglican Church at a time when controversy was strong over whether to accept the more liberal attitude or cling to the earlier traditions. His support and study of the traditions convinced Newman of the validity of the Roman Catholic beliefs, and he entered the priesthood. In 1864 he sought to justify himself to the world in *Apologia Pro Vita Mea*. His writings show him a literary man, brilliant, cultured, vividly imaginative. Distinguished in self-revelation, he was capable of subtle and penetrating irony. His prose possesses the classical virtues of simplicity, directness, and informality.

W. Ward, *The Life of J. H.*, C. N.  
F. F. M.

NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH (German, 1844-1900), philosopher and poet, began as professor of classical philology at the University of Basel. Early works, such as *Die Geburt der Tragödie* (*The Birth of Tragedy*, 1871), reveal influence of classical training but also of Schopenhauer and Wagner. After a period of scepticism, criticism, and the sloughing of his early idols, he attained an optimistic yearning to life, extolling extreme individualism. In *Also Sprach Zarathustra* (*Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, 1883-91), he best expresses his final views. His chief philosophical tenets—the will to power as the elemental urge of the human species; the superman as the ultimate goal of man's evolutionary striving;

the doctrine of eternal recurrence—are not too well systematized and lend themselves easily to re-interpretations and mis-interpretations. Collections of his aphorisms and brilliant insights are: *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches* (*Human All-Too-Human*, 1878), *Jenseits von Gut und Böse* (*Beyond Good and Evil*, 1885), *Zur Genealogie der Moral* (*Genealogy of Morals*, 1887), *Götterdämmerung* (*Twilight of the Idols*, 1888). An excellent stylist in prose and verse, he rises at times to Biblical heights but sinks at other times to mere ranting at the top of his voice. In his last creative period, he was provocative, challenging, sensational, egocentric; then, insane during the last decade of his life, while his fame was spreading like wildfire throughout Europe.

J. Huneker, in *The Pathos of Distance* (N. Y.), 1913; C. Brinton, N. (Cambridge, Mass.), 1941; *The National socialists' use of N.*, in *Journ. of the Hist. of Ideas*, I, 1940.

S. L.

NIGER, SAMUEL (Yiddish, b. 1883), most prominent Yiddish literary critic. Born in White Russia, at an early age he joined the Jewish nationalist revolutionaries and became one of the leaders of the S. S. (Zionist-Socialist) party. Since 1907 he has devoted himself to literary criticism. Gained recognition through the *Literarische Monatsschrift* (*Literary Monthly*), which he edited (Vilna, 1908). After a period of study in Berlin and Berne, he edited (1913) the *Pinkes* (*Record*), a miscellany devoted to philology and the history of literature, and (1913-15) a popular monthly *Di Yiddishe Velt* (*The Jewish World*). In 1919 he settled in New York and joined the staff of the monthly *Di Tsukunft* (*The Future*), and the daily *Tag* (*Day*). Since 1941, editor of the *Tsukunft*. He is considered the head of the Yiddishist movement, which maintains that the literature and the culture of the Jewish people are bilingual: Hebrew and Yiddish.

Y. M.

NIZAMI (Abū Muḥammad Ilyās Nizām al-Dīn; Iranian, 1140-1203) is acknowledged master of romantic masnavi (narrative couplets); his influence and popularity have remained unsurpassed in Iran and Turkey. He is considered second only to Firdausi in the romantic epic style. Of his *Khamsa* (*Five Treasures*), which took some 30 years to compose, the best poem is *Khosraw and Shīrīn* (ca. 7,000 couplets), a tale of the Sasanian king Khosraw Parvīz II (ruled 590-628). It was this work that established his claim to renown at the age of 40. The *Makhzan al-Asrār* (*Storehouse of Mysteries*), his first poetic production, is a work of religious didacticism rather than of romance, and contains the Sufi tinge of mystic speculation. *The Book of Alexander* is a combination of romantic fiction and philosophy written in epic form. Nizāmī's style is generally adorned with colorful figures and varied

turns of rhythm. He has also composed theological and ethical poems and a *Divân*.

C. E. Wilson, *The Haft Paikar* (London), 1924.

M. A. S.

NONNUS (Greek, 5th c. A.D.) wrote the last, long epic poem in the traditional style and language of the Homeric epic. Although Nonnus was nominally a Christian and wrote a verse paraphrase of the *Gospel of St. John*, his major work was the *Dionysiaca*, which recounted the myths connected with Dionysus in a poem about twice as long as the *Iliad*. It is far from the *Iliad* in unity of structure, directness, and ease of movement, but is an interesting blend of the literary tendencies of his own period—scholarship reflecting the antiquarian interests of the Alexandrians and their Roman successors, and an oriental floridness of description and eroticism indicative of the barbarization of the Hellenic tradition.

G. F. Damiani, *L'ultimo poeta pagano* (Torino), 1902.

C. A. R.

NOOT, JAN VAN DER (Dutch, ca. 1539-ca. 1595), Flemish poet, wrote under the influence of the French *Pléiade*. His work, though uneven, contains some very fine lyrics. His *The little wood* was followed by *The Theatre or Stage*, which contains translations and original poems, and the somewhat obscure *Olympias*.

J. G.

NORDAL, SIGURDUR (Icelandic, b. 1886), whose masterful short stories and brilliantly wrought, thought-provoking prose-poems have earned him a place of honor in Icelandic literature, occupies a still more important position as a creative scholar, literary critic and essayist, with penetrating lectures on philosophical and religious subjects, and his masterly articles and essays on literary and cultural themes. He is at work on the first extensive cultural history of Iceland, *Íslenzk menning* (*Icelandic Culture*; v. 1, 1942), a penetrating study, combining high scholarship and rich poetic imagination, written with rare mastery of style.

S. Einarsson, "S. N.", *Tímarit Thjóðraeknisfélags Íslendinga* (Winnipeg), 1931.  
R. B.

NORDSTROM, LUDVIG (Swedish, 1882-1942), was born in Härnösand, where his family belonged to the more influential circles of the town. His mother was English; critics have found some Gallic traits in his temperament. As a realistic observer and genial narrator of life in the northern region of Sweden—which only a couple of generations ago was still regarded as somewhat of a Swedish Siberia—he was a complete success. He wrote *Fishermen*, 1907; *Provincial Bohemian*, 1911; *Idyls in the Kingdom of Öbacka*, 1916. His collective, philosophical

ideas, however, (*Peter Svensks historia* 1-4, 1923-27) were never taken seriously by his readers and during the last years of his life he turned more exclusively to reporting, e.g., a survey of the hygienic conditions in the Swedish countryside: *Dirty Sweden*, 1938. He was married (1909-38) to the authoress, Marika Stjernstedt.

G. Lindeberg, *L. N:s utvecklingshist.*, 1933.  
A. W.

NORRIS, [BENJAMIN] FRANK[LIN] (U.S.A., 1870-1902), brother of the problem-novelist Charles Norris, and one-time art student in Paris, represents many conflicting extremes. In a collegiate revolt against his own earlier historical extravaganzas he began (under the spell of Kipling and Zola) the naturalistic glorifications of brute force later published as *McTeague* (1899) and *Vandover and the Brute* (1914). Then, after carrying that theme to spectacular romantic and melodramatic excess (*Moran of the Lady Letty*, 1898), he shifted to a more humanistic, socialistic protest in the puzzling but stimulating symbolism of *The Octopus* (1901) and *The Pit* (1903). The former, probably his most important work, is a strange mixture of realism, melodrama, expressionism and poetic mysticism, seemingly centered around the optimistic exposition of evolution by Herbert Spencer. Norris's early death cut short his extensive plans, and today his work seems inconclusive despite its frequent artistic power.

E. Marchand, *F. N.: A Study* (Stanford U., Cal.), 1942.

E. C. S.

NOVALIS. See Hardenberg, Friedrich von.

NUWAS, ABU (Arab, ca. 750-ca. 810). Ending his residence in Basra, Kūfa, and the desert, the Persian-born abu-Nuwās settled in Baghdad. Here he won the favor of Hārūn al-Rashīd, and of his son al-Amīn who succeeded as caliph. In old age, he turned to ascetic living and celebrated his conversion in religious songs. His title to fame rests, however, upon his wine songs and pederastic odes. Less artistic are his panegyrics, elegies, and songs of the chase which, though cast in plaintive verse and conveying deep feeling, do not reach the same rare pitch. His love lyrics and follies, denoting cynical and debauched traits, breathe a seductive tenderness and the embodiment of a genuinely brilliant and imaginative mind. His satires, jokes, and drolleries, sometimes coarse and repulsive, reflect a witty intellect, and their lurid character is overshadowed by a frank and genuine joyfulness. His dependence upon unknown predecessors prompts some critics to doubt his originality. Yet, he is the greatest Arabic lyrical poet of antiquity.

R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge), 1930.

E. J. J.



Ó BRUADAIR, DAIBHIDH (David Broder, Irish, ca. 1625-98), was the greatest of the Jacobite poets of Ireland. Like Keating he belongs to the period of transition from the classical metres of the bards to the song-metres used by Egan O'Rahilly and his successors, for Ó Bruadair was a master of both forms. He witnessed the Cromwellian campaign, the Restoration and the Williamite Wars in Ireland, and his poems are important as documents for the political sentiment of the Irish in his time.

J. MacErlcan, *Duanaire Dháibhídh Uí B.* 3 v. (London), 1910-17.

M. D.

Ó DALAIGH, DONNCHADH MOR (Donough O'Daly The Tall, Irish, d. 1244), was a famous religious poet of the bardic school. Thousands of lines of his verse have been preserved, but it has not found keen appreciation among modern readers. The Four Masters call him 'a poet who never was and never will be surpassed'.

D. Hyde, *A Lit. Hist. of Ireland* (London), 1899.

M. D.

O'DOWD, BERNARD PATRICK (Australian, b. 1866), began to publish booklets of strong, highly individual poetry in 1903. His collected poems appeared in 1941 (*The Poems of Bernard O'Dowd*, Melbourne), but he has otherwise published little since 1921. O'Dowd's poetry is hard packed with thought and often highly ornamented with literary and historical learning. In 1909 he published a credo entitled *Poetry Militant: An Australian Plea for Poetry of Purpose*, in which he declared "I hold that the real poet must be an Answerer, as Whitman calls him, of the real questions of his age: that is to say, that he shall deal with those matters which are, in the truest sense, interesting, and in the noblest sense useful, to the people to whom he speaks." His poetry represents a consistent effort to apply his credo. His view of what is "interesting" and "useful" is to a considerable extent determined by his non-Marxian Australian socialism and his conviction, shared by many others of his generation, that in Australia a unique civilization, from which ancient wrongs would be absent, could be built.

C. H. G.

OEHLENSLAEGER, ADAM G. (1779-1850). The greatest Danish-dramatist, especially in the field of tragedy. He draws his themes from the mythological and old historical sources of the Nordic. His first production, *The Golden Horns*, became prophetic of his entire contribution, and symbolical of his revivifying influence on the national consciousness.

C. M. V.

Ó HUIGINN, TADHG DALL (Thadeus O'Higgins The Blind, Irish, d. 1591), is one of the best known and most accomplished of the Irish poets of the 16th c. He came of a long line of poets, for poetry

was a hereditary profession in Ireland. He enjoyed undisturbed possession of the family estate in Co. Sligo until his death, and his son, who was still a child, succeeded to the inheritance. The family was apparently dispossessed during the Cromwellian Settlement.

E. Knott, *The Bardic Poems of T. D. Ó H.*, 2 v. (London), 1922-26.

M. D.

ÓLAFSSON, EGGERT (Icelandic, 1726-68), leading and most influential writer of his day, wrote edifying and inspirational poems in the spirit of the Enlightenment movement, his greatest production being *Bínadarbálkur*, a series of poems eloquent in their praise of country life. Primarily, however, he sought to awaken the dormant national feeling of his countrymen and strove to bring about richer Icelandic prosperity and culture based on the heritage of the past. The preservation and the purification of his mother tongue were especially dear to his heart. His poetry vibrates with deep love for his native land and genuine admiration for its history and ancient literature. A great scientist no less than a poet, he is the co-author of a monumental natural-historical work on Iceland, the first authoritative and comprehensive work of its kind. He exerted a lasting influence on the cultural life of his country.

H. Hermannsson, *E. Ó.* (Ithaca, N. Y.), 1925.

R. B.

OMAR KHAYYAM (Ghiyās al-Dīn Abū al-Fath 'Omar ibn Ibrāhīm al-Khayyām; Iranian, ca. 1050-1123) is best known in Iran as a philosopher, astronomer, and mathematician, being the compiler of the astronomical tables known as the *Zij-e Malīk-shāhī*, and the author of the first Arabic algebra as well as of a work entitled *The Difficulties of Euclid's Definitions*, all of which have been preserved. Omar's complaints of Fate and the world's injustice, and his satires on the hypocrisy of the pious gained for him the hatred of the clergy, who labeled him a heretic. Owing to his unpopularity, comparatively few manuscripts of his *Rubā'īyyāt* (quatrains) have come down to us. It was mainly through Edward FitzGerald that he became generally known to the English-speaking world. His quatrains have been translated into many languages.

E. FitzGerald, *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*, 4th ed. with notes (N. Y.), 1917.

M. A. S.

O'NEILL, EUGENE [GLADSTONE] (U.S.A., b. 1888), probably America's foremost dramatist despite his unevenness, has been a lifelong experimenter in themes and techniques (his most spectacular innovations were the symbolic use of masks as in *The Great God Brown*, stylized asides as in *Strange Interlude*, dual actors to represent split-personality in *Days Without End*, unusual scenic

devices as in *Desire Under the Elms* and *Dynamo*, distorted sets in several plays). His own early elemental experiences formed the basis for his apprentice one-act plays of the sea; but many literary influences (the Greek drama, Freud, German expressionism) are discernible in his mature tragedies. Although he revolted to strong realism from the romantic sentimentalism represented by his famous actor-father, he has nevertheless retained a strong flair for the melodramatic and exotic, and his greatest strength lies in a blend of the realistic and romantic, as in *Mourning Becomes Electra*, where his rich, illuminating and earthy style can work powerfully with a probing of psychic conflict. In 1936, he was awarded the Nobel Prize.

J. T. Shipley, *The Art of E. O'N.* (Seattle, Wash.), 1931; B. H. Clark, *E. O'N., The Man and His Plays* (N. Y.), 1933, 1936.

E. C. S.

OPATOSHU, JOSEPH (Yiddish, b. 1887), writer of short stories and novels, born in a small town in Poland, migrated to America at twenty. His chief genre is the powerfully written naturalistic story, with a predilection for the physiological. In his trilogy (*In Polish Woods*; 1863; and *Alone*), reflecting Jewish life in Poland in the mid 19th c., we discover a restrained romantic undertone. He shifts from the description of types and characters of the Old World (from his first novel, *A Roman fun a Ferd-Ganef, The Romance of a Horse Thief*, to his last collection of stories about the Jews in Nazi Poland, *Ven Polyn iz gefal'n, When Poland Fell*); to a description of Jewish and non-Jewish life in America (his novel *Di Tentserin, The Dancer*; short stories on such general topics as *Lintcheray, Lynching*). The construction of his stories is meticulous, and he is a master of style.

C. A. Madison, O., *Novelist in Menorah Journal*, Vol. xxvi.

Y. M.

O'RAHILLY, EGAN (Aodhagán Ó Raithile, Irish, c. 1670-1726), was one of the poets of the later tradition, who used the stress-metres known collectively as *Amhrán* (song). These poets had astonishing skill in rhythm and rhyme, and O'Rahilly excelled in the craft. He lived through the Williamite Wars, and witnessed the ruin of the Irish nobility and gentry upon whom he and his class were dependent. He died in poverty, and is said to be buried in the tomb of the O'Rahillys in Muckross Abbey near Killarney. His poetry includes elegies, satires, and lyrics; the two themes of his lyric poetry, which is his best work, are the ruin of Ireland and his own despair.

P. Dinneen and T. O'Donoghue, *The Poems of E. O'R.* (London), 1911.

M. D.

ORIGEN (Greek, c. 185-253/254 A.D.) was the greatest scholar of Christian antiquity and one of the most profound of Christian thinkers. While still in his teens, he was made director of the Catechetical School of Alexandria, which under him attained its greatest fame. He was eventually forced by his enemies to leave Alexandria, settling at Caesarea in Palestine. Under the influence of Philo Judaeus and Clement of Alexandria—who had been his teacher—he showed a special fondness for the allegorical interpretation of Scripture, and he was deeply influenced by Hellenic philosophy in his theological speculation. He fell into serious dogmatic errors, but he himself clearly intended to be orthodox. Origen was the most prolific of all ancient Christian writers (he wrote more than 1,000 works), being called "man of steel" (*Adamantios*) for his untiring industry, but he did not possess the gift of a good style. At Caesarea he assembled a valuable library. He made wide use of stenographers and copyists—some women among them—in his work. In spite of the charges of heresy against him, he exercised an enormous influence on subsequent Christian writers in East and West. His chief works, which are extant in fragments or in Latin translations and extracts only, are: the *Hexapla*, a truly gigantic critical edition of the Greek and Hebrew texts of the Bible arranged in parallel columns (he makes use of the obeliscus and asterisk to indicate omissions, etc.); Biblical scolia, commentaries, and homilies; the *Contra Celsum*, the most significant Christian apology of the Ante-Nicene period; the *De principiis*, the first handbook of Christian dogma; and the *De oratione*, on prayer in general and a commentary on the *Our Father*.

Vacant-Mangenot, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, art. "Origène" (by G. Bardy), Vol. XI (Paris), 1932.

M. R. P. M.

ORTEGA Y GASSET, JOSE (Spanish, b. 1883), sharing with Spengler the conviction that all western civilization is on the decline, attributes this to the communistic and fascistic trends described in his best seller *The Revolt of the Masses*. He combines with a keen mind a subtle sense of values; these appear—with a German cast of thought—in his literary criticism, *Meditations on Don Quixote* and *Dehumanization of Art*.

C. Barja, *Libros y autores contemporáneos* (N. Y.), 1935.

H. A. H.

O'SULLIVAN, OWEN ROE (Eoghan Ruadh Ó Súilleabháin, Irish, 1748-84), is perhaps the best known Gaelic poet of the 18th c. He was born near Killarney of a peasant family, and had a gay spirit and a heart for laughter in spite of the misery of Ireland in his time. He received a good education and opened a school when he was only eighteen, but the enterprise failed through his own fault, and

the rest of his short life was spent in wandering adventure. He served in the British navy and took part in Rodney's victory over the French in the West Indies in 1782. After his discharge, he again opened a school near his birthplace, but again he failed. He died in misery in 1784. The hope of the Jacobites is his favorite theme; 19 of his extant poems are in *aisling*-form. His mastery of rhythm and rhyme is comparable to that of O'Rahilly.

P. Dinneen, *Amhráin Eoghain Ruaidh Uí Shúilleabháin* (Dublin), 1902.

M. D.

ÓTTARSSON, HALLFREDR (Icelandic, 970-1007), one of the great love poets among the skalds, is nevertheless much more important as the first Christian court poet; converted by Olaf Tryggvason, Norway's great missionary-king, to whom he became deeply attached. His devotion to his beloved master is recorded in a memorial poem in his honor, Hallfredr's most notable production. Some of his individual stanzas, especially those revealing the conflict between the old and the new faith, are particularly noteworthy.

Lee M. Hollander, *The Skalds* (Princeton and N. Y.), 1945.

R. B.

OU-YANG HSIU (Chinese, 1007-72), leading historian, essayist, poet, and statesman of 11th c. China, who habitually began his historical essays with the word "Alas"; but who also wrote on subjects that are light and gay. He was the celebrated author of the *Hsin T'ang Shu* or a new history of the T'ang dynasty, which is a most readable improvement of the T'ang Shu compiled by Liu Hsu (887-946). For versatility and fluency of style it may be compared to Macaulay's *History of England*. Among his other published works are *A New History of the Five Dynasties* (*Hsin Wu Tai Shih*), *The Peony Tree of Loyang* (*Loyang Mutan Chi*), *My Filled-out Verse* (*Liu Yi Tz'u*), and *The Fundamental Meaning of the Book of Songs* (*Mao Shih Pan Yi*).

H. A. Giles, *Hist. of Chinese Lit.* (London), 1929; *Chinese Biographical Encyclopedia*, *Chung Kuo Ming Jen Ta Tz'u Tien* (Shanghai), 1933.

S. G. L.

ÖVERLAND, ARNULF (Norwegian, b. 1889), outstanding lyric poet. Born in the city of Kristiansund on the Møre coast, the son of a ship mechanic, he grew into manhood as a fervent advocate of socialism. Prior to World War II he was known for his unusual intensity, his incisive criticism, his religious scepticism, as well as for the extraordinary purity of tone and mastery of expression in his lyrics. Following the German attack on Norway, in April 1940, Överland became one of the most inspiring national bards. He wrote the stirring poem that

concludes, "We shall survive, we shall survive! For this we know: That spirit is eternal and life will always grow."

A. H. Winsnes, Vol. V, *Norsk Litteraturhistorie* (Oslo), 1937; K. Elster, Vol. VI, *Norsk Litteraturhistorie*, Second ed. (Oslo), 1934.

T. J.

OVID (P. Ovidius Naso, Roman, 43 B.C.-19 A.D.) represents what might be termed the cavalier element in Augustan poetry. He was not wholeheartedly in sympathy with those in the entourage of Augustus who would hark back to the simple virtues of the founders. Corinna's peccadilloes, the tragical monologues of deserted heroines, the art of cosmetics, an epic on miraculous transformation, a calendar of the pagan year,—all was grist for his facile pen. An imperial edict relegating Ovid to exile did not hinder his muse from its customary work. His poems written in exile show the poet duly chastened, but still exultant in the power of his own genius.

E. K. Rand, *O. and his Influence* (Boston), 1925.

J. J. S.

OWEN, DANIEL (Welsh, 1836-95), is the most popular novelist of Wales. His works contain many faults—so many that attempts have been made to edit them to suit the modern taste—but they contain also very positive virtues. Like Dickens, whom he looked up to as his master, he had learned through youthful poverty and hardship to sympathize with the poor and humble; he depicts them sympathetically but with a good deal of humor. He was criticized because his books contain "nothing but what happens every day," but he has made the somewhat narrow circle in which he grew up live for us as it lives nowhere else. *Rhys Lewis*, which is to a considerable extent autobiographical, is his most popular book; *Gwen Tomos*, in some respects, his best. He also wrote a volume of short stories, *Straeon y Pentan*.

*Rhys Lewis, Minister of Bethel*, trans. James Harris (Wrexham), 1915; a trans. of *Enoch Hughes*, by Claud Vivian, ran in the first 3 v. of *Wales* (1894-96).

J. J. P.

OWEN, GORONWY, "Goronwy Ddu o Fon," (Welsh, 1723-69), was the leading figure in the 18th c. classical revival. Unable to secure a living in the Church in Wales, he spent his life in England and Virginia. His earlier poems are in the spirit of the English Augustans: translations of Horace and Anacreon into the cywydd metre, *The Wish* (*Y Gofuned*); in the spirit of Martial, the satirical poem on *The Garret* (*Y Nennawr*). His other satires are more in the spirit of the earlier Welsh satirists. His study of the Gogynfeirdd led

him deliberately to cultivate an inflated obscure style. Lewis Morris thought that Owen's *Lineage and Quality of the Muse* (*Bonedd a Chyneddau'r Awen*), which derived true poetry from the song that the morning stars sang together, contained "nervous lines and grand expressions" finer than anything in Milton, Dryden, or Pope. His poem on *The Great Judgment* (*Y Farn Fawr*) is much praised for its grandeur, but sometimes it is merely pompous and occasionally it falls flat. At times the cynghanedd too obviously guides the thought. Owen's letters are valuable for the light they throw upon his critical ideas.

R. Jones, *The Poetical Works of the Rev. G. O.*, 2 v., 1876; S. Lewis' *A School of Welsh Augustans* (Wrexham), 1924, has translations.

J. J. P.

OYOMEI. See Wang Shou-Jen.

PALACIO VALDES, ARMANDO (Spanish, 1853-1938), a humorous and elegant novelist, contrasted the spiritual and the worldly woman, in *Mariha and Mary* (1883) siding with the worldly type. His landscapes are woven richly into his plots, either his native province Asturia, or sunny Andalusia as in *Sister Saint Sulpice*, his widely translated best seller.

A. Cruz Rueda, A. P. V. (Paris), 1925.  
H. A. H.

PALAMAS, KOSTES (Greek, 1859-1942), is the foremost poet of modern Greece. A man of philosophic and intellectual bent, he has introduced many divergent influences into Greek poetry, but has maintained an individual lyric note. Throughout his entire life, he has worked consistently to show the continuity and unity of the Greek spirit in all its manifestations in the ancient, Byzantine, and modern worlds. His success can be judged by the imitators whom he has inspired and the followers whom he has influenced. He can be read as the best indication of the heights to which modern Greek literature may well aspire.

A. Kampanes, *Istoria tes neas Ellenikes Logotechnias* (Athens), 1933; A. E. Phourides, K. P., *Life Immovable* (Cambridge), 1919.

C. A. M.

PAN CHAO (Chinese, 1st c. A.D.), the first woman historian in Chinese history, who completed the *History of the Former Han Dynasty* (*Chien Han Shu*) partially written by her brother Pan Ku (A.D. 32-92), and the first educator to write a *Primer* for girls. The primer is the celebrated *Nu Chieh* (*Women's Precepts*), which has been a popular manual for instruction of girls in the Far East for 18 centuries. It comprises an autobiographical sketch and seven chapters dealing with the position, duties, and qualities of woman, and showing

how to secure love and affection of her relations. The aim of the *Primer* is to teach girls to become good wives and good mothers. Chinese women today still respect Pan Chao as Lady Ts'ao or Great Aunt Ts'ao, but they would not accept her thesis that woman's position should be subordinate to that of man.

N. L. Swann, P. C.: *Foremost Woman Scholar of China* (N. Y.), 1932; F. Ayscough, *Chinese Women Yesterday and Today* (Boston), 1937.

S. C. L.

PAN KU. See Pan Chao.

PANTYCELYN. See Williams, William.

PARDO BAZAN, EMILIA (Spanish, 1852-1921), introduced French naturalism into Spanish literature. Accepting Zola's ideas, in *The Decisive Question* (1883) she defended the moderate naturalism exemplified in her novel *Mother Nature* (1887). Rich in vocabulary and colorful innovations, she was attacked for abandoning the traditional lines of Spanish realism.

G. Brown, *La vida y las novelas de Doña E. P. B.* (Madrid), 1940.

H. A. H.

PARINI, GIUSEPPE (1729-99), the leading poet of 18th c. Italy, was noted especially for his part in the regeneration of Italian spirit and customs. His odes (1757-95) are stylistically based on the practice of the Arcadians and neo-classicists, but depart therefrom in the direction of simplicity, robustness, and seriousness; in content, they combine deep but quiet personal feeling with vigorous patriotic and moral sentiments. His long poem *The Day* (1763 ff.; incomplete) is a satirical account of the day of a young Milanese *cicisbeo* or gigolo-dandy, notable for its denunciation of the evils attacking Italian family and national life.

E. Bellorini, *La Vita e le Opere di G. P.* (Livorno), 1918.

R. A. H., Jr.

PASCAL, BLAISE (French, 1623-62), mathematician and inventor, is one of France's great apostles of religion. A follower of that rigid Catholicism called Jansenism, he wrote a scathing attack on Jesuitical casuistry in his *Provincial Letters* (1657) but his real fame rests on an unfinished work, scarcely more than a collection of notes and remarks, the *Pensées, Thoughts*, which were to be the foundations of a long apology of Christianity. Declaring that religion itself is logically defensible, he brought to its support the most vivid and inspired of styles, so brilliant that it has been called 'flaming geometry'. Man, to Pascal, was a never-ending paradox: this 'thinking reed', neither angel nor beast, was his sole textbook, the source of all his speculation. Rarely has any author seen himself and his

fellows more clearly; none has better translated the essential contradictions of our nature.

M. Bishop, P., *the Life of Genius* (N. Y.), 1936.

R. J. N.

PASCOLI, GIOVANNI (Italian, 1855-1912), a friend and disciple of Carducci, was a poet in Latin and Italian, and is especially remembered for his *Myricae* (1891-1900), *Poemetti* (*Little Poems*, 1897-1904), and *New Poems*, 1909. His poetical inspiration was more personal and intimate than that of Carducci, and Christian mysticism is an important element of his later poetry. Later, in *Odes and Hymns*, 1906, *Songs of King Enzo*, 1908-9, and *Italic poems*, 1911, Pascoli tended to a more Carduccian style and pagan inspiration.

A. Galletti, *La poesia e l'arte di G. P.*, 2nd ed. (Bologna), 1924.

R. A. H., Jr.

PATER, WALTER (English, 1839-94), made significant contribution to 19th c. literature in his interpretation of *The Renaissance*. His was the philosophy of the aesthetic and the ascetic. Although sympathetic with the romantic point of view, his own writing shows classical restraint. His interest in the Renaissance was as a meeting point of the two tendencies. Pater was, after Arnold, the most important critical influence in late Victorian literature. His criticism is impressionistic; but his sensitivity to beauty in all forms makes his studies subtly penetrating and illuminating. His genius was contemplative rather than creative; he possessed the rare power of portraying the mental processes of his characters.

A. C. Benson, W. P.  
F. F. M.

PAUL THE SILENTIARY (Greek, 6th c. A.D.) was a master of ceremonies at the court of Justinian and Theodora, and the writer of some of the most vivacious love poetry of Greek literature. Much of it is personal in tone and akin in manner and feeling to the love poetry of the English poets of the 17th c., among whom it found popularity and imitation. In addition to his love poetry, Paul wrote some descriptive poems of Santa Sophia, in which a feeling for the richness and grandeur of the church, unusual in Greek poetry of that type, is combined with precise, detailed description.

A. Veniero, P. S. (Catania), 1916.  
C. A. R.

PEREDA, JOSE MARIA DE (Spanish, 1833-1905), was the classic representative of the regional novel. The sea and the mountains around Santander furnish his settings, characters, and plots. The fisherfolk in *Sotileza* (1885) and the mountaineers in *Rocks Ahead* (1895) are shown as unspoiled types of a strong race far from the city's madding crowd. Conservatism and Catholic conviction mark his

numerous novels; dialect and country idioms make them hard to read.

Jean Camp, J. M. de P., *sa vie, son oeuvre, et son temps* (Paris), 1937.

H. A. H.

PERETZ, YITSKHOK LEYBUSH (Hebrew; Yiddish; 1852-1915), one of the three classics of modern Yiddish literature, poet, dramatist, story teller. Born in Zamosci, a town renowned for its *Maskilim*, he launched his literary career with Hebrew poetry; later began to write in Yiddish, his first Yiddish poem appearing in Sholem Aleikhem's *Yiddishe Folksbibliothek*. In 1890 he moved to Warsaw, working for the *Kehillak* (community organization). In the 90's he helped the young Jewish labor movement, with his realistic stories on social problems. Then he turned to a romantic description of the great figures of the Hassidic movement, and helped create a neo-Hassidic trend in Yiddish and Hebrew literature. He manifested a tendency to symbolism and, on the basis of folk tales or invented motifs, wrote his highly artistic *Folkstimlikhe Geshikhtn* (*Folk Tales*), containing ethico-philosophical ideas. His symbolic drama *Di Goldene Keyt* (*The Golden Chain*) embodies the basic principles in the history of religious thought and the idea of continuity in the long chain of Jewish culture. In his last symbolic drama, *Ba Nakht ofn altn Mark* (*At Night in the Old Market Place*), he comes to a pessimistic conclusion in regard to his own efforts in arousing the people to a more intensive spiritual life, to greater militancy, and faith in themselves. He was one of the initiators and moving spirits of the Czernowitz Conference, in 1908, which proclaimed Yiddish as the national language of the Jewish people. Towards the end of his life he was active in the establishment of the Yiddish school system. His works were translated into English, French, Spanish, German, Russian, and other languages.

A. A. Roback, P., *Psychologist of Literature* (Cambridge, Mass.), 1935; H. Rogoff, *Nine Yiddish Writers*.

Y. M.

PEREZ GALDOS, BENITO (Spanish, 1843-1920), great liberal novelist, made of his most readable books almost thesis-novels for his ideas on progress and enlightenment. Thus to fight religious and racial prejudice he wrote *Mrs. Perfect* (1876) and *Gloria* (1877). He wrote a series of historical novels, seeking to illustrate the destiny of Spain. Financial pressure did not permit of his polishing his works, as the drive for his political and social ideas carried him to sarcasm and attack.

L. B. Walton, P. G. and the Spanish  
*Novel of the 19th c.* (N. Y.), 1928.

H. A. H.

PERK, JACQUES (Dutch, 1859-81), poet, while still at school, wrote verse and criticism which made

him a forerunner of Holland's literary revival of the 1880's. On his early death, his friend Kloos collected his poems, which are of a very personal and lyrical nature.

J. G.

PESTALOZZI, JOHANN HEINRICH (German-Swiss, 1746-1827), was more than any other man responsible for overdue educational reforms in Europe. Eager to assist in the rebuilding of his homeland devastated by the French armies, he developed in theory and in practice a new type of elementary instruction in which the emphasis was put on a combination of practical skill with theoretical knowledge, with the ultimate purpose of enabling children to become socially useful, by earning an honest living and by enlarging the area of goodwill and love. To disseminate especially his conviction of the paramount importance, for youth, of a harmonious family life he wrote *Lienhard und Gertrud* (1781-87) which as a didactic novel surpasses *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, perhaps not so much as a work of art but as a font of spiritual strength and of sound pedagogical advice.

L. F. Anderson, P. (N. Y.), 1931.  
H. B.

PETŐFI, ALEXANDER (1823-49), the greatest Hungarian lyric poet. During his lifetime, particularly the forties, democratic ideals, coupled with the desire for Hungarian independence, gained an irresistible momentum in Hungary. This inspiration was intensified by the interest in folk-poetry due to the collection of Hungarian folksongs by John Erdélyi in 1846. Petőfi adopted tone, simplicity, and directness from folk-poetry. He bewailed the sad fate of his country; he loved woman as the incarnation of physical and moral beauty; nature, because she reminded him of his country; the Hungarian Plain, *Alföld*, with its romantic dwellers, gypsies, brigands, and herders, because its vastness was to him the symbol of liberty. Petőfi's imagination, his gift of dramatizing every situation, his sincerity and pathos, make him one of the most accomplished poets of all times.

S. Fischer, *P.'s Leben und Werke* (Leipzig), 1889; A. B. Yolland, A. P. (Bpest), 1906; A. S. Blackwell, *A Hung. Poet*, in *Poet Lore* (Boston), 1916.

A. S. and F. M.

PETRARCA, FRANCESCO (Petrarch; Italian, 1304-74), the greatest purely lyric poet of Italian literature, has been called 'the first modern man of letters'. He is at present remembered almost exclusively for his Italian writings (the *Canzoniere*—his collected poems, most of them for his beloved, Laura—and an epico-allegorical poem, *I Trionfi*, 1352-74). In his sensitivity, introspection, and extreme interest in classical antiquity, and in his love of perfection in form, Petrarch anticipates the Renaissance; but

he was typically medieval in being intensely and self-tormentingly Christian, and in not perceiving the gap between antiquity and his own times. In his lyric poetry, Petrarch continues and refines the tradition of the Provençal lyric, to some extent independently of the *dolce stil nuovo*, "the sweet new style." His poetry is marked by technical perfection and formal polish, even at times by excessive preoccupation with external devices such as puns and 'conceits', rather than by an all-pervading emotion.

E. Tatham, F. P., *the first modern man of letters* (London), 1925-26.

R. A. H., Jr.

Though considered the first man of the Renaissance, Petrarcha in his Latin *Secretum* finds his spiritual and intellectual home in St. Augustine. At Avignon he saw and loved Laura, to whom he addressed his youthful sonnets in Italian; but what he deemed his most important works are in Latin. His *Africa* is an epic on the conflict of Scipio Africanus and Hannibal. His material is drawn from Livy while the style is modelled on that of Virgil. He was assiduous in searching for mss of Classical authors, discovering the *Pro Archia* of Cicero and his *Letters* to Atticus. Petrarcha wrote many Latin letters to his contemporaries and many to the ancients, as to Cicero and Homer. His works are not great literature, but his humanistic interest in mss and inscriptions, his reverence for Cicero, and his realization of the importance of Greek, set the mould of the Renaissance, at a time when the growth of the vernacular might have enveloped Latin as a living language.

P. de Nolhac, *P. et l'Humanisme* (Paris), 1892.

E. A. Q.

PÉTRUSSON, HALLGRÍMUR (Icelandic, 1614-74), Iceland's greatest religious poet, can safely be assigned a place among the great religious poets of all time, because of his immortal hymns on the Passion of Christ, *Passíusálmar*. In these hymns, born out of great poverty, and misery and spiritual conflict, and bearing ample evidence of long labor and painstaking care, profound and sincere religious feeling expresses itself in simple though eloquent language. Generation after generation of Icelanders have sung these hymns, and their influence on the religious and moral life in Iceland is beyond estimation. Over fifty editions of the hymns have been printed. Pétrússon's memorable funeral hymn, *Alt eins og blómstrid eina* (Even as a Little Flower), is to this day generally sung at Icelandic funerals. He also wrote secular poetry of great merit, often characterized by rare metrical skill.

C. V. Pilcher, *The Passion-Hymns of Iceland* (London), 1913; *Icelandic Meditations on the Passion* (N. Y.), 1923.

R. B.

PHILOSTRATUS See Flavius Philostratus.

PHOTIUS (820-91), a many-sided and highly original genius, made an epoch in Byzantine Literature and exercised a fateful influence on the destiny of the Eastern Church. As patriarch of Constantinople he rejected the primacy of the Pope, addressing a circular to all the bishops of the Orient rousing them to revolt against Nicholas I. This well-documented encyclical and his book *Procession of the Holy Ghost* have served ever since as arsenals of polemic. The dissident Greek and Slavic communions look up to Photius as their hero and standard bearer. This deference he owes primarily to his learning; it is his unique scholarship that makes him a world figure. His erudition was vast; his interests, universal. His home, and later his episcopal palace, he turned into a one-man university, for which he composed all the textbooks and directed all the reading and research. Remarkable as an orator for rare insight and pathos, charming and witty in his private correspondence, enormously influential in shaping the canon law of his church, Photius, were it not for his part in the unhappy schism that divides Christendom, would be universally acclaimed as the last and one of the greatest of the Greek Fathers.

E. Amann, P. in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* XII.

M. J. H.

PINDAR (Greek, 518-442 B.C.) was the most brilliant writer of Greek choral lyric poetry. He made a profession of writing choral songs to order and produced a variety of types, but is known by the surviving odes in honor of victors at the Panhellenic Games. Pindar's work marked the culmination of choral lyric; it is the best presentation of the spirit of the great aristocratic families of Greece. With his celebration of the victor's prowess, Pindar interwove in complex pattern a myth, and his own estimate of the significance of the whole performance. All are presented in a series of vivid pictures with a wealth of imagery and bold metaphor, which ensured Pindar the admiration of his successors, although it precluded any attempts at successful imitation of either his style or spirit.

U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, P. (Berlin), 1922; D. M. Robinson, P. (Baltimore), 1936; G. Norwood, P. (Berkeley, Calif.), 1945.

C. A. R.

PINSKI, DAVID (Yiddish, b. 1872), dramatist and story-teller. Born in Mogiloff on the Dnieper, he studied in Vienna and Berlin, simultaneously making his literary debut with stories of the life of the working man, as a contributor to *Peretz' Yomtov Bletlekh* (Holiday Leaves). Since 1899 in America, where he plays a prominent role in the ranks of Labor Zionism (former editor of the daily *Di Tsayt, Time*). He wrote historical romances; later, novels

of Jewish life in America. His main accomplishment is in the field of the drama; beginning with family drama and realistic conflicts (*Yankel der Shmid, Yankel the Blacksmith*) and comedy (*Der Oytser, The Treasure*), he changed at about 1914 in the direction of symbolism and abstractionism. A number of his dramas have been translated into English: *Three Plays* (1918), *Ten Plays* (1919), *The Treasure* (1920), *King David and His Wives* (1923), *The Final Balance* (1926).

Y. M.

PIRANDELLO, LUIGI (1867-1936), was modern Italy's leading dramatist, and, next to d'Annunzio, its best-known literary figure. He began his literary career as a novelist, and in his short stories and novels, especially *The Late Matthew Pascal* (1904), *Si gira* (Shoot! 1915) and *One, no one, and a hundred thousand* (1910-26) he first developed his literary treatment of the insoluble problem of personal identity in its relation to individual personality. His plays, of which the best known are *Right you are if you think you are* (1917), *Six characters in search of an author* (1921) and *Henry IV* (1922), develop this theme and relate it to the questions of reality and insanity. Pirandello's dramatic technique is highly individual, essentially untheatrical in its nature, involving the presentation of intellectual problems in peculiar and paradoxical forms. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1934.

W. Starkie, L. P. (London & Toronto), 1928.

R. A. H., Jr.

PLANUDES, MAXIMUS (Byzantine, 1260-1316), famed chiefly for his *Anthology* of Greek epigrams, spent his life as monk and teacher at Constantinople, accumulating an immense erudition and writing on every subject: four disputations in theology against the Latins, treatises in philosophy, textbooks in grammar, syntax, history, and geography, commentaries on Theocritus, on Hermogenes in rhetoric, and on Diophantus in mathematics. His not inconsiderable volume of verse includes a hymn to St. Demetrius, some fine poetry of nature, and, extraordinarily enough, a lucubration on urine analysis. To folklore he contributed a collection of proverbs, a biography and prose paraphrase of Aesop. He possessed, too, that rarest of all accomplishments for a medieval Greek, a knowledge of Latin. His numerous translations greatly enlarged the eastern intellectual horizon, while they prepared the later flight of his compatriots to the west and the final reunion of the two great streams of culture. Maximus Planudes ranks high among the Byzantine forerunners of the Humanism at the root of the modern world.

M. J. H.

PLATO (Greek, 427-347 B.C.) was both one of the greatest prose writers of Greek literature and the most profound of Greek philosophers. His

thought is presented mainly in the form of dialogues, of which the earlier are vivacious and distinguished for their characterization, notably that of Socrates; while the later, in which Plato's mature reflections are embodied, are of a more expository nature. Plato's use of the dialogue form became a model for much of the philosophical writing of his successors. The minor dialogues deal mostly with definitions, but in the *Republic*, his most famous work, the problem of social justice is worked out in full detail as an ideal and, in his last work, the *Laws*, in a more practical form. An indication of the influence of Plato's thought, embodied in his superb prose, may be seen in the fact that all his works have survived from antiquity.

G. C. Field, *P. and his Contemporaries* (London), 1930.

C. A. R.

PLAUTUS, T. MACCIUS (Roman, 220-184 B.C.), adapted numerous comedies from the Greek, for performance at one of the four great festivals of the Roman year. The plots and characters were taken bodily from the comedies of Greek writers who had lived more than one hundred years earlier. Nevertheless, there is a definite Italian quality in his 21 extant plays. The clever slave that outwits his master and paves the way for the love-adventures of his wastrel son, however, is Greek, not Italian. So are many of the other stock characters. Some of these, like the principal character in *The Boastful Soldier* or the miser in *The Pot of Gold*, have become permanent possessions of the European theatre since the Revival of Letters. It is difficult for us to understand the totally different estimates of the comedies of Plautus in antiquity. It is a far cry from the statements of an ancient critic that if the Muses were to speak in Latin they would employ the language of Plautus, to the severe criticism of Horace that he cared chiefly for tangible results in box-office receipts.

G. Knapp, *P. and Terence* (N. Y.), 1925.  
J. J. S.

PLINY THE YOUNGER (C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus; Roman, ca. 62-ca. 113 A.D.) in his letters to his numerous friends reflects the social background of a polished gentleman of an age when the expression of ideas was limited more and more by political circumstances. Most important of all as an insight into Pliny's character is the correspondence with emperor Trajan, in the tenth book. Here we observe the humane character of an administrator troubled by the problem of dealing with the Christians in Bithynia. These and the letters containing first-hand reports on the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in 79 A.D. attract a wide circle of readers.

H. H. Tanzer, *The Villas of P. the Y.* (N. Y.), 1924; E. T. Merrill, *Selected Letters of the Younger P.* (London), 1927.

J. J. S.

PLUTARCH (Greek, ca. 46-127 A.D.) was the great popular humanist of Greek culture for the Roman Empire and modern Europe. After a youth spent in travel, he retired to his native town of Chaeronea in Boeotia, where he lived a full and mellow life as a citizen and man of letters. Neglecting the purely stylistic renaissance of classical Greek, Plutarch showed a wide and varied interest in philosophy, religion, and history. He may be called the originator of the discursive essay, for, in the *Morals*, while mainly concerned with popular philosophy, he included scientific, literary, and religious topics as well. Plutarch regarded history as a storehouse of moral and psychological examples, on which he drew for the portrait studies of great men in his *Lives*. His interest and obvious sincerity made him a popular author in Byzantine and European literature; he has been the favorite author of men so widely divergent as Napoleon, Rousseau, and Montaigne, who called the *Lives* his "breviary."

R. Hirzel, *P.* (Leipzig), 1912; R. C. Trench, *P.* (London), 1873.

C. A. R.

POE, EDGAR ALLAN (U. S. A., 1809-49), erratic and tragically hyper-sensitive genius who was born in Boston of actor parents and educated in England and the South, did much of his creative work while a journalist in Philadelphia and New York. Defining *The Poetic Principle* (1848; pub. 1850) as "the rhythmical creation of beauty . . . an elevating excitement of the soul," he inspired through theory and practice especially the French *symbolistes* and later Anglo-American imagists. A master of prose tales of terror, sensuous beauty and ratiocination, he marked out valuable artistic "laws" of unity and effect for the short story. And he practically established American criticism and aesthetic theorizing, despite the frequent personal crotchets of his own "tomahawk" method. His persistent romantic attempts to unite imagination and reason culminated in a puzzling prose-poem called *Eureka* (1849).

A. H. Quinn, *E. A. P.: a Critical Biography* (N. Y.), 1941.

E. C. S.

POLIZIANO, ANGELO (Politian; Italian, 1454-94), was a close friend and follower of Lorenzo de' Medici, and equally close to him in poetical spirit. A typical humanist in education and activity, he engaged extensively in philological work on the classics, of which his *Miscellanea* are a collection of individual essays. He was also a particularly gifted, elegant and polished writer in Greek and Latin verse and prose. These same qualities are evident in his Italian works: the *Stanze* (1475-8), a poem in ottava rima in honor of Giuliano de' Medici; a series of poems in popular lyric forms, such as *rispetti* and *canzoni a ballo*; and the *The Fable of Orpheus* (1480), a treatment of the classical theme of Orpheus and Eurydice in the form of the indigenous



*teatro sacro*. Perhaps less spontaneous in his lyrical inspiration than Lorenzo Il Magnifico, Poliziano equals him in elegance and perhaps surpasses him in formal perfection.

P. Micheli, *La vita e le opere di A. P.* (Livorno), 1917.

R. A. H. Jr.

POLYBIUS (Greek, ca. 201-120 B.C.) was the greatest historian of the Hellenistic Period. Taken to Rome as a hostage in 167 B.C., he grasped the implications of Rome's development as a world power, and by his training as a soldier and statesman in contact with the leading men of Rome, he was enabled to express his views in a comprehensive history of the Mediterranean world from 266 to 144 B.C. Polybius departed from the rhetorical tradition of Greek historiography established in the 4th c. and dealt with his subject matter pragmatically and, on the whole, impartially, which made his work a standard reference for later historians. Its rather pedestrian style, however, did not win it general popularity among the literary critics.

J. B. Bury, *The Ancient Greek Historians* (London), 1909.

C. A. R.

POPE, ALEXANDER (English, 1688-1744), was the foremost poet of the 18th c. classicists; perhaps because of his Catholic belief, almost the period's only example of an author who was solely a man of letters. He gave to English verse a precision and a technical finish such as it had not emphasized before. He formulated rules of poetry, he satirized fashionable society, in brilliant epigrams, in couplets so neatly chiseled, so inevitable, in their phrasing, that they have passed into current speech. Pope is the poet of a period that set great store by formality; in that period, he is supreme.

Leslie Stephen, A.P.  
F. F. M.

POQUELIN, JEAN BAPTISTE. See Molière.

POTGIETER, EVERHARDUS JOHANNES (Dutch, 1808-75), poet and critic. After visiting Sweden (1831) he wrote *Nordic scenes and outlines*. In 1839, with a number of friends, he founded the review *De Gids* (*The Guide*) which had a profound and vivifying influence. To it, he contributed critical studies exalting the Golden Age of Dutch literature (17th c.). He wrote the biography of his friend Bakhuizen van den Brink, and published his collected poems.

J. G.

PRADA, MANUEL GONZALEZ. See González Prada, Manuel.

PRATT, EDWIN J. (Canadian, b. 1883) is greatest in his swift, realistic narrative verse of the sea. His most significant contribution has been his revolt against the romantics who sang of the woods

and streams, and who believed that certain words and images were unpoetic. To paraphrase Wordsworth: he has followed the "steps of the man of science" and carried "sensation into the midst of the objects of science itself." Intractable words like "pleiocene," "turbine," "microscope," and "invertebrate" are assimilated and transformed into poetry. His themes and moods, clearly and accurately communicated; vary from the gargantuan humor of *The Witches' Brew* and the heroic drama of *The Roosevelt and the Antinoo* to the sad martyrdom of *Brébeuf and His Brethren*. Implicit in most of his poetry is his concern for humanity and his pity for the tragic waste arising from man's confusion. *Collected Poems* (N. Y.), 1945.

E. K. Brown, *On Canadian Poetry* (Toronto), 1943; W. E. Collin, *The White Savannahs*, 1936.

C. J. V.

PRICHARD, KATHERINE SUSANNAH (Australian, b. 1884), is the most powerful novelist of her generation. Her finest work is found in *Working Bullocks* (1926) and *Coonardoo* (1929). A collection of her short stories is *Kiss On the Lips* (1932). She has also written poetry, plays, and some leftwing political propaganda. Her fiction presents an uncompromisingly realistic assessment of the Australian situations with which it deals, tempered by an intense love for the Australian bush.

C. H. G.

PRICHARD, RHYS (Welsh, 1579-1644), usually called Vicar Prichard or "The Old Vicar," for the benefit of his parishioners put his precepts into verse, in colloquial language and the simplest of meters. He recommends to them the *Little Bible* of 1630:

Mae'r Bibl bach yn awr yn gysson,  
Yn iaith dy fam, i'w gael er coron;  
Gwerth dy grys cyn bod heb hwnnw,  
Mae'n well na thref dy dad i'th gadw.

"The Little Bible is now harmonious In your mother tongue, to be had for a crown; Sell your shirt rather than go without it, It is better than your father's homestead to keep you," and he exhorts them to virtue:

Os cais Satan gennyt feddwi,  
A charowsio gwin yn wisgi,  
Dywed yr a'r holl rai meddwon  
Ddydd y fam i'r tan a'r brwmston.

"If Satan tries to get you drunk, And to carouse gaily on wine, Tell him all drunkards shall go To the fire and brimstone on the Judgment Day." He gives them advice on their courting also, and on making their wills. Prichard published only one song during his lifetime. His songs were collected after his death by Stephen Hughes as *The Welshmen's Candle* (*Canwyll y Cymry*); some editions, of which

about 40 have been called for, bear the title *The Morning Star* (Y Seren Forei).

*The Morning Star or the Divine Poems of Mr. Rees Prichard, Trans. into Eng. Verse by the Rev. William Evans* (Merthyr Tydfil, 1815.

J. J. P.

PROCOPIUS (Greek, ca. 490-575 A.D.) was the serious and competent historian of Justinian's reign and, at the same time, the malignant scandalmonger of the emperor and the empress, Theodora. Both in historical method and language, Procopius found his models in Herodotus and Thucydides. In the *Histories*, the wars of Justinian against Persia and the barbarian kingdoms of Africa and Italy are described. In the *Buildings*, the architectural works sponsored by Justinian throughout the Empire are treated in a dry and technical manner, relieved by passages of adulation for Justinian. Procopius, in both these works, appeared as a sincere patriot of the Byzantine Empire, but in the *Secret History* he makes a malicious attack on its rulers, in the most indecent language.

J. Haury, *Zur Beurteilung des Geschichtschreibens P. von Caesarea* (Munich), 1896-97.

C. A. R.

PROUST, MARCEL (French, 1871-1922), retired after a brilliant social career and set himself to the task of recreating the experiences of his youth and early manhood, along with the milieu in which they had occurred. The huge work, in seven large volumes with the general title of *À la recherche du temps perdu* (1913-27; trans. as *Remembrance of Things Past*), is a connected whole, but is scarcely a novel in the ordinary sense of the word. It is rather an extremely subtle depiction of a social group, with its vices and rare virtues, its sins and its boredom, and a romanticized autobiography of incredible completeness. Although *Remembrance of Things Past* is very long and frequently dull, its expert observation of a social entity, its artistic (and sometimes recherché) style and its phenomenal recreation of the high points and the trivia of a lifetime give it a value unexcelled in later modern French literature.

L. Pierre-Quint, M. P., trans. H. and S. Miles (N. Y.), 1927.

R. J. N.

PSAILA, DUN KARM (Maltese, b. 1871), versatile priest and national poet of Malta, began with work in (O. F. Tencajoli, *Poeti Maltese d'Oggi*, Rome, 1932). Since 1912 he has used Maltese, for translations (*I Sepolcri*, by Ugo Foscolo) and original poems (*The Ego and the Beyond*—a reply to Foscolo). Poems of his are trans. by M. Butcher. H. P. S.

PSELLUS, MICHAEL (Byzantine, 1018-78), inspiration of the brilliant 11th c. Renaissance in Byzantine literature, was one of the greatest minds and meanest souls in the Middle Ages. His competence in law lifted him out of the middle class—no mean feat—to the highest public office. Dean of the School of Philosophy at the University of Constantinople, he mastered, as a preliminary, music, mathematics, and astronomy, then Aristotle and the whole tradition of the Academy from Plato, whom he revered, to Proclus. He laughed at magic, but became proficient in alchemy, astrology, and divination for a possible insight into the laws of nature. Add to this list of accomplishments treatises too numerous to mention on every subject from anatomy to the topography of Athens, and you have only half the man, the scientist. Psellus, the artist, was the stylist par excellence of Byzantine literature. His *Chronography* (history from 976 to 1077) excels in trenchant word-pictures of contemporaries. An able orator, an exceptional epistolographer, a facile versifier, Psellus attained an intellectual stature that few men in history have equalled.

J. M. Hussey, *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire* (London), 1937.

M. J. H.

PUSHKIN, ALEKSANDER SERGEYEVICH (Russian, 1799-1837), is accepted by all Russians as their greatest artist and master of the language. Commencing with Anacreontic poems as a boy in the Lycee of Tsarskoye Syelo, he speedily absorbed all that was best in Romanticism, Byronism, the cult of Shakespeare and of Scott, and finally developed a restrained and majestically compressed style quite unlike that of his early poems. He applied the same economy of means in his choice of details and of motivation of his characters in his *Little Tragedies* and in his prose stories. He united all that was best in the 18th c. with the ideas of the early 19th. His Russian is preeminently musical, and it is no accident that his prose and narrative poems have the same careful polish as his occasional lyrics. Such characters as Tatyana in *Evgeny Onyegin*, the old monk Pimen in *Boris Godunov*, Peter the Great in *Poltava* and the amusing landowner Byelkin in the *Tales*, are more than familiar to every Russian. Later poets and critics have tracked down the logic of his ideas, for back of his often frivolous statements there is a keen mind with an ardent love of liberty and a strong assertion of the rights of the poetic genius to defy the trammels of official censorship. As a man and a writer, Pushkin won the love of his contemporaries and even Tsar Nicholas I recognized that he was the great character of his reign.

E. J. Simmons, P. (Cambridge, Mass.), 1937.

C. A. M.

PYESHKOV, ALEKSYEY NICHOLAYEVICH. See Gorky, Maxim.

QUEIROZ, JOSE MARIA DE ECA DE (Portuguese, 1846-1900), a law graduate of the venerable University of Coimbra, entered the consular service. He spent many years in England and in France, where he died. Eca de Queiroz introduced the realistic technique in the Portuguese novel with *The crime of Father Amaro* (1875). This work was followed by other great novels on life in the provinces and in Lisbon, *Cousin Basil*; *The Maia family*. From 1887 to 1900 he turned to more general, less naturalistic subjects, writing *The Relic*; *Correspondência de Fradique Mendes*; *The illustrious house of Ramires*; *The city and the mountains*; *Last pages*. There were many other works from his indefatigable pen, some of them published posthumously: *The count of Abranhos*; *Alves and Co.*

A. Lins, *Hist. lit. de E. de Q.* (Rio de Janeiro), 1939.

M. C.

QUENTAL, ANTERO DE (Portuguese, 1842-91), was the principal poet of Portuguese realism. A capable versifier, he raised the sonnet to heights that have been exceeded only by Camões.\* His attitude toward life was both philosophical and religious, and the themes he chose for his poems reflect his interest in basic problems. This may be seen in his *Complete sonnets* (with a splendid introduction by Oliveira Martins\*), especially *Despondency* and *In God's hands*. Antero wrote in defense of Pius IX's *Syllabus of Errors*, became interested in socialism, worked for a time as a craftsman, and visited the United States; but the fire of his soul was never consumed. When he committed suicide in one of the squares of the principal city of his native Azores, his irrepressible genius was already widely acclaimed, among the 19th c. poets of Europe.

S. G. Morley, trans. *Sonnets and poems of A. de Q.* (Berkeley, Calif.), 1922.

M. C.

QUEVEDO Y VILLEGAS, FRANCISCO DE (Spanish 1580-1645), caustic critic of Spain's incipient decline, attacked pompous style, flattery, the concept of honor—society. In *Life Story of Buscon* (1626) and *Visions* (1627) he leaps from ordinary life into nightmarish fictions of cruelty, disillusion, disgust. Seeking in vain to reconcile thought and expression, he became a literary and political victim of a time out of joint. His style represents the most witty and conceit-full mannerism.

R-L. Bouvier, *L'Espagne de Q.* (Paris), 1936.

H. A. H.

QUINTILIAN (M. Fabius Quintilianus; Roman, 35-ca. 100 A.D.) was, like several other representative writers of the 1st c., a Spaniard by birth. As teacher of rhetoric under the auspices of several emperors, he enjoyed a high reputation. The *Institutes of Oratory*, written after his retirement, is a treatise

at once on education, on rhetoric, and on literary criticism. Quintilian's observations on pedagogy are both original and, judged by modern standards, unusually profound. In the 10th book is a comparative survey of Greek and Latin literature, full of shrewd and incisive criticism. Though much has been derived from Greek sources, enough remains to stamp this book as an important milestone in the history of European literary criticism.

A. O. Gwynn, S.J., *Roman Education from Cicero to Q.* (Oxford), 1926.

J. J. S.

QUIROGA, HORACIO (Uruguayan, 1878-1938), is generally acknowledged as the best short-story writer of Spanish America. Intelligent but unstable, he early showed himself a modernista in the prose and verse of *Coral Reefs* (1901). A visit to Misiones in northern Argentina so fascinated him with the region that he returned to live there in 1910; his stories of that wild tropical region soon won him wide acclaim. Like *Another's Crime* (1904) and *The Haunted Ones* (1905), which showed a marked influence of Poe, his last work, *The Great Beyond* (1934) was based on morbid themes. Although he did not approach either Poe or Maupassant in technique, *The Solitaire*, *The Beheaded Hen*, and *Hired Hands* are excellent examples of narration. The stories in which his genius found highest expression are those imbued with the atmosphere of Misiones—*The Savage*, *Anaconda* and *The Return of Anaconda*—which brought him international fame.

J. R. Spell, *Contemporary Spanish-American Fiction* (Chapel Hill, N. C.), 1944.

J. R. S.

RAABE, WILHELM (German, 1831-1910), was a leading exponent of the realistic tradition in German fiction. His first work, *The Chronicle of Sperlingsgasse* (1857), gives an intimate view of the ebb and flow of human life as it courses through the mind of an unimportant individual in an obscure street of Berlin. His *Hunger Pastor* (1864) is filled with the tragedy of human existence. Yet, though the author for a time adopts the pessimistic philosophy of Schopenhauer, his novels reveal no abatement of the love and tenderness he feels for his characters, nor any rending of the web of humor and pathos, understanding and forgiveness, which he weaves about struggling humanity.

S. Liptzin, *Hist. Survey of German Lit.* (N. Y.), 1936.

S. L.

RABBIHI, IBN-'ABD- (Arab, 860-940), born in Cordova, was a descendant of an enfranchised slave of the Spanish Umayyads caliph, Hishām ibn-'Abd-al-Rahmān (788-796). He is chiefly known by an anthology entitled *al-'Iqd al-Farid* (*Unique Necklace*). It is divided into 25 books, each bearing the name of a different gem, and "contains something

on every subject." He was the most distinguished literary figure of Spanish Islam, his work surpassed only by *al-Aghānī* (*Songs*; by *al-Isbahānī*) in the field. His writing breathes the genius of the Arab soul in the varieties of its cadences, energies, vigor, tenderness, exultant joy, sorrow.

C. Brockelmann, *Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi*, in *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

E. J. J.

RABELAIS, FRANÇOIS (French, 1490?-1553), is the apostle of that joy of living which was so much a part of the Renaissance character. After a career as monk and doctor, he set out to embody his philosophy in a vast comic allegory, the story of the giants Gargantua and Pantagruel (pub. 1532-62). Though the work is known chiefly today for the ribald gaiety and enormous buffoonery of Pantagruel's adventures, Rabelais himself intended that the reader should 'suck the substantial marrow' of the work. That 'marrow' is the doctrine that man is essentially good and that a 'new' kind of education, sharply opposed to scholasticism, is needed to bring out his goodness. Although the archaic language makes *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel* inaccessible in the original to most readers today, the work still keeps a large audience through the medium of translations and modernizations. It is perhaps the most universally known work of fiction ever composed in French.

Samuel Putnam, *F. R., Man of the Renaissance* (N. Y.), 1929.

R. J. N.

RABI'AH, IBN-ABI, 'UMAR (Arab, d. ca. 719), son of a wealthy Meccan father and a Christian mother, wrote poetry in distinct contrast to the primitive passion of Imru' al-Qays. It breathes a joyous and seductive strain played to the rhythm of simple, unpretentious words. His verse, revolting to pious Moslems, has haunted contemporaneous and later generations by its lilt and subtle charm. His *Divān* (*Poetical Collections*; ed. P. Schwarz, 2 v., Leipzig, 1901-9) is evidence that he passed his best years in pursuit of noble dames. By the inspiration of these he sang his many love-lyrics.

H. A. R. Gibb, *Arabic Lit.* (London), 1926.

E. J. J.

RABINOVITCH, SHOLEM. See Sholem Aleikhem.

RACINE, JEAN (French, 1639-99), raised the French classic tragedy to its greatest heights. A series of 11 great plays, the best of which are *Andromaque* (1667), *Bérénice* (1670), *Phèdre* (1689) and *Athalie* (1691), established his reputation as France's finest dramatic poet. Borrowing his subjects from antiquity, he so refined and developed them that he could justly say that he had 'made something out of nothing.' With him the tragedy was to consist solely of the shock of character on character; the few incidents of the play spring only

from the nature of the protagonists; circumstances and coincidence play but the smallest role. But it is most of all Racine's poetry that gives his dramas their consummate success; subtle and musical, it is the perfect vehicle for these tragedies of love and passion, which are the more impressive for their restraint.

A. F. B. Clark, *J. R.* (Cambridge, Mass.), 1939.

R. J. N.

RAINBAUT D'AURENCA (d'Orange; Provençal troubadour, fl. 1150-75); his poetic name was Linhaure. So far as we know, he is the earliest of the troubadours who were purely Provençal. Some 40 of his poems are extant; among them, interesting *tenso*s or debates with other troubadours, as Albert Malaspina, Guiraut de Borneil, Pierre Rogier. Some of his lyrics are addressed to the Countess of Die, with whom he had a liaison. His wealth and rank made him a leader among the troubadours of his day; he seems to have been a "good sport" and kindly patron. There is very little content to his verse, but he took great delight in complicated verse forms. He used alliteration, rich rhymes, repetition of words, and was inclined to practice *trobar clus*. Amusing in this connection is his celebrated debate *Eram platz, Girauts de Borneil*, in which he argues in favor of literary obscurity.

U. T. H., Jr.

RAMUZ, CHARLES FERDINAND (French-Swiss, b. 1878), has written a long series of novels about the small-town and rural life of his immediate surroundings. Critics, at first bewildered by the paradox of a subtle thinker and perfect stylist taking his material from a very primitive milieu, labelled him an extreme regionalist or the French exponent of "blood and soil" literature. Gradually, and with the aid of Ramuz' theoretical writings (*Journal*, 1943), it became clear that there is a definite purpose behind this self-imposed limitation: distrustful of pale abstractions, he wants to recapture man's basic emotions in all their concreteness, at the place of their origin. Hence his preference for the country-side, where the impact of elemental experience upon unsophisticated men and women creates the archetypal forms of patriotism, love (*La beauté sur la terre*, 1928), hatred, fear (*La grande peur dans la montagne*, 1925), or faith (*La guérison des maladies*, 1924).

P. Kohler, *L'art de R.* (Geneva), 1929.

H. B.

REEVES, WILLIAM PEMBER (New Zealand, 1859-1932), was born in Lyttelton, New Zealand, and died in London (where he had become Director of the London School of Economics and later Chairman of Directors of the Bank of New Zealand). For many years he was engaged in political life in New Zealand. As a poet he was one of the group

that in the 1890's contributed largely to the literary movement, notably in *Colonial Couplets* (1889) and *New Zealand and other Poems* (1898). His poems *New Zealand* and *The Passing of the Forest* are two of the finest things written in the country in the 19th c. His major work is *The Long White Cloud* (3d revised ed., 1924), acclaimed as the best book on New Zealand. It is finely written in good prose by a man that could combine an interest in practical affairs with a feeling for literature. "The Long White Cloud" is the English translation of *Aotearoa*, the Maori name for New Zealand.

G. H. Scholefield, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (Wellington), 1940.

I. A. G.

REISEN, ABRAHAM (Yiddish, b. 1876), popular poet and writer of short stories. Born in a small town in White Russia into a family of more than mean literary ability—his father wrote Hebrew poetry, his sister Sarah is a poetess and storyteller and a younger brother Zalmen is a linguist and a student of literature. He published his first poem at the age of 16 in Peretz's *Yidishe Biblioteki*, and toward the end of the century began writing stories in *Der Yid*. In 1900 he published a miscellany (*Twentieth Century*) in which he defends the use of Yiddish. Settled in America in 1914. In 1928, toured the U. S. S. R., where he was given an enthusiastic reception. His influence is manifest in a number of Russian Yiddish writers.

Y. M.

REYES, ALFONSO (Mexican, b. 1889), diplomat, scholar, poet, and essayist, was educated at the National University and early became a member of a literary group that included Henríquez Ureña, Vasconcelos, Rafael López, Julio Torri, and Antonio Caso. After a diplomatic career that included service in France and Spain (1913-14, 1920-27) and ambassadorship alternately in Argentina and Brazil (1927-38), he became director of the *Colegio de México*, in which capacity he contributed materially to broadening the intellectual outlook of Mexico. He has edited works of Ruiz de Alarcón, Quevedo, Gracián, Lope de Vega, and Góngora, as well as those of his countryman, Amado Nervo; some of the prefaces are reprinted in *Capítulos de literatura española* (1938). As an essayist, his polished style, entirely in keeping with the high level of his thought, has easily given him first rank among América's representative men of letters. Among his poetical works are *Huellas* (Mexico, 1922); *Ifigenia Cruel* (Madrid, 1924); *Versos Sociales* (Havana, 1932); *Otra Vez* (Mexico, 1936); outstanding among his essays and critical articles are *Visión de Anáhuac* (San José de Costa Rica, 1911); *Simpatías y diferencias*, 3 series (Madrid, 1921-22); and a 4th entitled *Los Dos Caminos* (1923); *Discurso por Virgilio* (Mexico, 1931), *Atenéa política* and *Tren de Ondas* (Rio de Janeiro, 1932); *Los*

*Siete sobre Deva*, *Las Visperas de España* (Buenos Aires, 1937); *El Deslinde* (Mexico, 1944). He has made translations of French, Russian, and English literature, especially Chesterton. An anthology of his best works, prepared by Castro Leal, was published in Mexico in 1944.

J. R. S.

RIBALOW, MENACHEM (Hebrew, b. 1899 in Chudnow, Russia), received a thorough Hebrew education, then attended the University of Moscow. He began his literary career as a poet and short story writer. Coming to the U. S. (1921), he helped spread Hebrew culture in America; he was a founder of the *Histadruth Ivrit*, with that goal. He also established (1922) the *Hadoar*, only Hebrew weekly in the U. S. As editor of *Hadoar*, the *American Hebrew Year Book*, and of *Ogen*, Hebrew publishing house, he has been the prime figure in American Hebrew literature. A brilliant journalist and critic, he is the author of *Sefer Hamasoth*, a book of critical essays (1928); *Sofrim. V'Ishim* (*Writers and Personalities*; 1936); *Dichter und Shafer fun Nei-Hebraisch* (*Poets and Creators of Modern Hebrew Literature*; 1936); *Kethavim Umegiloth*, further essays (1942); and an anthology of Hebrew poetry in America (1938).

L. A.

RICHARDSON, HENRY HANDEL (Australian, 1880-1945), née Ethel Henrietta Richardson. She originally intended to devote herself professionally to music, but eventually turned to writing. As a novelist her musical interests are most clearly reflected in her great early novel *Maurice Guest* (1908) and her late but slight novel *The Young Cosima* (1939). The German background of these novels was chiefly acquired while she was a music student at Leipzig. Her Australian childhood provides background for short stories, for her story of school days, *The Getting of Wisdom* (1910, rev. 1931), and above all for her trilogy *The Fortunes of Richard Mahony*, published in separate volumes in 1917, 1925, 1929. But Miss Richardson's eminence as a writer hardly rests on her associations with places. Rather it rests on her superlative powers as an analyst of character. Among the writers of her generation she is pre-eminent for her exhaustive and utterly convincing analyses of the psychological development of difficult individuals like Maurice Guest and Richard Mahony. Although Miss Richardson spent most of her life in England, and was therefore an expatriate, it is significant that she herself felt that her work belongs to Australian literature. Her husband, J. G. Robertson (d. 1933), was for many years Professor of Germanic Language and Literature at the University of London.

C. H. G.

RICHARDSON, SAMUEL (English, 1689-1761), a London printer, wrote the first English novel, *Pamela*

(1740), for the purpose of teaching his readers to write. *Clarissa* (1748) presents a pattern for living in a series of letters published in instalments. His aim in all his writing was to teach morality and correct deportment. His novels lack breadth and freshness; they deal with a petty world of trifles and scruples. His strength lay in his power to analyze and portray emotions.

A. Dobson, *Life of R.* (London & N. Y.), 1902.

F. F. M.

RICHTER, JOHANN PAUL FRIEDRICH (Jean Paul; German, 1763-1825), often called the most German of all German writers because of his sentimental idylls of middle-class domestic happiness, romances patterned after the educational novels of Rousseau\* and Goethe.\* The most famous of these are *Titan* (1802) and *Flegeljahre* ('Teens, 1804). His heroes are noble-minded, sensitive schoolmasters and pastors, who strive for harmony between the real and the ideal, but who rarely attain more than a trivial and sentimental solution of their problem. His stories are filled with the petty events of simple everyday life, told in a rambling and humorous style and with many a whimsical parenthesis that would make his works unreadable today, were it not for the imagination and beauty that infuse them.

J. G. Robertson, *A Hist. of German Lit.*  
S. L. S.

RIHANI, AMIN (Arab, 1876-1940), a Syro-American born in the Lebanese hamlet of Freiké, was brought to the U. S. A. at the age of 12. In his personality some of the finest traits of the Arab and Anglo-Saxon blend. A naturalized American, he spent most of his latter years in the Near East. His *Maker of Modern Arabia* (1928), *Around the Coasts of Arabia* (1929), appeared in English and Arabic editions. As a moderate, sagacious champion of the pan-Arab cause, he established connections of mutual esteem and common usefulness with the kings and rulers of Arab lands and through the popularity of his writings carved for himself a position of international eminence. To Arab youth he bore a progressive message and, Maronite Christian though he was, won the admiration of the Moslem public. His vibrant, somewhat whimsical prose bears witness to a brilliant and humane intellect.

*Who Was Who in America*, Vol I, 1899-1942.

E. J. J.

RILKE, RAINER MARIA (Austrian, 1875-1926), foremost exponent of that poetry which holds that words, meters, rhythms, and their possible combinations possess a cognitive faculty of their own and are capable of fathoming otherwise inaccessible existential levels, provided they are sustained by a sensitive

poet willing to work ceaselessly at the improvement of his artistic tools. A first reward for such absolute devotion to art came to Rilke in the form of a deep penetration into the magic of simple things; especially his *Dinggedichte* in *Die Neuen Gedichte* (1907/8) impart a heightened awareness of our objective surroundings that seems to be much more essential than what common experience can give. It was in the logic of his creed that Rilke's final aim should be a complete ecstasy in which the most perplexing mysteries of existence—Life, Death, God—in so far as they may be approached through the medium of poetry, could be apprehended. The record of this progressive *via contemplativa* and ultimate mystic revelation is contained in the *Duineser Elegien* (1923) and in the *Sonette an Orpheus* (1923).

E. C. Mason, *Rilke's Apotheosis* (Oxford), 1938.

H. B.

RIMBAUD, ARTHUR (French, 1854-91), was a famous poet at 17; at 19, he had completed his literary career. He early came to Paris, where he met Paul Verlaine and under his influence produced some of the finest French symbolistic verse. After a quarrel with Verlaine he ceased writing and finished his short life in Egypt and the Indies, engaging in a variety of trades. For him, reality was the constant hallucination in which he lived; he followed his fantasy as a law of his being, emancipating himself completely from the world around him. He could not express the inner realities he witnessed with the language of 'classic' literature, so he set about creating a language of his own that should appeal to all the senses simultaneously, advancing his famous theory of 'colorful vowels' in support of his invention. Rimbaud's verse is frequently so obscure as to be almost incomprehensible, but when it is at last understood it reveals great beauty of treatment as well as startling novelty of conception, as in the volume that contains his best work, *Illuminations* (pub. 1886).

E. M. Starkie, A. R. (N. Y.), 1938.  
R. J. N.

RIVERA, JOSE EUSTACIO (Colombian, 1889-1928), produced his masterpiece, *The Vortex* (1924), as the aftermath of membership in the Colombian-Venezuelan boundary commission. The charm of the novel lies in its magnificent portrayal of the vast Colombian plains and the almost impenetrable forest region between the Orinoco and the Amazon, but the characters and the events recounted aroused the world to the abuses suffered by the enslaved rubber gatherers of that region. Rivera also issued a volume of sonnets, *The Land of Promise*, largely inspired by the tropical setting of his native Neiva, picturesquely situated on the Magdalena River. His ability as a superb word painter was enhanced by the wildness and tropical luxuriance of

a background then unknown to international literature.

A. Torres-Rioseco, *Grandes novelistas de la América hispana* (Berkeley, Cal.), 1941; J. R. Spell, *Contemporary Spanish-American Fiction* (Chapel Hill, N. C.), 1944.

J. R. S.

ROBINSON, EDWIN ARLINGTON (U. S. A., 1869-1935), is generally regarded as the chief American poet of this century. A traditionalist in forms and metres, with a strong sense of the dramatic, he nevertheless achieved a highly individual style, characterized by simple and natural diction and materials, intellectual precision, and an (occasionally obscure) oblique approach resting upon subtle suggestiveness. His deep seriousness was relieved by a sardonic humor, but his preference was for the reflective (*The Man Against the Sky*, 1916) or tragic (his Arthurian trilogy: *Merlin*, 1917; *Lancelot*, 1920; *Tristram*, 1927); and intense study of character is central to his work, from the famous sketches (often based upon people he knew in his native Maine) such as *Richard Cory*, to the later full-length examinations of individual psychology in the modern world (*Talifer*, 1933). His *Sonnets*, 1889-1927 (1928) is a noteworthy collection.

H. Hagedorn, E. A. R.: *A Biography* (N. Y.), 1938.

E. C. S.

RODO, JOSE ENRIQUE (Uruguayan, 1872-1917), is an essayist and philosopher who exercised a deep influence on the generation that followed him. His principal work is *Ariel*, in which he deals with the question of genuine culture, appraises that of the United States (*Caliban*), and urges Spanish American youth to cultivate spiritual rather than material values. In *The Motives of Proteus* he offered a philosophy of life based on the conception that change is life. Deeply concerned with the destiny of America, he was the first to consider Spanish-American culture as a unit. In his philosophic essays, his style is one of calm beauty, the envy of many; while those on Montalvo and Darío are examples of brilliant criticism which made him known in many lands. The spiritual master of the early modernists, he by no means equals Emerson, Montaigne or Bacon.

G. Zaldumbide, J. E. R. (Madrid), 1919;  
I. Goldberg, *Studies in Spanish Am. Lit.* (N. Y.), 1920.

J. R. S.

ROMAINS, JULES (pseud. of Louis Farigoule; French, b. 1885), has embarked on a huge work, *Men of Good Will*, which will, if it is ever completed, give complete expression to his theory of 'unanimisme' and will rival the vast creations of Balzac and Zola. Beginning with the decade before

the first World War, it is an attempt to recapture the external history of the past in its totality, to portray all groups and all milieus in French society. Its debt to Zola is self-evident. Romain is one of the most popular writers in modern France, but it may be noted that his prose frequently fails to rise above the level of good journalism and is a little lacking in true emotional appeal and profundity. He is now mostly known for *Men of Good Will*, but an early novel, *Death of a Nobody* (1911), and a play, *Knock* (1923), which recalls the bitter satire of a Regnard, were truly original in concept and were executed with first-rate professional skill. The later work, however, tends to be too inclusive, too diffuse; it is too often popular literature in the worst sense of the word.

M. H. Stansbury, *French Novelists of Today* (Phila.), 1935.

R. J. N.

RONSARD, PIERRE DE (French, 1524-85), was the leader of the Renaissance school of poetry known as the Pléiade. Destined by his highly-placed family to be a courtier, his career was cut short by deafness and he consecrated his middle and later years to literature. Although in his time he was most known for the longer genres, which he imitated from the Greek—the *Odes* (1550-53), the *Discourses* (1560-69), and an unfinished epic, *The Franciade*—today he is most read in his *Amours* (to Cassandre, 1552; to Marie, 1557; to Hélène, 1569) sonnets in which an amazing technical resource is brought to the expression of sincere and delicate sentiment. Despite his complex art, his lyric tone is so moving that even today it is easy to understand his Renaissance title of Prince of Poets.

D. B. W. Lewis, R. (N. Y.), 1944.  
R. J. N.

ROSENFELD, MORRIS (Yiddish, 1862-1923), first prominent Yiddish poet in America. Born in a village in the district of Suwalki, he began at 15 to write poetry under the influence of the folk poets Eliakum Zunser and Michael Gordon, and the Haskalah poet, Abraham Goldfaden. Leaving Russia in 1882, he lived for a while in Amsterdam and in London, settling in New York in 1886. In 1889, his first collection of poetry, *The Bell*, appeared, followed by *Di Blumen-Kete* (*The Garland*), and *The Book of Poems* (trans. Leo Wiener, *Songs from the Ghetto*; 1898). Meanwhile Rosenfeld earned his livelihood as a tailor in a sweatshop. Later he was on the staff of several Yiddish periodicals. His poems excel in realistic directness and frequently in detailed pathos, fresh and impassioned.

R. P. Stokes and H. Frank, trans. *Songs of Labor* (1914).

Y. M.

ROSSETTI, DANTE GABRIEL (English, 1928-92), poet and artist, with Holman Hunt and Millais

formed the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, to re-establish the early artistic spirit of individuality and freedom. In his poetry, Rossetti seldom used popular themes, nor was he interested in the political, scientific, or religious currents of his time. In spirit he was medieval and Italian. He combined the ornate and the sensuous with an intellectual concern for meaning. He was interested in the concrete expression of beauty as a means of understanding beauty itself. His later poems are filled with melancholy; frequently, the supernatural dominates the theme.

M. Beerbohm, *R. and His Circle*.

F. F. M.

ROUSSEAU, JEAN JACQUES (French, 1712-78), the prophet of Romanticism in France, source of one of the intellectual currents that brought about the Revolution, has exerted a more powerful influence on posterity than perhaps any other man of his race. His works were the direct product of his unhappy life. Born to a poor Protestant family of Geneva, he was a victim of parental neglect and soon began his endless wandering. He early made himself notorious by his *Discourse on The Arts and Sciences* (1750), in which he sustained the thesis that culture is synonymous with corruption, and by the *Discourse on the Origins of Inequality* (1754), another indictment of modern society. In two great years, 1761-62, Rousseau then proceeded to leave his mark in three fields of intellectual endeavor: in 1761 came *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, a long, romantic novel in letters, source of the Romantics' view of nature; in 1762, he published the *Social Contract*, in which he preached the restoration of an equitable society based on man's 'natural' rights, and *Emile*, the most famous French treatise on education. Many modern theories of schooling stem directly from its basic idea of the 'natural' development of the child. Rousseau is widely read also in his *Confessions* (1765-70), among the frankest ever published, and in his *Reveries of a Solitary Stroller* (1776-78), which contain some of his finest pages. In his rebellion against society as he found it, in his frank self-revelation, in his impassioned preaching of the essential goodness of man, he was the father of the Romantics of a generation later. As a stylist, this man of little education was constantly powerful and effective, eloquent and moving. Although it cannot be claimed that his literary and philosophical influence has been of unqualified benefit to posterity, Rousseau did perform the important function of awakening his time to some of the very real defects of society. Even those that most contest him confess his greatness.

M. Josephson, *J.-J. R.* (N. Y.), 1931.

R. J. N.

RUIZ, JUAN, called "the Archpriest of Hita" (Spanish, early 14th c.), was the humorous portrait painter of medieval life, love, and manners, in monotonous but amusing rhymes. Claiming that he

fought carnal love in the name of the Divine Love, he calls his cyclopedia of luxury and knavish tricks *The Book of Good Love*. Its pictures of roguish life, satire on women, songs in praise of country girls, are still attractive reading—Longfellow made some congenial translations.

F. Lecoy, *Recherches sur le "Libro de Buen Amor" de J. R.* (Paris), 1938.

H. A. H.

RUMI (Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad; Iranian, 1207-73), founder of the Mawlawi sect of dervishes and the author of *Masnawi*, a collection of 26,000 rhymed couplets. The appellation Rūmī, a native of Rūm or Asia Minor, was given to this Iranian poet because he spent most of his life in Konya (Iconium). His mystic philosophy, enthusiastic devotion, and religious ecstasy expressed by the whirling dance, are familiar to his readers in the East. His *Masnawi* embodies the Sufi philosophy: the world and all that is in it are but a part of God, and the universe exists only through Him; the Love-Divine is all-pervading and the streams of life pour their waters into the endless ocean of the supreme soul; man must polish the mirror of his heart and wipe away the stains of self that blur the perfect image there. This is the essence of Rūmī's religious and mystic teachings.

R. A. Nicholson, *The Mathnawī of Jalālū'ddīn Rūmī*, 8 v. (London), 1925-40.

M. A. S.

RYDBERG, VIKTOR (Swedish, 1828-95), after a difficult childhood, wrote his first, more important, novels, *Fribytaren på Östersjön* (*The Freebooter of the Baltic*; 1857), and *Den siste Athenaren* (*The Last Athenian*; 1859). In *Singalla* (1858; trans. 1903), a story of the medieval period, he expresses his characteristic romantic idealism. Besides his novels, he published two volumes of poems (1882; 1891) in which he has given his philosophical ideas a beautiful, poetic form. He never became the leader of a literary school, but he exerted a strong influence on his generation. He is, perhaps, the most idealistic of the Swedish poets.

O. Holmberg, *V. R.'s Lyrik*, 1935.

A. W.

SA DE MIRANDA, FRANCISCO DE. See Miranda, Francisco de Sá de.

SAADIA BEN JOSEPH (Hebrew, 882-942), born in Dilaz, Egypt, of an humble family, became the greatest Jewish figure of his day. He won early renown as a scholar and was called to the *gaonate* (presidency) of the Academy at Sura, Babylonia. This great institution of learning was then on the decline; Saadia raised its standing to that of the days of the Talmudic sages. He labored in many fields of learning and distinguished himself in all. In his *Emunoth Ve-Deoth* (written first in Arabic), he



was the first Jewish philosopher to found a system of philosophy based upon Jewish conceptions. His *Agron* is the first Hebrew dictionary. His translation of the *Bible* into Arabic was of great service to future exegetes. His *Siddur*, the order of service, contained not only his own hymns and religious songs, but rescued from oblivion many of the compositions of earlier hymnists. He engaged in many controversies and left many responsa; of especial importance are those combating the Karaites.

I. Husik, *A. Hist. of Medieval Jewish Philosophy* (N. Y.), 1916; H. Malter, *Saadia Gaon* (Phila.), 1921.

L. A.

SAAVEDRA, ANGEL DE, Duke of Rivas (Spanish, 1791-1865), was the most typical Spanish romantic. He recast the old ballads in his *Legends*, which culminate in the epic *The Exposed Moor* (1834). Recognizing also the picturesque values of a drama of fate, appealing not to the logic of the mind but to the powers of the senses, he wrote the melodramatic *Don Alvaro or the Force of Destiny* (1831), which survives in Verdi's opera.

E. Allison Peers, *R. and Romanticism* (London), 1923.

H. A. H.

SACCHETTI, FRANCO (ca. 1330-1400), was the only figure approaching major importance in late 14th c. Italian literature. He is remembered chiefly for his poetry, especially gracious ballads and madrigals, and for his *novelle*. These are preserved in a collection of 223, out of 300 originally written. They are artless rather than studied in their narrative technique, and do not show either the psychological insight, or the mastery of prose style that characterizes Boccaccio's tales. They are still notable, however, for their natural and spontaneous style, their humor, and their realistic portrayal of 14th c. bourgeois existence.

L. di Francia, *F. S. novelliere* (Pisa), 1902.

R. A. H., Jr.

SACHS, HANS (German, 1494-1576), the cobbler-poet of Nuremberg, wrote more than 6,000 works: *Meisterlieder*, tales and fables, tragedies, comedies, carnival plays. He turned into simple rhymed verse (*Knittelvers*), fixed *Meistersinger* patterns, or primitive dramatic dialogue, all that he found interesting in the *Bible*, classical literature, Italian stories, anecdotal and legendary material. Contemporary events also furnished him with subjects, as in the famous *Wittenbergisch Nachtigall* (1523), a song of praise for Luther and the Reformation. His works show the moralistic and didactic attitudes of the rising bourgeoisie of his age, but relieved by a genial humor, vigorous enthusiasm, and trenchant expression.

S. Liptzin, *Hist. Survey of German Lit.* (N. Y.), 1936.

S. L. S.

SA'DI (Musharrif al-Din ibn Muslih al-Din 'Abdullah; Iranian, 1184-1291), a moral teacher, didactic poet, a great Sufi and a philosopher, best known as "the nightingale of a thousand songs," devoted his long life to study and travel and produced a series of books which are to this day taught in the schools of Iran, India, and Turkey. He finished his *Gulistan* (*Rose Garden*) when he was over sixty years old. It is the most widely read book in Iranian literature. Its 8 chapters contain some verses and sentences in Arabic, including quotations from the *Koran*. The prose section usually tells the story and the verse points the moral. *The Bustan* (*Orchard*) is an exquisite poem; it contains moral precepts and rules of life. Its themes are varied and touch on many subjects such as justice, government, love, humility, moral education, gratitude, self-control. The *Pand-nama* (*Book of Advice*) is concise and elegant and is written in a meter that flows in easy cadence. Sa'di has not the epic force nor the romantic strain of Firdausi or Nizami, but his writings abound in sound wisdom and are often witty and to the point. He did not confine himself to the ethical and didactic field, but also composed a series of odes, elegies, and other short poems which have warm feeling and a distinctly human touch. He has also written several short treatises known as *Risala*.

Henri Massé, *Essai sur le Poète Saadi* (Paris), 1919.

M. A. S.

SAINTE-BEUVE, CHARLES-AUGUSTIN (French, 1804-69), was, with Hippolyte Taine, France's best-known 19th c. literary critic. After a minor success as poet and novelist, he turned to criticism and literary history and made his reputation with three excellent works, *Tableau of 16th C. Poetry* (1828), *History of Port-Royal* (1840-60), and *Chateaubriand and his Literary Group* (1860). These works, together with a long series of literary essays which appeared in periodicals and which were later gathered in 28 volumes under the general title of *Monday Chats* (1851-70), present Sainte-Beuve in his entirety. Although he makes some pretense at 'scientific' criticism, he was in reality far more interested in the psychological interpretation of the literary figures he studied. And, although we may have some reservations as to his method and interests, it cannot be denied that he saw men with astonishing clarity in their works and had the talent to reconstitute them as living beings through the medium of his words alone.

L. F. Mott, *S.-B.* (N. Y.), 1925.  
R. J. N.

SAINT-SIMON, THE DUKE OF (French, 1675-1755), author of the finest *Memoirs* in French literature, is a character unique and fascinating. Of high birth, he combined the qualities of a feudal lord

living in an age when feudalism was long since dead, with those of a social historian, a polemist, a satirist, and a realistic novelist. The *Memoirs* (pub. 1830) cover the period of Louis XIV's later years, 1691-1723, and today constitute our most valuable record of what might be called the 'backstairs' history of the reign. Although they suffer from a complete lack of composition, although they have no scholarly attention to detail and to organization, although, because of Saint-Simon's vicious hatred for certain figures, they are often untrustworthy, they are nevertheless a supreme achievement of observation and a magnificent example of human verve and energy. No greater compilation of colorful, realistic material exists concerning those years which saw the fall of the Sun King and the dissolution of the great court of Versailles.

Marie Cher, *Poison at Court* (N. Y.), 1931.

R. J. N.

SALAWI, AL-, SHIHAB-AL-DIN AL-NASIRI, or Slāwi (Arab, 1835-97), born at Salé (Slā), an Atlantic seaport of Morocco, is the modern historian of his country. A life-long civil servant of the Sharifian *makhzan* (government), he served in the legal administration at Casablanca, Marrakesh, Mazagan, and Tangier. His chief work, *Kitāb al-Istiqāʾ* (*Book of Inquiry*; 4 v., Cairo, 1894), is the first complete Arabic history of Morocco; it shows knowledge of European as well as Islamic sources. The affairs of his native Salé occupy the center of the stage in his chronography, a year-by-year record of each sultan's reign; but he adds critical reflections on Moroccan culture. One of the rare Moroccan moderns that wielded the Arabic language with facility and elegance, he was basically a *littérateur*, though his style, limpid and chaste, tended to be free from hackneyed phraseology and rhymed prose.

E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens De Chorfa* (Paris), 1922.

E. J. J.

SALLUST (C. Sallustius Crispus; Roman, 86-35 B.C.) has acquired a reputation as a publicist and historian which is in inverse ratio to the extent of his actual contributions to literature. The enduring quality of such extant monographs as his *Catiline's Conspiracy* or his *Jugurtha* rests as much on the significance of the events there recorded as on the pointed sentences for which he was especially noted. His huge fortune, obtained in the usual manner by plundering the provincials, was placed on the side of Julius Caesar. His epigrammatic style served as an excellent medium for his penetrating analysis of character. In this respect he is the literary father of historians, such as Tacitus, that above all search for hidden motives and intentions.

J. C. Rolfe, *Works of S.* (Cambridge, Mass.).

J. J. S.

SANCHEZ, FLORENCIO (1875-1910), Uruguayan dramatist, outstanding for his nationalist influence, was profoundly affected by socialistic ideas and by contact with Rubén Darío. His early plays, *Ladrones* and *Canallitas*, employed local scenes and characters and suggested his distinctive dramatic ability, but not until *M'hijo el doctor* (Buenos Aires, 1903) was his peculiar ability to reflect the life about him recognized. The conflict here presented, centering about two generations—the gaucho father and the civilized son who preaches his right to happiness—first turned popular attention from European to nationalistic drama. Of the 20 plays produced sporadically before 1909, this play and *La gringa* have received highest praise. Their charm lies largely in their realism, natural dialogue, engrossing plot, freshness and verve.

Angel Flores, F. S., *Uruguayan Playwright*, in *Panorama*, Jan., 1944; R. Richardson, F. S. and *the Argentine Theatre* (N. Y.), 1923.

J. R. S.

SANDBURG, CARL [AUGUST] (U.S.A., b. 1878), born in Illinois of Swedish immigrant parents, has expressed in his brief, cadenced free-verse chants (*Selected Poems*, 1926) the raw, powerful, crude, laughing dynamic force of industrial America, as well as a tender and sensitive appreciation of the delicate and lovely in the common and commonplace. A spiritual descendant of Whitman, his perceptive verse technique rests upon the immediate and factual; but this is transcended in his best poems by a sense of obscure beauty and spiritual infinity. His militant social humanitarianism and faith in the working class have found their noblest expression in *The People, Yes* (1936), a verse panorama of American folk history, and in his monumental, accurate biography of Lincoln (*Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years*, 2 v., 1926; *The War Years*, 4 v., 1939).

E. C. S.

SANNAZARO, JACOPO (Italian, ca. 1456-1530), was the chief vernacular poet of Naples in the 15th c., and the initiator of the pastoral romance. An intense lover of the classics and a member of Pontano's Academy, he wrote extensively in Latin: five remarkable piscatorial eclogues (*Piscatorie*), three books each of elegies and epigrams, and a not wholly successful mingling of Christian story with classical ornamentation and machinery in the epic *The Birth of Christ*. Sannazaro's chief work in Italian is the *Arcadia*, a romance in mixed prose and verse, combining idyllic descriptions and scenes of pastoral life, based mainly on classical reminiscences, with delicately personal romantic melancholy.

F. Colangelo, *Vita di Giacomo S.*, 2a ed. (Napoli), 1819.

R. A. H. Jr.

SAPPHO (Greek, ca. 650-? B.C.) was the great love poetess of Greek lyric poetry. Born on the island of Lesbos of an aristocratic family, she gathered about her a circle of young women in a religious association to worship Aphrodite. In their company she found her own spiritual satisfaction and an inspiration for her poetry. Such an association was sufficient in itself to stir the psychopathological interest of later antiquity and modern times, which assured the origin and life of the many legends clustering about her name. The scanty remains of her poetry, however, show an intensely feminine and direct spirit, which expressed its feelings in simple and exquisite verse. Sappho had many imitators, such as Anacreon and Catullus, and a continuous popularity, even until the 7th c. A.D., as the papyrus fragments from Egypt show.

C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford), 1936.

C. A. R.

SARRUF, YA'QUB (Arab, 1852-1927), born in Lebanon and educated at what is now the American University of Beirut, settled in Cairo, making Egypt the scene of his activities as one of the chief builders of the new Arabic thought, with his influential journal *al-Muqtataf* (Cullings, founded 1876). His works, marked by careful research, included books on chemistry, toxicology, astronomy, and literature. These writings not only stimulated intellectual life, but proved the adequacy of Arabic for the transmission of modern scientific ideas. By its vigor, simplicity and flexibility, his prose set the pace for many writers. It enjoys a well-recognized reputation for freedom from pedantry, for purity and elegance.

D. S. Margoliouth, in *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, 1927.

E. J. J.

SAXO GRAMMATICUS (?1150-1220), the father of Danish literature. His book *Gesta Danorum* became a constant informative and inspirational source of literary productions through many centuries, and became a fountain of Danish nationalism. It contains the story of Hamlet.

C. M. V.

SCHILLER, FRIEDRICH VON (German, 1759-1806), Germany's greatest dramatist; the "poet of the people," for in his works national feeling finds an echo and a spur. Throughout his life he struggled for an ideal of art which would unite beauty with morality. Thought is predominant in his verse (*The Ideal and Life, The Walk, The Song of the Bell*), yet the images are vivid and the rhythm active. His ballads (written after 1797) are among the most popular in German literature (*The Diver, The Glove, The Cranes of Ibycus*); in them the problem of destiny is projected in dramatic and passionate style. Schiller made important contributions in his historical writings (*Revolt of the Nether-*

*lands*, 1788; *History of the Thirty Years' War*, 1790) and in his philosophical essays (*On Grace and Dignity*, 1793; *Aesthetic Letters*, 1796; *On Naive and Sentimental Poetry*, 1795-96). The philosophical element is also present in his plays, with fate and freedom as the poles of his world, but here Schiller is a sovereign artist with a sure feeling for the theatre and an innate sense of dramatic values. His nine dramas are rich in their variation of dramaturgic pattern, and have inspired later dramatists to strive to emulate their pathsos and theatrical vision (*The Robbers*, 1781; *Fiesco*, 1783; *Love and Intrigue*, 1784; *Don Carlos*, 1787; the trilogy *Wallenstein's Camp, The Piccolomini, Wallenstein's Death*, 1795-97; *Mary Stuart*, 1800; *The Maid of Orleans*, 1801; *The Bride of Messina*, 1803; *William Tell*, 1804).

Calvin Thomas, *The Life and Works of S. (N. Y.)*, 1901.

S. L. S.

SCHLEGEL, AUGUST WILHELM (German, 1767-1845), was not an original mind, but served as the mediator between the obscure but creative ideas of his younger brother Friedrich and the German Romantic School which put them into practice. In his *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature* (delivered 1801 to 1803 in Berlin, and 1808 in Vienna), he presented the basic ideas of German romanticism as promulgated by Friedrich. Here August Wilhelm contrasted the plastic, if limited, perfection of the Greeks with the incomplete, but greater striving of the moderns, whose aim is toward universality and infinity, and pointed to Shakespeare as the great model for the romantic writers to follow. He has also won enduring fame by his contribution to the Tieck-Schlegel translation of Shakespeare, and by his excellent work as translator of Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese classics and of Hindu literature.

S. Liptzin, *Hist. Survey of German Lit. (N. Y.)*, 1936.

P. M.

SCHLEGEL, FRIEDRICH (German, 1772-1829), a leading theorist of the German Romantic School, laid the foundation, in his brilliant fragments and other writings, for the ideas that were later adopted and put into practice by the creative writers of that school. His definition of romantic poetry as 'progressive universal poetry,' his demand for a blending of the different forms and genres, and his urging of a new mythology, a synthesis of Spinozistic pantheism and physics, have become basic for romantic writing up to the present. Finally, Schlegel made a real contribution to the art of modern living in his novel *Lucinde* (1799), by defining love as a synthesis of both physical and spiritual elements, in which woman is man's partner rather than a vague ideal or a plaything.

S. Liptzin, *Hist. Survey of German Lit. (N. Y.)*, 1936.

P. M.

SCHEINZLER, ARTHUR (Austrian, 1862-1931), a master of the impressionistic technique and a born analyst of human behaviour, with a sceptical view of life, has left an intimate chronicle of Vienna before and after World War I, especially of intellectuals and of cultured, independent bourgeois people. Some of his characters, notably from the dramatic dialogues *Anatol* and *Liebelel*, have become synonyms for easy-going, pleasure-loving young men and women. Of the approaching political and social storm his work gives no intimation, with the outstanding exception of the play *Professor Bernhardt* (1912), where the refusal of a Jewish doctor to admit a priest to a patient who does not know he is dying, foreshadows the eruption of racial antagonisms.

S. Liptzin, A. S. (New York), 1932.  
H. B.

SCHURER, FERDE (Frisian, b. 1898), is the most widely read poet of the Young Frisian Movement. He has stood nearer to the people than any other of the Young Frisian poets, whose art has often been too intellectual and individualistic. Schurer's inspired verse may be called genuine national art. It is graceful, spontaneous, and direct, reaching its greatest heights in the religious and the national. Many of his spirited patriotic poems have become the battle hymns of the nationalists. His poems are collected in *Verse*, 1925, *On Wings of Song*, 1930, *With Every Wind*, 1936, and *Voices From Two Shores*, 1940. Schurer has also written some short stories, a few plays, and *Samson*, a Biblical drama in verse. J. Piebenga, *Koarte Skiednis fen de Fryske Skriftekennisse* (Dokkum), 1939.

B. J. F.

SCOTT, SIR WALTER (English, 1771-1832), writer of historical novels, was first the poet of the Scottish highlands. His best poetry was written in ballad spirit and expressed the vitality of the Scottish folklore. Scott was a prodigious writer, composing some two novels yearly. Not since Shakespeare's time had any author presented such a vivid series of historical scenes and types or such a large number of lifelike and nationally representative characters, especially as in the *Waverley* series. His knowledge of life was wider and more varied than that of any other novelist since Fielding.

R. H. Hutton, Sir W. S.  
F. F. M.

SEI SHONAGON (Japanese) was an outstanding authoress of the Heian period (794-1192). Her life is obscure except that she was born of the aristocratic Kiyohara family, which was noted for its high literary accomplishments, and that she herself was once a court lady of no mean rank. She was a careful and objective observer of life, and in contrast to her contemporary, Murasaki Shikibu,\* showed a somewhat cynical and even obstinate

nature in her dashing way of writing. Her *Makura no Sōshi* (*Pillow Sketches*), the first attempt at a style known as *zuihitsu* (desultory essays), demonstrates well her cleverness in making use of her profound knowledge of Chinese literature.

Fujimura, Tsukuru, *Nippon Bungaku Daijiten* (*Comprehensive Dictionary of Japanese Lit.*; Tokyo), 1934.

Y. U.

SENECA, L. ANNAEUS (Roman, ca. 4 B.C.-65 A.D.), presents the strange enigma of a man who seems to have condoned evil in high court circles and at the same time extolled all the Stoic virtues in prose works of considerable distinction. There is much profound thought packed into his epistles to his friend Lucilius. He is a master of the epigram. His pithy, sententious statements on every conceivable subject paved the way to the modern essay of Montaigne and Bacon. Seneca's rhetorical training led him also to write 9 closet-tragedies which have had extraordinary influence on European drama, far beyond their intrinsic merit as declamation pieces.

R. M. Gummere, *S. the Philosopher and his Modern Message* (Boston), 1922;  
C. W. Mendell, *Our S.* (New Haven), 1941.

J. J. S.

SEVICNE, MADAME DE (Marie de Chantal, French, 1626-96), was the great correspondent of France's Golden Age. Her vast collection of *Letters* (pub. 1725) give us a complete and entirely engaging self-portrait of a devoted mother and sprightly lady of society, but they offer us also a more important picture of the manners and customs and people of the court of Louis XIV. Scarcely a notable figure of the times escapes her sharp glance, no event of importance and hardly a significant detail pass unperceived by her. She was blessed, moreover, with a style and manner that give her figures life and movement. More than any other correspondent, she contributed to the formation of the Frenchman's genius for the composition of the private letter; even today she is a guide and model in the art of pleasant self-expression.

Arthur Tilley, *Mme de S.* (Cambridge), 1936.

R. J. N.

SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM (English, 1564-1616), is the supreme dramatic poet not only of England but of all ages and the world. His literary activity may be divided into four periods. In the first, he was concerned mainly with comedy, chronicle plays, and sonnets. It was a time of apprenticeship and imitation, as shown in *The Comedy of Errors*, the plot taken from the *Menaechmi* of Plautus. In the second period, he shows himself a finished artist, urbane and poised. Here, also, he devoted himself mainly to comedy, though he wrote the historical

plays *Henry IV* and *Henry V*, foreshadowed in the first period by *Richard III*. *Twelfth Night* is thought to be the greatest of Shakespeare's comedies, combining the high comedy of romance and the low comedy of English life. In the third period, Shakespeare attained the height of artistic expression, his spirit enveloped in melancholy, in writing his great tragedies. *Othello*, many take as his supreme achievement in dramatic technique. It is a domestic tragedy with a singularly modern tone, in which he creates his greatest villain, Iago. Here too fall his great tragedy of indecision, *Hamlet*; the wild ambition of *Macbeth*; the intense passions of *King Lear*. In the fourth period, Shakespeare forsook the tragic for the romantic, the probable for the improbable; with his genius, he made even the fanciful real. He seems to have had the power to transform whatever he touched. He is unequalled in technique and in characterization. He is a master of word music, of deepest sympathy and universal appeal.

C. I. Elton, *Wm. S. and His Friends*.  
F. F. M.

SHAW, GEORGE BERNARD (English, b. 1856), foremost of contemporary dramatists, was earlier a novelist, a music and a drama critic. A devotee of social propaganda, he writes plays to advance his opposition to accepted opinions. He presents his ideas with a mastery of dramatic technique, disregarding the conventional forms of the theatre; and with a keen argumentative style in his lengthy prefaces to his plays. His skill in dialogue and verbal fence makes for constant intellectual excitement. His plays are significant in that they have taught audiences to find drama in ideas as well as action, and humor in states of mind as well as in situations.

G. K. Chesterton, G. B. S.  
F. F. M.

SHAWKI, AHMAD (Arab, 1868-1932), of Turkish descent though a second generation Egyptian, Shawqi's formal schooling began on native soil and, like that of many a highborn compatriot, was completed in France. Favored at the Khedival court, he served his country in several official capacities. His devotion to the deposed ruler of Egypt, upon the outbreak of World War I, led him to Spain as an exile. With his first poetical collection, *al-Shaw-qiyyāt* (1898), he inaugurated a notable literary career. Of consummate beauty, grace, and power, his verse had a transforming influence upon the cultured Arab. His prose served as a highly acceptable vehicle for a number of theatricals which were the brilliant achievement of a pioneer. He combined the traditional dignity of Arabic expression with the novelty and vitality of French.

E. J. J.

SHELLEY, PERCY BYSSHE (English, 1792-1822), stands with Keats as the two younger poets of the

romantics. Well educated and of noble birth, he spurned a baronetcy because of revolutionary ideas. Freedom from tyranny and institutions inspired such earlier poems as *Queen Mab*. In no other writer is the poetry so pure, so independent of subject, so mere a harmony in the early Greek sense. Shelley is a master of eloquent phrase and metrical form, as in *Epipsychidion*, *Ode to the West Wind*, *Adonais*, using different forms in each with appropriateness and power. He employs metaphors often, and the emotions of ecstasy and dejection are always linked in his writing. In his essay *Defense of Poetry*, he expressed his belief that poets are "the unacknowledged legislators of the world."

J. A. Symonds, S.  
F. F. M.

SHEVCHENKO, TARAS (Ukrainian, 1814-61), was the greatest Ukrainian poet. He was born a serf on an estate on the Dnyeper; liberated in 1838, he was sentenced in 1847 to serve in the army as a private, with a strict prohibition of writing and painting. Freed in 1857, but kept under police supervision, he was already a broken man. His early writings are filled with a desire to revive the glorious days of the Kozaks and are marked by their anti-Polish character; but in his later days he emphasized his aversion to the Russians and his demand that Ukraine must again be free. He vehemently protested against all injustice; in his pictures of the fallen girl, he almost unconsciously merges her with the enslaved and unhappy Ukraine. Largely self-taught, he was a poet by the gift of God. In him Ukrainian literature has a figure that can compare with the best the Slavonic world has to offer.

C. A. Manning, *Essays on Ukrainian Lit.*,  
1944.

G. A. M.

SHEYH GALIB (Turkish, 1759-99) was the last great poet of the old Turkey. His fame depends almost entirely on the long allegorical "mesnevi" poem, *Love and Beauty* (*Hüsnü Ashk*), written when he was 21. He was for some time the "sheyh" (shaikh), or grand master, of the Mevlevi (whirling dervish) tekke in Pera, and his tomb may still be seen there.

J. K. B.

SHIMAZAKI TOSON (Haruki, Japanese, b. 1872) is a product of rural Nagano in central Japan. Together with Masamune Hakuchō and Tokuda Shūsei, he had an important share in the development of contemporary Japanese literature. In fact, he has contributed successively to the schools of romanticism, naturalism, neo-idealism, and neo-realism. *Hakai* (Apostasy; 1906), a novel with a sociological theme, on the maltreated minority known as *eta*, became a pattern for many novels. In *Yokai Mae* (Before the Dawn; 1935) Shimazaki's per-

sonality and art reached full maturity. In this long novel in two volumes, he describes simple country people against the background of nature and history, in a style which, though simple, reveals his profound and rich sentiments. A humanist of rugged individuality and extremely modest life, his greatness lies in his constant search for new significances in realism. He must also be remembered as a great lyric poet.

Fujimura, Tsukuru, *Nippon Bungaku Daijiten (Comprehensive Dictionary of Japanese Lit.; Tokyo)*, 1934.

Y. U.

SHINASI EFENDI, İBRAHİM (Turkish, 1826-71), began his career as a clerk in the Imperial arsenal on the Golden Horn. From an elderly clerk there he learned Arabic and Persian, from a French officer he picked up French. This industrious self-education was rewarded by the Sultan, Abdul Mejid, with a period of study in France. On his return, he began to edit a newspaper *Terjimanı Ahval (Interpreter of Events)* in an effort to introduce new literary ideals, and later, in collaboration with Namik Kemal, he published the still more famous *Tasvir-i Efkâr (Tablet of Opinions)*. His translation of French poems and prose pieces from La Fontaine, Racine, and Lamartine (1859) is considered the beginning of the literary revolution that made possible the new Turkey. The *Hymn* is considered by some to be the finest of his poetical efforts. He was the founder of the New School.

J. K. B.

SHNEOR, ZALMAN (Hebrew; Yiddish; b. 1887 in Shklov, Russia), the son of a jewelry merchant, ran away from home at the age of 13, and remained a rebellious spirit in his literary work as in his life. His poetry, as well as his prose both in Hebrew and in Yiddish, is marked by great vigor and individuality. He is almost always concerned with universal subjects, and the problems that torment his soul. He is a realist, laying bare the sordid life around him. In his novels, he loves to portray rough and vigorous characters. Shneor traveled extensively, living in Odessa, Warsaw, Berlin, Paris, and since 1940 in New York.

S. Spiegel, *Hebrew Reborn* (N. Y.), 1930.

L. A.

SHOLEM ALEIKHEM (pseud. of Sholem Rabino-vitch, Yiddish, 1859-1916), one of the three classics of modern Yiddish literature, greatest Yiddish humorist and most popular writer, born in the Ukraine, where he spent an idyllic childhood, but a trying adolescence. A tutor in the home of a Jewish estate owner, he fell in love with his pupil. Marrying her despite the opposition of her parents, he soon became heir to the wealth of his father-in-law. He lost his money, partly in publishing his *Yidishe Volksbibliothek* (1888-89), and became a broker on the

stock exchange in Odessa, an experience that later furnished him the material for his famous work, *Menakhem Mendel* (a symbol of the Jewish *Luftmensch*). Towards the end of the century, he was able to devote himself exclusively to literature. In 1914 he came to America. The most important stages in his writing are: 1) short, realistic stories, influenced by Mendele; 2) novels of the Jewish mode of life (*Stempenyn; Yosele Solovey*); 3) tales of Kasilevke, the synthesized town of poor but happy Jews ("little people with small outlooks"); 4) *Menakhem Mendel* and other stories of the inhabitants of Kasilevke abroad (*Ksirim fun a Konni-Voyazhor, The Writings of a Traveling Salesman*); 5) various types of simple folk, in his series *Teyve der Milkhiker (Teyve the Dairyman)*; 6) stories about children, culminating in the novel *Motel Peyse dem Khazans Motel (Peyse, Son of the Cantor)*; 7) works of Jewish life in Russia (*Der blutiger Shpas, Bloody Jest; Di blondzhende Shtern, Straying Stars*); 8) the autobiographical novel *Funem Yairid (From the Fair)*. This scheme is only partly chronological; nor does it include dozens of popular humorous stories, and his dramatic works. Sholem Aleikhem has been translated into Hebrew (by his son-in-law, the writer I. D. Berkowitz), into English, French, Spanish, Russian, German, and several other languages.

M. Samuel, *The World of S. A.* (N. Y.), 1943; C. A. Madison, S. A., in *Poet Lore*, Vol. XXXIII; I. D. Berkowitz, *Dos S. A. Bukh*.

Y. M.

SHUMAYYIL, SHIBLI (Arab, ca. 1850-1916), Syrian metaphysicist and moralist, born in Kafar-shūma, near Beirut, lived mainly in Egypt. He translated Ludwig Büchner's *Kraft und Stoff*, becoming the champion of rationalism in the Arab world. His *Kitāb al-Haqiqah (Book of Reality, 1885)* and *Falsafat al-Nushū'w-al-Itiqā (Philosophy of Evolution, 1910)* were based on Darwin, Spencer, and Büchner. His more literary remains include a treatise on al-Ma'arri's *Risālat al-Ghufrān* and his *Shakwa wa Amal (Complaint and Hope)*, a work addressed (1896) to despotic 'Abd-al-Hamid. In a poetical manifesto—*Rijhān (Prepondering)*—he called for the abolition of "antiquated religion." A witness of the 1908 revolution and the first half of World War I, his reflections distinguished him as one of the period's rare intellects.

Jean Lecref, in *Bulletin d'Études Orientales*, Tome I (Paris), 1931.

E. J. J.

SICIDITES, MICHAEL. See Glycas, Michael.

SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP (English, 1554-86), though a writer of prose, is most noteworthy as an Elizabethan lyric writer and sonneteer. His *Astrophel and Stella* is the first real English sonnet sequence, tell-

ing a story of love, as do the sonnets of the Italian Petrarch. Sidney's sonnets have grace, ease, sincerity, and a genuine character, reflecting the spirit of the writer. His *Arcadia* is in the extravagant euphuistic prose of the period; his *Defense of Poesie*, although attacked, was the first scholarly literary criticism of the language.

J. A. Symonds, *Life of S.*  
F. F. M.

SIENKIEWICZ, HENRYK (1846-1916), the greatest Polish historical novelist and perhaps the most universally known Polish writer, especially for *Quo Vadis*, a tale of the Roman Empire. He came to manhood after the disastrous Polish revolt of 1863, at a time when realism was in fashion and when it was regarded as foolish to worry about ideals. Yet his trilogy drawn from Polish history of the 17th c. succeeded, in the framework of the literature of the day, in rekindling Polish self-confidence and in rebuilding the belief of the people in their past and also in their future. He was less successful in dealing with themes from modern times. A popular writer, he died on the eve of Polish liberation and the great mass of the people were grateful for his figures, which were realistic and romantic, adventurous and real at the same time.

J. Kallenbach, *H. S.*, 1917; M. M. Gardner, *The patriot novelist of Poland*, *H.*, 1925.

C. A. M.

SIGFUSSON, SAEMUNDR (Icelandic, 1056-1133), renowned in his day for unusual learning, also was a personage of far-reaching influence in the political and cultural life of the Icelandic nation, through the founding of the famed school at his ancestral home of Oddi and through elevating to a position of lasting importance the family of Oddi, or Oddaverjar, as they are known. He is, however, most important as a pioneer historian, for it appears certain that he was "the first writer of history in Iceland, but in the Latin language, and probably he was the first to acquaint his countrymen with foreign historical writings." None of his writings in this field has been preserved, but he is quoted in various historical works, and all the evidence points to his having written, in Latin, a history of the Norwegian kings down to the year 1047.

H. Hermannsson, *S. S. and the Oddaverjar* (Ithaca, N. Y.), 1932.

R. B.

SIGURJONSSON, JOHANN (Icelandic, 1880-1919), Iceland's greatest and most famous dramatist, owes his fame primarily to the impressiveness and the stage success of his drama *Eyvind of the Hills* (1911), where his great dramatic power and literary art find their richest expression. This stern and impassioned tragedy of the outlaw and the woman who sacrifices all to share his lot is equally notable

for magnificent poetry, penetrating characterization, and stark reality. Sigurjónsson's next drama, *Galdra-Loftur* (*Loft's Wish*, 1915), in Eng. in *Poet Lore* (1940), is also based on an Icelandic folk-tale, centering around an Icelandic Faust. Here are some intensely dramatic scenes, passages of pure beauty, as well as splendid and delicate characterization. His last drama, *Lögneren* (*The Liar*, 1917), is written on a theme from *Njáls saga*, generally acclaimed as the greatest of the Icelandic sagas. In many respects an impressive drama; it is nevertheless overshadowed by the great classic which inspired it and furnished its theme.

*Modern Icelandic Plays*, trans. H. K. Schanche (N. Y.), 1929; J. Johnson, "J. S.", *Poet Lore*, Summer, 1940.  
R. B.

SILFVERSTOLPE, GUNNAR MASCOLL (Swedish, 1893-1942), son of an army officer, was born on a country estate in the province of Västernmanland, of a family with literary traditions. He published his first book, a collection of poetry, in 1919. Its title, *Arvet* (*The Heritage*), became a symbol of his attitude toward life. The tradition and interests he represented were those of a highly-educated nobleman, deeply responsive to the beautiful in art and nature, and this attitude is beautifully expressed in his collection of poems (*Dagsljus*, *Daylight*, 1923; *Vardag*, *Weekday*, 1926; *Efteråt*, *Afterwards*, 1932). His idyllic childhood was one of his best sources of inspiration. He never expressed any social interest, but this does not signify that his world was without problems. The contrast between his worship of the heroic and his duty as a poet and a scholar seems to have been a strain that he felt strongly during the World War, when the times called for action.

G. M. S., *fyr tio år*, 1933.  
A. W.

SINGER, J. J. (Yiddish, 1893-1944), one of the outstanding Yiddish novelists of the interbellum period. Son of a Rabbi in a small town in Poland, he surreptitiously read the secular literature in Yiddish and in Hebrew. He wrote a long naturalistic novel, which won him a large reading public. His novels are highly naturalistic, presenting striking and usually negative characters from different Jewish strata against a broad background. Popular in English translation are *The Sinner*; *The Brothers Ashkenazi*; *East of Eden*.

Y. M.

SJOBERG, BIRGER (Swedish, 1885-1929), was born in a small town, Vänersborg, where his father was a haberdasher. He was a success among his friends as a singer of sentimental and humorous songs, writing the words as well as the melodies himself. After a collection of these songs in 1920, he toured through Sweden with his guitar, and the author of *Fridas visor* (*Songs about Frida*) was

greeted everywhere as the Bellman of this century. In 1924 he published a novel, *Kvartetten som sprängdes* (*The Quartet That Scattered*), a story of small town life, written in Dickens' style; and in 1926 a collection of poems, *Kriser och kranser* (*Crises and Garlands*). The peculiar and expressive style of his poems was often difficult to interpret; they are imbued with the agony of life.

R. Malm, *Dikturvärld och verklighet* hos B. S., 1930.

A. W.

SKALLAGRIMSSON, EGILL (Icelandic, 900-983), is the first Icelandic skald known to us by name, as well as the greatest of them all. *Egils saga*, one of the very best of the Icelandic sagas, centers around him and tells of his heroic exploits. With his sonorous poem *Höfudlausn* (*Head-Ransom*), he purchased his life at the hands of his arch-enemy King Eric Bloody-Axe. A man of no ordinary mould, rugged alike in features and character, Egill is the very embodiment of the Viking spirit, defiant even of the gods themselves, yet possessed of deep sensitiveness. He was a master of metrical form and excelled in graphic descriptions. The full measure of his poetic genius is seen in his *Sonatorrek* (*Sons' Lament*), a memorial poem mourning the loss of his two sons. In a strikingly original manner the poet pours out his heart in this forceful and remarkable dirge, one of the greatest poems in Icelandic literature.

Lee M. Hollander, *The Skalds* (Princeton and N. Y.), 1945.

R. B.

SLOWACKI, JULJUSZ (1809-49), the second of the Polish Romantic poets, whom some critics place on the same level as Mickiewicz,\* lacks the broad appeal and the optimism of the older man. He was far more sceptical and philosophical than Mickiewicz, of whom he was in turn friend and critic, and he could not believe in the close association of nation and church that Mickiewicz did. He was far more interested in the spirit than in the body and his greatest poems, as *Król Duch*, portray the development of the spirit. His poetical form is almost perfect and his fantasy is unlimited in its flights, but there is always something austere and intellectual about him that makes him often inaccessible to the multitude.

J. Kleiner, J. S., 1919-20.  
C. A. M.

SMOLENSKIN, PEREZ (Hebrew, 1842-85), born in a village in Russia, orphaned at ten, was introduced to Haskalah by his older brother. He led a life of suffering, wandering from place to place, supporting himself by singing in choirs and giving Hebrew lessons. In Odessa he came in contact with Hebrew writers and there started his literary career in the *Hameliz*. In 1867 he arrived in Vienna, where he intended to enter the university but instead became a printer, and in 1868 founded the

*Hashahar* (*Dawn*), which indeed heralded the dawn of a new era in Hebrew literature. As critic, essayist, and novelist, he advocated enlightenment and education, fought ignorance and the superstitious rabbis; but he foresaw that the *Haskalah* was estranging the Jews from their own culture and heritage, and also opposed assimilation. When the Zionist movement was launched, in the 1880's, he rallied to its cause. He gathered around the *Hashahar* a new group of young writers. In its pages they advanced the new nationalism. During the 15 years of its existence, the *Hashahar* was the cathedral of Hebrew literature and thought. Smolenskin's reputation as a novelist was supreme. Though his realistic novels of Jewish life lack refinement, and often betray the hurried pen of the busy writer and editor, they also testify to Smolenskin's great descriptive gifts. For several generations they were the classics of Hebrew fiction.

N. Slouschz, *The Renaissance of Hebrew Lit.* (Phila.), 1909; S. Spiegel, *Hebrew Reborn* (N. Y.), 1930.

SMOLLETT, TOBIAS (English, 1721-71), a Scotchman, was a physician by profession who, in the early days of the novel, turned to literature. His first novel, *Roderick Random* (1748) and also his later writings, *Peregrine Pickle* (1751) and *Ferdinand, Count Fathom* (1753) were picaresque tales of high adventure. Much of his writing was autobiographical. These adventures gave Smollett an opportunity to describe men and things. His chief contributions to the novel were, enlarging its area by furnishing special types of character and incident, as in his last novel *Humphrey Clinker* (1771) and by introducing at least one special interest, the sea.

Sir Walter A. Raleigh, *The English Novel Lit.* (Phila.), 1899, 1929.  
F. F. M.

SODERBERG, HJALMAR (Swedish, 1869-1941), with his ironical wit, his skepticism, and resignation, is a typical representative of the "fin-de-siècle" in its Swedish form. As a master of style, he ranks among the foremost in Swedish literature. His production, however, consists of only a few volumes—three novels (*Martin Bircks ungdom*, 1901, trans. *Martin Birck's Youth*, N. Y. & London, 1930); a few collections of short stories (*Selected Short Stories*, trans. Princeton & N. Y., 1935), and a couple of plays (*Gertrud*, 1906). He has often been called the typical Stockholm writer, but for many years he made his home in Copenhagen, where he also died. During his last year he was interested in theology and the history of religion. His selected works were published in 10 v., 1919-21.

S. Stolpe, H. S., 1934; E. Söderberg, H. S., in *The Am.-Scandinavian R.*, Dec. 1941.

A. W.



SNORRI STURLUSON. See Sturluson, Snorri.

SOPHOCLES (Greek, ca. 497-405 B.C.) was the most truly representative writer of classical Greek tragedy. Although most of his time must have been devoted to the writing of plays, he lived the well-rounded life of an Athenian citizen, holding public office and interesting himself in the intellectual movements and pleasures of his period. He is credited with the introduction of a third actor into the drama, and made his plays complete units in themselves, not part of a trilogy. It is, however, in the subtlety of his language, the harmonious construction of his plots, exemplified by the most perfect of Greek tragedies, the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, and the complete mastery of the forms of his dramatic art, that he best expresses the classicism of 5th c. Greece.

T. B. L. Webster, S. (Oxford), 1936.  
C. A. R.

SOUTHEY, ROBERT (English, 1774-1843), was associated in his early career with the romantics Coleridge and Wordsworth, and shared their revolutionary ideas. His pacifism is clear in *The Battle of Blenheim*. His prose has, however, survived better than his epic poetry; most notable, besides the *Nelson*, are his *Lives of John Wesley and John Bunyan*. These display his sincerity and gravity, as well as his perspicuity and scholarship. His last 30 years were spent as poet laureate, which post he restored to a dignity worthy of great poets.

E. Dowden, S.  
F. F. M.

SPENSER, EDMUND (English, 1552-99), was considered the chief English poet of his time. A political appointment took him to Ireland, where he wrote his masterpiece, *The Faerie Queene*, the most significant non-dramatic poem of the Elizabethan period. It was his idea "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline." To this end he planned a poem of 12 books, each to portray a noble virtue by means of noble knights and romantic stories. His allegories are often obscure and the stories intricate. The work is marked by entertaining narrative, beauty of phrase, melody of verse, nobility of thought. For *The Faerie Queene*, he developed the Spenserian stanza—8 iambic pentameter lines capped by a hexameter, rhymed *ababbcbcc*—an exquisite pattern for his sensitive moods.

Spenser's poems fall into three classes: the pastorals of *The Shepherd's Calendar*, reflecting some of the poetic fashions of his age; the allegories of *The Faerie Queene*; and the poems of friendship and love, such as *Amoretti*, inspired by his Irish wife.

Much of his work lacks human interest; his frequent use of archaic words and spelling makes for difficult reading. His faults are more than offset

by his virtues, his moral purpose, his sense of ideal virtue. He has been called the poet-painter of the Renaissance. His influence on later writers has earned him the title of "the poets' poet."

R. W. Curch, *Life of E. S.*  
F. F. M.

SPITTELER, CARL (German-Swiss, 1845-1924), is still a much contested figure in modern German literature. Defying the realistic and naturalistic tendencies of his days, he devoted years of formal and intellectual work to the creation of an epic *Der Olympische Frühling* (*Olympian Springtime*, 1900-10) in which Greek mythology provides the characters for a tumultuous riot of colorful happenings ranging from cosmic events to family quarrels. If this work reveals a truly impressive power for creative imagination and its adequate artistic expression, a later epic *Prometheus der Dulder* (*Prometheus the Sufferer*, 1924) shows Spitteler as a stern critic of modern life, who recommends hard inner work and noble aims as the only road to human dignity. In 1920 he received the Nobel prize, so far the only Swiss poet thus distinguished.

R. Faesi, *S. S.s Weg und Werk* (Frauenfeld), 1933.

H. B.

SSU-MA CH'EN (Chinese, ca. 145-97 B.C.), the first historian to regard all history as his field, and the celebrated author of the *Shih Chi* (*Historical Records or Memoirs*). The *Shih Chi* covers the history of China from the beginning to the author's day, a period of some 2,500 years. It consists of 130 sections, arranged under five headings, which include not only accounts of emperors and feudal nobles, and biographies of distinguished persons, but also treatises on rites, music, laws, calendars, astronomy, astrology, imperial worship, waterways, and economics. In it are found excellent chronological tables and registers of princes, ministers, and generals. It is indeed "the first history in which truth was sifted from fancy." Since its first appearance, about 100 B.C., it has served as a model. Its author says that his narrative "consists of no more than a systematization of the material that has been handed down to us. There is no creation; only a faithful representation."

K. S. Latourette, *The Chinese, Their History and Culture* (N. Y.), 1934;  
L. C. Goodrich, *A Short Hist. of the Chinese People* (N. Y.), 1943.

S. C. L.

STAEL, GERMAINE DE (French-Swiss, 1766-1817), the daughter of the French minister of finance Necker and the wife of a Swedish baron and ambassador to France, remains with Chateaubriand the leading figure of Emigrant literature during the reign of Napoleon I, whose wrath she had excited with her criticism of his tyrannical methods. The

champion of civic and personal liberties, she showed as much independence in her life as in her novels (*Corinne*; *Delphine*), if not more. Her great contribution to European civilization was, first, her book *De l'Allemagne* (1810) which opened the channels of mutual understanding between France and Germany, and secondly, her fifteen years at the castle of Coppet, on Lake Geneva, where her salon became the clearing house for modern ideas, with such intellectual leaders as A. W. von Schlegel, Byron, Constant, H. von Kleist, W. von Humboldt, as her guests.

R. M. Wilson, *G. de S., The Woman of Affairs* (London), 1936.

H. B.

STAGNELIUS, ERIK JOHAN (Swedish, 1793-1823), is often mentioned as the foremost poet of the Swedish neo-romantic school, but he did not belong to any literary circles and took no part in the contemporary literary discussion. He graduated from the University of Uppsala in 1814 and entered the civil service in Stockholm. A nervous sensualist, he lived a life of intemperance and sexual excess, which, in 1822, resulted in a breakdown. It was only after his death, when his collected poems were published, that he was recognized as one of the foremost poets of his time. *Liljor i Zaron* (*Lilies of Sharon*, 1821) expresses his agnostic ideas in lyric form; *Martyrerna* (*The Martyrs*) depicts the religiosity of the first Christians, and the tragedy *Bachanterna* (*The Bacchantes*) is a dramatic paraphrase of the Orpheus myth. His poetry is characterized by glowing passion and a pompous form that has hardly been surpassed in Swedish literature.

F. Bök, *E. J. S.*, 1919; 1942; O. Holmberg, *Sex Kapitel om S.*, 1941.

A. W.

STEELE, RICHARD. See Addison, Joseph.

STEFANSSON, DAVID (Icelandic, b. 1895), is not only the most productive and versatile poet of present-day Iceland, as well as the most popular, but also in many respects the most important one. With his first collection *Svartar fjádrir* (*Black Feathers*, 1919), notable for its haunting, folklore strain, lightness of touch, and musical quality, he struck a new note in modern Icelandic poetry. These qualities characterize his five large volumes of poems since published, together with a deeper undercurrent of feeling, increasing penetration, and wider variety of themes. He has written vivid descriptive poems, well-rounded portraits of individuals, and challenging social satires, marked by high lyric quality. With his two-volume novel, *Sólon Islandus* (1940), penetratingly and brilliantly told, as well as with his two recent dramas, he added to his stature as a writer.

R. Beck, *Icelandic Poems and Stories* (Princeton and N. Y.), 1943.

R. B.

STEINBECK, JOHN [ERNST] (U.S.A., b. 1902), writer of fiction and drama, has not only shown admirable economy, dramatic and narrative force, and stylistic virtuosity that rank him as a major craftsman, but has also achieved fruition in a variety of approaches and methods, each revealing new growth and maturing of mind. He has, like many successful modern writers, generally combined romance with naturalistic narrative details—from his fine, lyrical *The Pastures of Heaven* (1932) to the almost sentimentalized social protest, *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939); and his fundamental optimism in the face of suffering and evil has persisted even in the artistic, simple grimness of *The Moon Is Down* (1942), a story of Nazi-occupied Europe. *The Long Valley* (1938) contains a representative variety of previously published short works.

E. C. S.

STENDHAL: HENRY BEYLE, called (French, 1783-1842), was the forerunner in France of the modern school of psychological novelists. In two fine works, *Le Rouge et le Noir* (1831) and the *Charterhouse of Parma* (1839), he reveals an exquisite talent for the penetration of human motives and a dry, incisive style that is admirably adapted to his analysis. These two novels, which appeared forty years before their time, contain much of Stendhal himself, for his heroes are always sketched, morally at least, in his own image and likeness. His was the doctrine of the pursuit of happiness at whatever cost, and his works display an amorality which indicates that he regarded life as only a laboratory for the development of his own ego. But he has the great merit—rare in his time—of depicting life, not as it should be, but as it is. He is thus the literary forefather of Flaubert and of Zola.

R. Kayser, *S., the Life of an Egoist*, trans. G. Dunlap (N. Y.), 1930.

R. J. N.

STEPHANSSON, STEPHAN G. (Icelandic, 1853-1927), a self-educated farmer, migrated with his parents from northern Iceland to America at the age of twenty, and was three times a pioneer, in Wisconsin, North Dakota, and Alberta, Canada, where he made his home after 1889. He made up for his lack of schooling with concentrated reading and managed, despite the rigorous toil of pioneer farming, to write six volumes of poetry and attain eminence as one of the greatest poets that Iceland has produced. His amazing productivity is matched by the variety of his subject-matter. His nature poems and his poems on themes from the sagas and other northern lore are rich in picturesque detail and deep thought, and forceful in style. A fearless spokesman of the oppressed, he frequently found inspiration in current events, but although his interests were world-wide, his love of Iceland

and things Icelandic is one of the strongest notes in his poetry. His originality, and the richness of his language, are equally remarkable.

Watson Kirkconnell, "Canada's Leading Poet: S. G. S.," *The U. of Toronto Quarterly*, Vol. 5 No. 2, 1936; F. S. Cawley: "The Greatest Poet of the Western World", *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, XV, 1938.

R. B.

STEPHENS, ALFRED GEORGE (Australian, 1865-1933), is the most influential critic in Australian literature. A forceful, dogmatic, rather crabbed writer, and an indefatigable editor, he became something of a Grand Cham in his time. He as much as any single person gave character and direction to the literary influence of *The Bulletin* during his association with the paper as literary critic (1896-1906) and he exercised a similar influence through his own magazine, *The Bookfellow* (1899-1925), and his numerous occasional publications. Stephens was a determined partisan of Australianism in literature. In prose this resulted not only in a spate of highly perishable local color stuff, but also in the work of Henry Lawson and Tom Collins. His influence on poetry was less satisfactory, for he had a weakness for rather pallid romantic verse, yet his sympathies included Neilson, O'Dowd, and Brennan, though it is doubtful that he understood the latter. No full collection of his work has been made. The most considerable book he published in his lifetime was *The Red Pagan* (1904).

A. G. S.: *His Life and Work*, ed. Vance Palmer (Melbourne), 1941. (The "life" is a Foreword. The bulk of the book consists of selected essays.)

C. H. G.

STERNE, LAURENCE (English, 1713-68), an early English novelist, was a clergyman by profession. Although his novels *Tristram Shandy* (1760) and *The Sentimental Journey* (1768) lack the coherence of prose theretofore, they are full of the suggestiveness of brilliant talk. They are products of Sterne's ill-regulated existence. His novels excelled in character sketching and subtle humor. Sterne had the power of imparting genuine human qualities to his characters, giving them an abiding reality and charm by playing directly on the sensibilities of his readers.

W. L. Cross, *Development of the English Novel* (London & N. Y.), 1906.

F. F. M.

STIFTER, ADALBERT (Austrian, 1805-68), was the novelist of the Bohemian Forest. He is microscopic in his observation of nature. The wafting of a breeze, the rippling of a brook, the shimmering

of the stars, the growth of an ear of corn, the change in the shade of the grass, were in his opinion more universal phenomena than the momentary stroke of lightning, peal of thunder, or eruption of lava. He therefore held that these subtler manifestations of nature should receive most attention on the part of poets. His best stories, collected under the title *Studies* (1844-50), influenced Austrian impressionism.

S. Liptzin, *Hist. Survey of German Lit.* (N. Y.), 1936.

S. L.

STRINDBERG, AUGUST (Swedish, 1849-1912), because of his rebellious attitude toward life, always had difficulty in finding his place in society. After having been teacher, actor, and newspaperman, he got a position at the Royal Library, and married the actress, Siri von Essen; but in 1883 he left Sweden. In 1872 he had published *Mäster Olof*, now one of the classic dramas in Swedish literature. Through his social novel, *Röda rummet* (*The Red Room*; 1879; Eng. 1913), he became the leader of a new naturalistic school. His historical short stories, *Svenska öden och äventyr* (*Swedish Destinies and Adventures*; 1882-91) are typical of his antagonism toward society. In *Giftas* (*Married*; 1884), a collection of short stories written in Switzerland, and because of which a legal suit for blasphemy was brought against the author in Sweden, he opposed the emancipation of women. In *Utopier i verkligheten* (*Utopias Realized*; 1885) he discusses social and economic problems. In the later 80's he devoted himself to the writing of several novels and short stories, in which Swedish nature and folk life have been pictured in a way that is unsurpassed: *Hemsöborna* (*The People of Hemsö*; 1887) and *Skärkärsliv* (*Sherry Life*, 1888). He also wrote several naturalistic dramas in which he varied the theme of the struggle between the sexes: *Fadern* (*The Father*; 1887), and *Fröken Julie* (*Miss Julia*; 1888), which echo his own experiences—he was divorced in 1891. He passed through a religious crisis, which he has depicted in *Inferno*, 1897; *Legender* (*Legends*; 1898), and *Till Damaskus* (*To Damascus*; I-II, 1896, III, 1903). He returned to Stockholm, for his most productive period. He wrote dramas such as *Gustaf Vasa*, 1899; *Påsk* (*Easter*; 1901); *Dödsdansen* (*Dance of Death*; 1901); *Kronbruden* (*The Crowned Bride*; 1902); *Svanevit* (1902), and several novels. He supported a theatre, *Intima teatern*, which specialized in his plays, and commented on actual political problems in the press. In 1912 he died of cancer. Strindberg is one of the most colorful personalities in Swedish literature. All the ideas of his generation—social, religious; and finally political—became his personal problems. As a novelist, as well as playwright, he introduced a new period in Swedish literature, and as a master of style he is

unsurpassed. His collected works were published in Stockholm, 1912-20, in 55 v.

M. Lamm, A. S., I, 1940; II, 1942; G. Uddgren, S. the Man; A. J. Uppvall, A. S., a Psychoanalytical Study with Special Reference to the Oedipus Complex, in *Poet Lore*, 1920; V. J. McGill, A. S., *The Bedeviled Viking* (N. Y.), 1930; A. Gustafson, *Some Early English and American S. Criticism*, in *Scandinavian Studies*, 1942.

A. W.

STURLUSON, SNORRI (Icelandic, 1178-1241), author of the world-famous *Prose or Younger Edda*, which reveals vast knowledge of skaldic poetry as well as mastery of metrical form, is no less renowned as Iceland's great historian. In fact, the versatility of this influential chieftain and center of numerous political storms and feuds during the turbulent 13th c. in Iceland was less amazing than his literary productivity. His greatest work, *Heimskringla* (*The Globe*), begins with prehistoric times and relates in consecutive fashion the story of the Norwegian kings down to the year 1177. This was both an ambitious undertaking and a pioneer work in the field. Scientific accuracy, sound critical judgment, and mastery of style characterize this remarkable work and mark Snorri not only as one of the greatest of historians but no less as an unusual literary artists. He excels particularly in portraying contrasting characters and in reproducing the spirit of the age.

*The Prose Edda*, trans. Arthur G. Brodeur (N. Y.), 1916; H. Koht, *The Old Norse Sagas* (N. Y.), 1931.

R. B.

SU SHIH (Chinese, 1036-1101), better known as Su Tung-p'o, an almost universal genius and a great favorite with the Chinese literary public, was a native of Meishan, Szechuan Province. His family was famous for its literary achievements. As a statesman, he served his people in many capacities and in many parts of his country. He wrote numerous essays and poems which are a delight to read for themselves alone, apart from the stimulating quality of their contents. They are intellectually scintillant and philosophically radiant. Among his best known works are *Tung P'o Tz'u* (*The Filled-out Verse of Tung P'o*) and *Tung P'o Chuan Chi* (*The Complete Works of Tung P'o*). He was also a gifted calligrapher and painter.

H. A. Giles; *Hist. of Chinese Lit.* (N. Y. & London), 1929; H. A. Giles, *Gems of Chinese Lit.: Prose* (Shanghai), 1923.

S. C. L.

SU TUNG-P'O. See Su Shih.

SUETONIUS (C. Suetonius Tranquillus; Roman, ca. 75-ca. 160 A.D.) made a notable contribution to ancient biography in his *Lives of the Caesars*, compiled when Suetonius was secretary to emperor Hadrian. In a dry matter-of-fact style he chronicles everything, good or bad, about the emperors from Julius Caesar to Domitian. Nowhere else at this period, except in the graver pages of Plutarch, do we find such a series of curious and choice items about the great as well as about those whose names have become a byword for depravity.

J. C. Rolfe, *S. Lives of the Caesars* (Cambridge, Mass.).

J. J. S.

SUGIMORI SHINSEI. See Chikamatsu.

SUN WEN (Chinese, 1866-1925), better known as Sun Yat-sen, leader of the Chinese revolution and founder of the Chinese Republic, was born in Kwangtung Province. He received his early education in his village, his English education in Honolulu, and his training as a physician in Hongkong. For forty years he labored indefatigably for the cause of revolution and the reconstruction of China. As a writer on political subjects, he wrote with passionate earnestness. His writings include: *The Plans for National Construction*, *The General Principles of National Construction*, the *San Min Chu I* (*The Three Democratic Principles*), and the *Sun Wen Hsueh Shuo* (*The Doctrine of Sun Wen*), in which he attempted to prove with well-ordered arguments that it is much easier to do than to know. He wrote a work in English, *The International Development of China*, "which in its grandeur anticipated the Five-Year and Four-Year Plans."

P. M. W. Linebarger, *S. Y.-s. and the Chinese Republic* (N. Y. & London), 1925; L. Sharman, *S. Y.-s.: His Life and Its Meaning* (N. Y.), 1934.

S. C. L.

SUN YAT-SEN. See Sun Wen.

SUYUTI, AL-, JALAL-AL-DIN (Arab, 1445-1505). Most prolific writer of the Mamlūk, if not the whole medieval Arab, period, al-Suyūṭī was Egyptian by birth although his early Persian ancestors, some 9 generations back, had come from Baghdad. His consuming passion to explore all the confines of Islamic learning was matched by an inveterate versatility, 561 titles standing to his credit. His extant works help bridge the gaps in our knowledge of classical Arabic literature. He collected traditions relating to the study and exposition of the *Koran*; he discussed philology in an extensive encyclopedia; and, in the field of history-biography, he made notable contributions. The gift of poetry, however, did not come to him easily. Nonetheless, his experiments in belles-lettres are well known: a composition of *maqāmahs* (*assemblies*) that failed to meet the standards of the

classical type; a set of writings in the area of sex literature; and, in the field of popular romance, a collection of Jiha's anecdotes.

Carl Brockelmann, "al-Suyūṭī," *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

E. J. J.

SWIFT, JONATHAN (English, 1667-1745), though a poet, is most famous for his two satires, *The Tale of a Tub*, a portrayal of the Christianity of his day, and *Gulliver's Travels*, written to ridicule all pretensions to learning. The most bitter and morbid of satires for its time, the latter book has become entertainment for later children. Swift's power lies in his prose style, clear-cut, graphic, and straightforward; in his ability to make every scene, no matter how distant or grotesque, as natural as life itself; and in his keen wit. In almost all his writing there is a counterbalance of earnestness and play.

Sir Henry Craik, *Life of J. S.*  
F. F. M.

SWINBURNE, ALGERNON CHARLES (English, 1837-1909), poet and critic of the late Victorian period, held a deep appreciation of classical art, although in much of his writing he was unrestrained. His poem *Hertha* expresses a thoroughly pagan point of view. Swinburne was a master of verbal melodies; in command of meter no poet of the century excelled him. As a critic, he displayed a wide knowledge of English and French literature, expressing his judgments not only in prose but in verse. He is a poet of form, of undulant, singing lines, rather than of idea.

E. W. Gosse, *The Life of A. C. S.*  
F. F. M.

SYTSTRA, HARMEN (Frisian, 1817-62), is one of the best representatives of romanticism in his language. Drawing his inspiration from the epic past of Magna Frisia, he wrote his robust prose and vigorous verse with an intense and ardent national note. Much of his work, still uncollected, is found in the volumes of *Iduna*, which he founded in 1844. *Selected Poems* appeared in 1894 (2d ed. 1909). With Tiede Roelofs Dykstra (1820-62), he founded the Society for Frisian Language and Literature in 1844.

P. Sipma and D. Kalma, *It H.-S.-boek* (Snits), 1918.

B. J. F.

TACITUS, C. CORNELIUS (Roman, ca. 55-ca. 118 A.D.), has achieved extraordinary success as an historian of a period which, because of violent partisanship, has been exceedingly difficult to chronicle with a fair approximation to truth. In a style which is the ultimate in sententiousness and cryptic brevity he attempts in his *Annals* and *Histories* to reveal the hidden motives behind the many tragic events of the 1st c. Besides a book on literary criticism and an excellent biography of a Roman administrator in

Britain, Tacitus has left us a work on *Germany*. This is an idealized picture of the sturdy qualities of the Germans as a contrast to what he felt was the decadence of the average Roman citizen of his day.

G. Boissier, *T., and Other Roman Studies* (London), 1906.

J. J. S.

TAI CHEN (Chinese, 1724-77), better known as Tai Tung-yuan, outstanding scholar and philosopher of 18th c. China, was born in Anhwei Province. At the age of 20 he began to write; in the course of 23 years, he had written or edited some 50 works of which 35 were printed and are extant. He made contributions to the study of the *Chou Li*, of the old works on mathematics, of phonology, and of philosophy. In the field of philosophy, he made the most valuable contribution by the production of two works: *Yuan Shan* (*The Origin of Goodness*) and *Meng Tzu Tzu-i Shu-cheng*, by which he showed the proper method of classical study and philological research and created a spirit of rationalistic inquiry. He strongly repudiated the teachings of Chu Hsi\* (1129-1200), and urged man to live his life fully on both the physical and mental planes.

A. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, Vol. II (Washington, D. C.), 1944.

S. C. L.

TAI TUNG-YUAN. See Tai Chên.

TAINÉ, HIPPOLYTE (French, 1828-93), the most 'scientific' critic of literature in France during the 19th c., is the converse of his great contemporary, Sainte-Beuve. As critic, he is best known for his *History of English Literature* (1863) and his *Philosophy of Art* (1865-69); as historian, for his huge and unfinished *Origins of Contemporary France*; as philosopher, for his *On Intelligence* (1870). Taine saw literature through the philosopher's eyes and believed that any given work is the product of three main forces, the race, the time, and the environment in which it was created. His criticism, then, is often no more than an effort to demonstrate his theory; it thus suffers from two essential faults, first, that it is not criticism at all but analysis and interpretation; second, that it neglects completely the imponderable factor of individual genius. Nevertheless his approach is masterly, his logic sure, his style clear and artistic; although his ideas may now be dated, he stands as the best representative in criticism and philosophy of the school of naturalism in France.

I. Babbitt, *The Masters of Modern French Criticism* (Boston), 1912.

R. J. N.

TALIESIN (Welsh, 6th c.) is said to have been household bard to Urien of Rheged and his son Owain, and to have written also to other princes of

the time. The 12 poems that can with reasonable certainty be ascribed to him are historical and rather prosaic in tone, although he has an occasional striking line, such as "The wide host of Britain went to sleep with the light in their eyes (Kyscit Lloegyrr llydan nifer a leufer yn eu llygeit)." He has been credited also with a number of mythological poems which have never been adequately studied or translated. Some may possibly be by him. Others perhaps are the lyrics of a prose tale somewhat like the late *Romance of Taliesin*; Lady Guest's translation is from an 18th c. expansion of this. Still other poems that pass under his name are obviously compositions of the monastic or bardic schools of the later Middle Ages.

J. Morris-Jones, T., in *Y Cymmrodor*, 28, 1918.

J. J. P.

T'AO CH'EN (Chinese, 372-427 A.D.), better known as T'ao Yuan-ming, is the greatest of all nature-poets of China. He wrote less than 100 lyric poems, yet every piece is a gem. His long prose-poem *Kuei Chiu Lai Tzu* (*The Return, or Homeward Bound*) and several short poems are known to every school boy, and have become subjects of popular Chinese paintings. His philosophy of life is set forth not only in verse but also in prose, of which the masterpiece is the *Dirge on his own Death*. The simplicity of his way of living and of his style of writing is awe-inspiring, and at the same time soul-searching. Small wonder that he is regarded as "the most harmonious product of Chinese culture."

Lin Yutang, *The Importance of Living* (N. Y.), 1937; A. Waley, *170 Chinese Poems* (N. Y.), 1922; *The Temple and Other Poems* (N. Y.), 1923.

S. C. L.

T'AO YUAN-MING. See T'ao Ch'ien.

TASSO, TORQUATO (Italian, 1544-95), has been termed by Symonds 'the genius of the transition from the Renaissance to the Counterreformation.' Endowed with exceptional personal and poetic sensitivity, and educated extensively in classical and modern literature, he began his literary career with the short epic *Rinaldo* (1560-63). While attached to the Este court at Ferrara, he composed the pastoral play *Aminata* (1573) and his epic of the Crusades, the *Gerusalemme Liberata* (*Jerusalem Delivered*, 1570-75). From this time on, religious scruples and a futile revolt against court life deranged Tasso's overly sensitive mind; but in lucid periods he composed a number of dialogues, an unsuccessful revision of his great epic under the title *Gerusalemme Conquistata*, and a creation epic *Il Mondo Creato*. The split in Tasso's personality is evident in his work; the religious and epic aspects of the *Liberata* are hardly successful, and it is in the *Aminata* and the idyllic and romantic scenes of the *Liberata* that

his essentially hedonistic and lyrical genius is at its best.

A. Solerti, *Vita di T.* (Torino), 1885.  
R. A. H. Jr.

TASSONI, ALESSANDRO (Italian, 1565-1635), was one of the most original authors and one of the most independent critics of the early Seicento. In his *Diverse Thoughts* and his *Considerations of Petrarch's Poetry*, Tassoni attacked, often with more vigor than discrimination, not only academic classicism but also the over-venerated classics themselves, such as Petrarch and Homer. Tassoni's love of argument and contradiction led him often to excessive independence, but also to frequent keen critical perception. His mock-epic *The Rape of the Bucket* (1615-22), begun as an attack on his personal enemies, became a satire on serious chivalric romance in general, and was the prototype of many similar poems in Italy and other countries (Boileau, *Le Lutrin*; Pope, *Rape of the Lock*).

J. Cooper Walker, *Memoirs of A. T.* (London), 1815.

R. A. H. Jr.

TCHERNIHOWSKI, SAUL (Hebrew, 1873-1944), was born in the Crimea into a cultured family. Unlike most of the Hebrew writers of the time, he received a secular, continental education, rather than the conventional Jewish education limited to the *Bible* and the *Talmud*. Thus he is first the man and then the Jew. As a poet he ranks with Bialik. Tchernihowski is the poet of nature, of the wide spaces, of rivers, of mountains. His tender love poems introduced a new note into Hebrew poetry, that of the natural expression of a young and ardent soul. As a Jew, he rebels against the old tradition, the Judaism of religion and ethics. He belittled the Jewry of books, and sought a generation of strong and free Jews attached to the soil, appreciative of beauty and nature. Tchernihowski introduced a new medium of speech into Hebrew and enriched its vocabulary. He translated many works of foreign poets. He wrote a biography of Immanuel of Rome,\* and some short stories. Being a physician by profession, he assisted in the compiling of a Hebrew medical dictionary.

S. Spiegel, *Hebrew Reborn* (N. Y.), 1930.  
L. A.

TEGNER, ESAIAS (Swedish, 1782-1846), after a childhood of poverty, was helped by a wealthy family; became professor of aesthetics, then Greek and, in 1824, Bishop of Växjö. His first poems (1799) are influenced especially by Schiller; but the patriotic ode, *Svea* (1811), his contemporaries regarded as a Swedish *Marseillaise*, and Tegnér became at once the national poet of Sweden. Having joined *Götiska förbundet*, a society for the promotion of interest in Swedish antiquity and the old Nordic ideals, he used old Nordic themes for his poems, as

the epic cycle, *Frithiofs saga* (1825), often mentioned as Sweden's national epos. Some of his poems from this period express his political ideas; in others he used historical themes (*Karl II*, 1818; *Axel*, 1822). The idyl *Nattvarsbarnen* was written in hexameter (1820). Tegnér suffered from melancholia, and for a time was forced to seek care in a hospital for the insane. After his recovery he wrote another idyl in hexameter, *Kronbruden* (*The Crowned Bride*). Tegnér is not only one of Sweden's greatest poets but was unsurpassed as an orator and writer of letters.

E. Wrangel, *T. i Lund*, I-II, 1932; *The Children of the Lord's Supper*, trans.

H. W. Longfellow; *Frithiofs Saga*, trans. W. L. Blackley (N. Y.), 1914.

A. W.

TENNYSON, ALFRED, LORD (English, 1809-92), supreme interpreter of the complex life of the Victorian era, spoke not only for himself but for his age and nation, their feelings, struggles, aspirations. He consciously prepared himself for a great role; sensitive to criticism, he labored to perfect his chosen art. Tennyson touched every subject of interest to his times. As poet laureate, he brought poetry nearer to national life than it had been since the days of Shakespeare. His *Idylls of the King*, though not so great as Malory's *Mort d'Arthur*, revived the Arthurian theme in a manner that awakened national interest. In *Memoriam*, an elegy on the death of Arthur Hallam, is felt to be more personal and sympathetic than other elegies, with reachings toward the universal. Tennyson, though not a profound thinker, is a master of verbal melody. His romantic spirit, his love of nature, his almost perfect workmanship, rank him with the foremost English poets.

H. Tennyson, A., *Lord T.: a Memoir*.  
F. F. M.

TERENCE (Publius Terentius Afer; Roman, ca. 195-159 B.C.) by his adaptation of Greek comedies to please the polite society of Rome serves as a link between the so-called New Comedy of the 4th c. and that of his own day. In an extant epigram Julius Caesar called him half-seriously "a halved Menander." This statement may be interpreted both as adverse criticism and as a compliment. Because of the rather extensive gaps in our knowledge of the Greek New Comedy, critics are divided in their opinions as to Terence's originality. The 11th c. nun, Hroswitha, used his plays as models for her dramatization of stories of Christian martyrs. During the Revival of Letters, notably in France, Terence's 6 plays were eagerly read and imitations both in Latin and in the various European languages were everywhere composed.

G. Norwood, *Plautus and T.* (N. Y.), 1932; *The Art of T.* (N. Y.), 1932.

J. J. S.

TERESA DE JESUS, SAINT (Spanish 1515-82), is the great visionary introspectionist and mystic of the Spanish Counterreformation. Her combined contemplative and active life led to the reformation of the Carmelite Order and the founding of many convents. Her *Autobiography* and her *Inner Castle* (1588) develop new concepts of mystical progress. With unique clarity, she heaps up symbols, allegories, comparisons, metaphors, to interpret spiritual experiences, with her own terminology reaching out to the ineffable. Her basic idea was to live as though there were but she and God. Her Spanish is conversational, full of rich and native humor; she is one of the best talkers in literature.

R. Hoornaert, *St. T. in her Writings* (London), 1931.

H. A. H.

TEVFIK FIKRET (Turkish, 1867-1915) was one of the most popular poets of this century, and famous as the editor of the weekly journal *Servet-i Fünun* during the New Literature (*Edebiyatı Jedide*) period. He created a new language of poetry, and made new rules for rhyme on the principle that rhyme is intended for the ear rather than the eye. Whereas the older poetry made each verse a unit in meaning, Fikret made the sentiment run through the whole poem or at least several verses. He also introduced the sonnet. His great work is the collection of poems called *Rubabi Shikeste* (*The Broken Lyre*). One of his famous poems, *Sis* (*Mist*), was directed against the despotic rule of Abdul Hamid. In recent years his fame has suffered, partly due to the presence in his poems of many unusual Persian and Arabic words, thus putting him out of tune with the present-day tendency toward Turkification.

J. K. B.

THACKERAY, WILLIAM MAKEPEACE (English, 1811-63), prolific novelist of the Victorian age, was a consummate satirist. He sought his material in the clubs and drawing rooms, exposing the shams of society and the vulgarity of snobs. At once a satirist and a sentimentalist, he worked with a refinement that did not make for popularity. His style was eminently the man; its variety and range were precisely that of his own thought. The objective and impartial nature of his character drawing is clearly illustrated in *Vanity Fair*, remarkable for its subtle analysis. His prose is endowed with a flexibility responsive to every demand.

A. Trollope, *Life of T.*  
F. F. M.

THEOCRITUS (Greek, b. ca. 300 B.C.) established pastoral poetry as a literary form. His life was spent in Sicily, Alexandria, and Cos, but the "Arcadia" of his idylls is Sicily and southern Italy. Theocritus' rustics are more concerned with love and song than with their flocks and livelihood but, despite some

Alexandrian artificiality of treatment, the warm, sunny days in groves and on the hillsides live in the poems. As well as writing idylls, Theocritus composed dramatic sketches, of which the most vivacious (No. XV) presents two chattering ladies of Alexandria on their way to the festival of Adonis. His poetry found many imitators in his own and the Roman period and won renewed popularity during the Renaissance.

P. Legrande, *Etude sur T. (Paris)*, 1898.  
C. A. R.

THEODORE STUDITES (Byzantine, 759-826), abbot of the celebrated monastery of Studion at Constantinople and master of the epigram, rendered glorious service to orthodoxy, the religious vocation, and Byzantine Literature. Foremost among the defenders of images, the sanctity of marriage, and ecclesiastical supremacy in faith and morals, he wrote some of the best polemic against iconoclasm and the adulterous union of Constantine VI. Creator of a new monastic organization that still governs the Greek and Slavic cloisters, he composed two remarkable treatises on asceticism, *Great and Small Catechesis*. Many of his private letters, nerving his correspondents against persecution and consoling them, are pearls of epistolography. His poetry consists exclusively of religious epigrams that breathe a charming simplicity, a deep love of God, an all-embracing ardor for the cause ever nearest to his heart, the spirituality of himself and his monks; he neglects no one from the abbot to the shoemaker and bell-ringer. The originality of his subjects, his sincerity and genuine feeling, restored to Byzantine literature the only genre in which it ever excelled, the epigram. Thrice exiled for his convictions, St. Theodore Studites is one of the noblest and most winning personalities in Byzantine literature.

M. J. H.

THEODORET, Bishop of Cyrus in Syria (Greek, ca. 393-460), was the last great representative of the School of Antioch and one of the most prolific authors of the Eastern Church—exegete, orator, apologist, theologian, historian, letter writer. Of his works, it will suffice to mention: *Erastistes seu polymorphus*, a dialogue between a beggar (representing Monophysitism) and a Catholic; *Graecorum affectionum curatio*, the last and perhaps the most beautiful of ancient Christian apologies addressed to the pagans—more than 100 pagan writers are cited; his orations on Providence, very carefully composed from the viewpoint of style; a collection of more than 500 letters, of which 230 are extant, distinguished for their style and one of the most valuable historical sources for his age; finally, his best known work, the *Ecclesiastical History*, covering the period from 323 to 428 A.D., and deserving of a more favorable judgment than it has received in the past from many scholars. Theodoret's style is clear and pleas-

ing and he shows a fine sense of form. Photius praised the Attic beauty and purity of his diction.

O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, IV, standard 2d ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau), 1924.

M. R. P. M.

THIBAUT, JACQUES-ANATOLE. See France, Anatole.

THOMAS, WILLIAM, "Islwyn" (Welsh, 1832-78), was a Methodist minister who preached with success but had no regular charge, and an editor of periodicals. His long poem *The Storm* has something of Wordsworth in it; like Wordsworth, he is very uneven. His two poems on *Night*, one in the strict meters and one in the free, express the idea that God is best felt through the starry heavens, and that "through the day it is the world that speaks," while night "makes the world be silent and makes Eternity speak through the stars."

Owen M. Edwards, *Gwaith Barddonol I. (Wrexham)*, 1897.

J. J. P.

THOMAS A KEMPIS (1380-1471), a Brother of the Common Schools in Holland, is best known as author of the Latin *Imitation of Christ*. The simplicity and calmness of the man shines through the work. His constant insistence is on humility, patience, obedience, the sweetness of the inner life, and the royal destiny of those that follow the Cross. The book has probably had more effect on the spiritual life of succeeding centuries than any other book except the *Bible*. It has been translated into at least 50 languages and has gone through 6,000 editions. It is written in rhythmical prose often approaching poetry in its sublimity. At the dawn of the Renaissance, Kempis is still imbued with the other-worldly, spiritual ideals that animated Gregory the Great at the dawn of the Middle Ages.

S. Kettlewell, *T. a K. and the Brothers of the Common Schools (London)*, 1882.

E. A. Q.

THOMSON, JAMES (English, 1700-48), was a forerunner of the romantic movement. His fame rests on *The Seasons* and *The Castle of Indolence*. *The Seasons*, written in blank verse, was the first long poem in which the interest centered in nature instead of man. Although the style was ornate and rhetorical, and the vocabulary highly Latinized, Thomson wrote as a genuine lover of nature. *The Castle of Indolence*, in the Spenserian stanza, has a certain sensuousness in the descriptions and magic in single phrases and stanzas which give Thomson's work a romantic quality in a classical background.

G. C. Macaulay, J. T.  
F. F. M.

THORARENSEN, BJARNI (Icelandic, 1786-1841), came, as a student at the University of Copenhagen,



under the influence of the Danish poet Oehlenschläger, leader of the Romantic Movement in Denmark, and in turn introduced Romanticism into Icelandic poetry. Nevertheless, Thorarensen owed still more to ancient Icelandic poetry, in particular the Eddic poems. He not only frequently uses the old verse forms, but succeeds exceptionally well in reproducing the spirit of the old poems. He is more concerned with the thought-content than with the form of his poetry. Vigor, penetration, and rich imagery characterize his best poems. He wrote much occasional poetry, and his obituary pieces are both powerful and original. His love poems and patriotic poems are also outstanding; one of the latter, *Eldgamla Isafold*, written during his Copenhagen days, still remains popular.

R. Beck, "B. T.—Iceland's Pioneer Romanticist," in *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, XV, 1938; *Icelandic Poems and Stories* (Princeton & N. Y.), 1943.

R. B.

THORDARSON, SIGHVATR (Icelandic, 995-1045), the court poet and devoted friend of King Olaf Haraldsson (Saint Olaf) and mentor to his son, King Magnus, was endowed with both an uncommonly attractive personality and genuine though not particularly vigorous poetic spirit. His several poems dealing with the heroic achievements of King Olaf are significant, not least the one lamenting the king's death. His most important and unique poem is, however, his *Bersöglisvísur* (*Outspoken Verses*), written as a reprimand to King Magnus and remarkable for its sane frankness, which so impressed the young king that he mended his ways. Sighvatr's poetry is spontaneous; simple in language, and refined, not least his beautiful and well-wrought individual stanzas.

Lee M. Hollander, *The Skalds* (Princeton & N. Y.), 1945.

R. B.

THORDARSON, THORBERGUR (Icelandic, b. 1889), whose literary production is as large as it is varied, has shown rare and remarkable mastery of all types of Icelandic style, from the loftiest to the most ludicrous. He established himself as a master-stylist with his first work, *Bréf til Láru* (*Letter to Laura*, 1924) and has increasingly revealed his mastery in that field in numerous essays and more extensive works. His autobiographical writings are notable for their cultural-historical importance. Because of his radical social and literary views, this brilliant satirist has frequently been the center of controversies, but his influence upon many of the leading Icelandic writers of the day is far-reaching.

S. Einarsson, T. T. *Simmtugur* (Reykjavík), 1939.

R. B.

THOREAU, HENRY DAVID (U. S. A., 1817-62), called by Emerson a "bachelor of nature," put into practice the concepts advocated by his fellow Transcendentalists, shocking New England with a vision made whole with deed, and a "passive resistance" to formal institutions (*Civil Disobedience*, 1849). Leaving his beloved Concord rarely after graduating from Harvard, he plied his several trade skills only when necessary, and devoted his time to living fully and recording in his *Journal* (14 v., 1906) his constant search for values. Individual spiritual freedom—concomitant with personal moral restraint—completely outweighed for him materialistic, conventional comforts and wealth, or *Life without Principle* (1863). *The Maine Woods* (1864), *Cape Cod* (1865), and *A Yankee in Canada* (1866) are posthumous supplements to his more famous prose works. His *Poems of Nature* were published in 1895, and *Collected Poems* in 1943. His most memorable work (*Walden, or Life in the Woods*; 1854) records with sensitivity his impressions during two years (1845-7) spent in a hut by Walden Pond.

H. S. Canby, T. (Boston), 1939.  
E. C. S.

THORGILSSON, ARI (Icelandic, 1067-1148), is "credited with having laid the foundations of Icelandic historical literature," and therefore occupies a central position in the history of Icelandic letters generally. His *Íslendingabók* (*The Book of the Icelanders*), which admirably summarizes the early history of Iceland, was the first historical work written in Icelandic. It has been justly styled "a model of historical method," and constituted a sound foundation for later Icelandic historical writing. Sense of proportion, conscientious use of sources, and above all rare love of truth characterize Ari's work. New evidence has lately been brought forth in support of the idea that he is the author of the remarkable work *Landnámabók*, on the colonization of Iceland.

H. Hermannsson, ed. and trans. *The Book of the Icelanders* (Ithaca, N. Y.), 1930.  
R. B.

THORODDSEN, JON (Icelandic, 1819-68), the pioneer novelist of Iceland, wrote two notable novels, *Piltur og stúlka* (*Lad and Lass*, 1850), and *Maður og kona* (*Man and Wife*, 1871), the latter unfortunately incomplete. Both are, however, characterized by vivid and truthful portrayal of Icelandic country life, and great narrative skill. He succeeds admirably in characterization, his books presenting a whole gallery of sharply individualized flesh and blood creatures. His spontaneous humor adds brightness and color to the story; his style, clearly influenced by the Icelandic sagas, is concise and vigorous. His lyric poems are less significant, but they are smooth and graceful, enlivened by his fine humor, and some of them still remain popular, especially his

charming patriotic song, *Ó, fagur er vor fösturjörð* (*O lovely is Our Fatherland*), a great favorite.

W. H. Carpenter, "An Icelandic Novelist," in *New Englander and Yale Review*, Vol. X, 1887.

R. B.

THUCYDIDES (Greek, ca. 460-400 B.C.) was the most penetrating and scientific of the Greek historians. He had reached maturity at the time of the Peloponnesian War, and, realizing the disintegrating effect that the war was having on the ideals and traditions of Greek society, he set himself the task of writing its history. Thucydides broke from the Ionic tradition of Greek historiography to conceive his work in the spirit of 5th c. rationalism, and to write it in a style that reflected in some measure the introduction into Greek prose of the technical innovations of the sophists. To his task Thucydides brought a rare power of analysis, impartiality, sound judgment, and an ability to write gripping narrative, that made his work a model of historical writing, although the harshness and obscurity of his style brought blame from the literary critics.

J. Finley, T. (Cambridge, Mass.), 1942.

C. A. R.

TIECK, LUDWIG (German, 1773-1853), was the most important creative writer of the German Romantic School, the inventor of the watchword of German romanticism, "the moon-illuminated magic night." He tried his hand at virtually all the literary genres, including translation and literary criticism. His name is popularly associated with the well-known German translation of Shakespeare, although he acted only as editor. His dramas are historically important, but intrinsically secondary achievements. A better work is his 'art novel,' *Franz Sternbald's Travels* (1798), in which love of medieval art, Dürer, and 16th c. Nuremberg, medieval religious faith, and lyricism, are happily blended. His crowning achievements are *Puss-in-Boots* (1797), in which he makes brilliant use of the literary device of romantic irony, turning the well-known fairy tale into literary satire; and his *novellen*. These are of two types: the romantic *novelle* preceding 1821, as *The Fair-Haired Eckbert* (1797), with its nature demonism; and the longer, more realistic, discursive *novelle*, as *The Superfluity of Life* (1837), a charming story, in which Tieck plays in romantically ironic fashion with the background of realistic life. Tieck's writings, particularly those of his earlier period, had considerable influence not only on German writers, but also on Verlaine in France, Gogol in Russia, Coleridge, Scott, and Carlyle in England, and Longfellow, Poe, and Hawthorne in America.

E. H. Zeydel, L. T., *the German Romanticist*, 1935.

P. M.

TIRSO DE MOLINA (Spanish, 1584-1648), of the Lope de Vega\* school, gave the first *Don Juan*

drama to world literature. Interested in metaphysical problems, he wrote the well-known drama of grace and free will, *The Man Condemned for Mistrust*. A radical theorist, he dismisses Aristotle's rules in favor of the romantic drama. He uses his technically clever plots for plays, novels, and short stories; but with so few personal traits that the attribution of certain plays to him is unverified.

A. H. Bushee, 3 *Centuries of T.* (Oxford & Phila.), 1939.

H. A. H.

TJODOLF FROM KVINE (Norwegian, fl. ca. 900); leading poet at the court of King Harald the Fair-haired. Known principally for his genealogical poem, *Ynglingatal*, written in honor of the king's cousin Ragnvald, but giving the history of the royal family. Such genealogical poems are among the earliest recorded works of literary merit in the Scandinavian North. Tjodolf also wrote the famous shield poem, *Haustlong*, in which he interprets the imagery that according to pagan warrior custom had been engraved upon a renowned battleship. Tjodolf's historical knowledge and his mythological interpretations make him an early pioneer among the royal bards. He was also a significant chieftain, owning large estates in Kvinesdal in Agder, southern Norway. His poetic style is, in the manner of his time, characterized by ornateness and the abundant use of metaphor.

Finnur Jonsson, *Skjaldedigting*, 4 v. (Copenhagen), 1912-15; *Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturs historie*, 2d ed., 3 v. (Copenhagen), 1920-24.

T. J.

TOLSTOY, COUNT LEO NIKOLAYEVICH (Russian, 1828-1910) was an outstanding figure of the 19th c. From childhood he showed in his life and writings the conflict between his desires and his knowledge of the right, but with both sides of the dilemma raised to the highest degree. No one has yet cleared the strange enigma which he offers: whether he was a profound pagan yearning to be a Christian or a sincere Christian swept astray by the appetites of the flesh. He was forever torn by contradictory forces. He was a rationalist trying to prove irrationalism, or perhaps an irrationalist trying to rationalize himself into reason. He yearned for a general synthesis of all things and at the same time spurned everything except direct personal contacts. From his earliest story, *Childhood*, wherein he undertook to present the life of a boy of his own station in life, to the last stories, as *Resurrection* and *Hadji Murat*, he makes a long spiritual confession of his hopes and his aspirations, his strivings and his dislikes. His hero was always a landowner or an army officer. The official was his special detestation. Yet he produced real characters, with a photographic capacity for description that sweeps the reader along. When he pauses to moralize, he holds up as the

norm of human life unattainable ideals. Almost all of his great characters, as Olenin in *The Cossacks*, Pierre Bezukhov in *War and Peace*, and Levin in *Anna Karenina*, show us Tolstoy's own struggles to decide on the meaning of the good life. They reveal his marvelous gift of picturing sympathetically a society which in other moods he despises. None as he can picture the impulsive individual who follows the force of his natural instincts and wins through to his goal without conscience, without remorse; and none can so picture the tortures of the individual whose conscience is constantly warning him of his mistakes. After the emotional crisis of the 1870's, his ethical and rational theories drove him from art; but again and again he reverted to his former manner. He was a master of contradictions; yet he was one of the foremost Russian authors, and in his presentation of Russian life he has never been surpassed.

A. Maude, L. T. (London), 1918; M. Gorky, *Recollections of T.*, 1920; Nazarov, T., *an Inconstant Genius*.

#### C. A. M.

TOUSSEUL, JEAN (Olivier Degée; Belgian, 1890-1944), dreamed of being a school teacher spreading love of peace and charity toward the humblest of nature's children. He has told his own story in *Le Poème de la Terre et des Hommes*. Intent on the legend and history of his country, he is in one sense a regionalist, but in his village seeks a microcosm; his vision embraces mankind. Stark simplicity of language and plot characterizes his work. With all his gentleness, he describes himself as a "revolutionary in my own fashion," but in his crusade for the humble oppressed, he counsels passive resistance. He lived by his pen—an all but impossible gamble in Belgium—and won the admiration of the best critics of his country. His work is almost evenly divided between collections of stories, novels and volumes of reminiscence. In these latter he acknowledges himself a man beaten by life's turmoil and trying to escape. Like Rousseau he seeks consolation in nature. His cyclic novel, *Jean Clarambaux*, has been translated into English.

Désiré Denuit, J. T., *l'Homme et l'Oeuvre* (Brussels), 1945.

#### J.-A. G.

TROELSTRA, PITER JELLES (Frisian, 1860-1930), was the greatest figure in the Frisian romantic revival at the end of the 19th c. Though he spent most of his life as leader of the Social Democratic Party of the Netherlands and was a man of letters for only a comparatively short time, his contribution to Frisian literature was of the greatest. After his education as a law student, he founded the periodical *For House and Home* (1888), which in freshness and literary standards immediately excelled the popular magazine *Plain and Straight*. Piter Jelles, as he is commonly known among his countrymen, in

the year 1909 published his *Harvest*, a volume of verse which in spiritual quality and lyric grace was at that time probably surpassed only by Gysbert Japiks' *Frisian Poetry* of 1668.

J. Piebenga, *Koarte Skiednis fen de Fryske Skriftekennisse* (Dokkum), 1939.  
B. J. F.

TS'AO, LADY. See Pan Chao.

TSUBOUCHI SHOYO (Yuzo, Japanese, 1859-1935) was an eminent dramatist and authority on English literature. His name is associated with the injection of realism into the traditional *Kabuki*. He criticized *Kabuki* dramas, including those of Chikamatsu, as being fantastic, and tried to create a new school of historical playwriting. In *Kiri Hitoha* (*A Leaf of Paulownia*; 1896) his ideas were realized with great success. In 1906, he started an ambitious attempt to reform the popular drama of Japan by the introduction of Western masterpieces. To this end, he began training actors for the production of Shakespeare's plays, the first to be presented being *The Merchant of Venice* and *Hamlet*, although neither of them was successful. In 1928 Tsubouchi completed the entire translation of Shakespeare's works which he had started in 1907. As an essayist, he opened the eyes of contemporary novelists by the publication of an essay, *Shōsetsu Shinzui* (*Essence of the Novel*), 1885, which emphasized the importance of an analytical depiction of human nature and attempted to minimize the value of morality as an essential part of the theme.

Fujimura, Tsukuru, *Nippon Bungaku Daijiten* (*Comprehensive Dictionary of Japanese Literature*; Tokyo), 1934.  
Y. U.

TU FU (Chinese, 712-770), a poet of highest rank, often mentioned as the equal of Li Po. At the age of 15, Tu Fu acquired a brilliant reputation as a precocious youth, but he failed at the public examination for the first literary degree. He then devoted himself to poetry as a profession, and later won the attention of the emperor and his contemporaries. After varied experiences as an official at the court and in the provinces, he gave up his governmental position and wandered about, living a life of adventure, suffering intensely at the hands of vacillating fortune. This accounts for the undertone of sadness in his poetical work. His writings were collected and published under the title *Tu Kung Pu Chi* (*The Collected Works of the Secretary of Works Tu*).

F. Ayscough, T. F., *The Autobiography of A Chinese Poet* (Boston & London), 1928.

S. C. L.

TUDUR ALED (Welsh, fl. ca. 1480-1530) was a nephew of Dafydd ab Edmwnd and one of the last

of the great poets of the cywydd period. At an eisteddfod held at Caerwys in 1523(?) he received the bardic chair for his codification of the rules of *cynghanedd*, and these "rules of Tudur Aled" have remained standard down to the present day except for a few points on which they were misunderstood by writers of the 19th c. He has poems of praise, poems of asking, and elegies of the usual type. His love poems, apparently, he does not take too seriously. He was on the Lancastrian side, but he believed the War of the Roses was fought for a bad cause, and he decried strife between families. He was the first to introduce into Welsh the idea of "the wheel of Society": Peace, Wealth, War, and Poverty following each other in endless succession, each giving rise to the next. He was a competent craftsman, but he knew also how to write lines that haunt the memory. His elegy on Dafydd ab Edmwnd begins, "The hand of God has slain the muse, Slain the soul of all the ancient learning (Llaw Dduw a fu'n lladd awen, Lladd enaid holl ddwned hen)." Of Robert ap Siôn he writes, "Dead man, the maiden loves The earth of thy grave for thy sake (Y gwr marw, e gar morwyn. Ddaear dy fedd, er dy fwyn)." He is one of the most quotable of poets.

T. Gwynn Jones, *Gwaith T. A.*, 2 v. (Cardiff), 1926.

J. J. P.

TUNG Po. See Su Shih.

TURGENEV, IVAN SERGEYEVICH (Russian, 1818-83), was the most western of all Russian novelists. A bitter foe of serfdom, he nonetheless admired the cultured life on the big estates as it was lived before the emancipation; yet he followed the changes in the temper of the younger generation. His heroes (except for the nihilist Bazarov in *Fathers and Children*) are mainly young men of good family who distinctly feel their obligations to their unfortunate brothers. His heroines are far stronger characters, ready to sacrifice themselves for a cause in which they believe. All of his characters are delightful persons with whom we should be glad to associate; this has led to periods of decline in his reputation. He was the only one of the great writers actively interested in the political movements of the day; but he was always the 19th c. gentleman, in his limitations and his virtues. Yet he had a sense of form, and in Russian literature he stands for many of those qualities that his younger friend Henry James did in American. He and his characters well represented that mixture of idealism and inefficiency that was the earmark of large sections of the Russian intelligentsia. But of the Russian prose writers he was the greatest artist in the formal sense of the word.

A. Yarmolinsky, T., *The Man, his art and his Age* (N. Y.), 1926.

C. A. M.

UHLAND, LUDWIG (German, 1787-1862), Swabian poet, the creator of some of Germany's most popular folksongs and ballads (*I Had a Comrade*, 1809; *Siegfried's Sword*, 1812; *The Minstrel's Curse*, 1814; *The Luck of Edenhall*, 1834), many of which have become famous as songs. His inspiration was derived from his interest in German folksong (he published an extensive collection of "old High and Low German folksongs" from 1844 on) and from his studies of German literary history as professor of German language and literature at Tübingen (*History of German Literature and Legend*, 8 v., 1865-68). He also attempted to write historical dramas but was not successful in this genre.

S. L. S.

UNAMUNO, MIGUEL DE (Spanish, 1864-1936), eclectic, arbitrary, but fascinating popular philosopher, supported at the same time individualism, socialism, humanitarianism, personal immortality, a European and a traditional Spain. Spanish youth found eternal ideals of Spain in his *Life of Don Quixote and Sancho* (1903) and his *Tragic Sentiment of Life* (1913). Like Santayana, he sought in his own person to take on the fight against materialism, borne in other lands by generations of liberal protestantism.

Arthur Willis, *España y U.* (N. Y.), 1938.

H. A. H.

UNDSET, SIGRID (Norwegian, b. 1882), the greatest literary figure of contemporary Norway. Her father was a professor of archaeology in the University of Oslo; she herself, a renowned student of the Christian Middle Ages in Europe. Her mother came from a Danish family. During the recent war Fru Undset endeared herself to Norwegians and Danes alike, because of the intense loyalty she showed toward these countries in their struggle for existence. As a literary artist she reached monumental proportions in the historical novels, *Kristin Lavransdatter*, 1920-1922, and *The Master of Hestviken*, 1925-1927. In addition to massive historical landscapes and intimate community descriptions, she gives in her works full length portraits of men and women struggling through the years of life, to find no adequate satisfaction until their souls rest in God. Her style is broad without much concern for the gentle gracefulness of romanticism, but it has a cumulative power and a graphic authenticity that enable the reader to cross boundaries and rise to a view of the distant hills of the eternal. She was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1928.

Just Bing, S. U. (Oslo), 1924; H. A. Larsen, S. U. (N. Y.), 1929.

T. J.

VALERA, JUAN (Spanish, 1827-1905), "the last humanist," urban, elegant, aloof novelist of psychological illusions. Student of Spanish mystics, he takes pleasure in finding beneath divine aspirations

the helpless victim of a carnal love. He writes with refined subtlety, as in his first novel of this type, the famous *Pepita Jimenez* (1874). An elegant and limpid style pervades his work.

Romero Mendoza, *Don J. V.* (Madrid), 1940.

H. A. H.

VALÉRY, PAUL (French, b. 1871), poet, mathematician, philosopher, is one of France's outstanding contemporary men of letters. A follower of Mallarmé in verse (his *The Young Fate*, 1917; *The Cemetery by the Sea*, 1920; *Charmes*, 1922), he turned his mind to higher subjects than the master had, treating the great problems of being and destiny. His works in prose are more accessible: *Introduction to the Method of Leonardo da Vinci* (1895); *An Evening with M. Teste*, in which he analyzes the 'superior being' who is brought to sterility by his passion for analysis; *Eupalinos* (1923), are in the finest tradition of French belles-lettres. But it is as abstract thinker, not as stylist, that Valéry has meaning for us: he represents a necessary tendency in the modern world—the return to logic and to reason, to the old disciplines of the mind, in the attempt to find a solution to the urgent moral problems.

R. Michaud, *Modern Thought and Literature in France* (N. Y. 3, 1934).

R. J. N.

VAN DE WOESTIJNE, KAREL (Belgian, 1878–1929), at first a journalist, later an official and professor of literature at the University of Ghent, is one of the greatest lyric poets of our times. He had no other subject but his own tortured ego, his fight between mind and matter. He expressed this intellectual adventure in highly ornate lyrical verse, that, as years went by, became more and more religious. At the end of his life, he wrote some short sarcastic lyrics, based on folk themes, that have a brutal beauty. His poetry was highly baroque at times; often it was poignant and deeply moving. His art is autumnal and grave, sensual and mystic altogether. Since the Middle Ages no greater poet has lived in Flanders.

Clark Stillman, *The Flemish Poet K. van de W. in Poet Lore* (Boston), 1941.

J.-A. G.

VARNLUND, RUDOLF (Swedish, 1900–45), was born in Stockholm. His background was proletarian. He worked in the printing office of a daily paper. Before he began his career as a writer he traveled around Europe and received, perhaps, his deepest impression from Germany. His first book was a collection of short stories—*Döda människor* (*Dead People*, 1924). In the following years he published many short stories and several novels (*Vandrare till intet*, *Wanderers into Nothing*, 1926; *Hedningarna, som icke hava lagen*, *The Gentiles, Which Have*

*Not the Law*, 1936), and finally turned to writing plays (*Den heliga familjen*, *The Holy Family*, 1932), where his expressionistic technique became a genuine asset. He died in an accident; and everyone that follows Värnlund's slow but gradual development gets the impression that he still had his best years before him.

H. Ablenius, *Arbetaren i svensk dikting*. A. W.

VARRO, M. TERENTIUS (Roman, 116–27 B.C.), followed the tradition of encyclopedic learning inaugurated by Greek scholars in Alexandria over a century before. Varro was eager to gather into several scores of volumes information of widely different nature. He compiled a volume *On the Latin Language*; one in dialogue form *On Agriculture* influenced the didactic poem of Virgil dealing with the same subject. His most important works on ancient Italian cults and customs are lost for the most part, but the information contained therein furnished excellent material for the Church Fathers in their long fight against paganism.

J. W. Duff, *A Literary History of Rome*, I (N. Y.), 1932.

J. J. S.

VASCONCELOS, JOSE (Mexican, b. 1882), is the apostle of culture in Spanish America. As a journalist he has exercised a wide cultural influence; as a member of the anti-Catholic cabinet of Obregón, he modernized the school system, established close cultural ties with South America by exchanging delegations of intellectuals such as Gabriela Mistral, and gave great impetus to nationalism through patronage of young writers and artists such as Diego Rivera. An unsuccessful candidate for the presidency, he has spent periods of exile in the United States, to whose ideals he is hostile. As a sociologist, he had great faith in the possibilities of the Indian and predicted the evolution of a cosmic race in the tropics; as a philosopher, he has broadened Mexican thought through many compilations and some original thought; as a writer, he is best known through his four-volume autobiography (1935–39), beginning with *Ulysses the Creole*, in which he gives a sweeping but intimate picture of the Mexico of his era.

L. A. Sánchez, *Historia de la lit. americana* (Santiago), 1940.

J. R. S.

VAZOV, IVAN (Bulgarian, 1850–1921), the first Bulgarian professional man of letters, for over fifty years was a recognized master of literature; during this time he worked in almost every field to raise the standards of the literature and to introduce an intelligent comprehension of the past, present, and future of his country. He was a prolific writer. Among his works are *Pod Igoto* (*Under the Yoke*,

1893), a novel of the Bulgarian revolt of 1876, the first Bulgarian novel to be translated into foreign languages; the poem *Epopea na Zabravenite* (*Epic of the Heroes*, 1879), a glorification of the Bulgarian leaders before the insurrection; *Pesni za Makedoniju* (*Songs for Macedonia*, 1914); *Ne shite zagine* (*We will not perish*, 1920); *Legendi pri Tsarevets* (*Legends of Tsarevets*, 1920), legends of the Second Bulgarian Empire at Timovo; the historical dramas, *Borislav* (1909) and *Ivaylo* (1911); the comedy *Mikhalaki chorbadzhi* (*The rich Mikhalaki*, 1912). Almost all of his works are now accepted as Bulgarian masterpieces, and he bids fair to hold high esteem, regardless of the political future of his country.

Ts. Minkov, I. V., in *Bulgarski Pisateli*, Vol. IV, 1929; D. Shishmanov, *Survey of Bulgarian Lit.*, 1932.

C. A. M.

VEGA CARPIO, LOPE DE (Spanish, 1562-1635), was the founder of the great Spanish baroque drama. Declaring that the Spaniards' dramatic interest could be satisfied only with the presentation of everything from Creation until Doomsday, he wrote for the popular, non-Aristotelian stage. His themes are national and international, classical and contemporary, sacred and profane. Avoiding profound problems, he sought tragic or unusual circumstances in ballad and folk tradition. He has high command of language, rhetoric, and prosody; and with his drama, richly lyrical qualities. Outstanding among his plays are *The Star of Seville* and *Fuente Ovejuna*, both rich in democratic sentiment. He is believed to have written over a thousand plays, about half of which survive.

K. Vossler, *L. de V. und sein Zeitalter* (Munich), 1932.

H. A. H.

VELDEKE, HENRIC VAN (Dutch, late 12th c.), oldest known poet of the Netherlands, born near Maastricht. On request of the Countess of Loon, he put the legend of St. Servatius into verse. While attached to the court of Cleves, he translated the old French *Roman d'Enéas*. He wrote a number of love poems, and had some influence on the development of Middle High German poetry.

J. G.

VELEZ DE GUEVARA, LUIS (Spanish, 1579-1644), whose fame was long based on his peculiar rogue story, *The Limping Devil*, is now considered the originator of the pageant-like literary stage play. His baroque views and artistic expression make him the forerunner of Calderon.\* One of his most effective patriotic dramas is *The King is More Important than One's Blood*.

Forrest E. Spencer, *The Dramatic Works of L. V. de G.* (Berkeley, Cal.), 1937.

H. A. H.

VERGA, GIOVANNI (Italian, 1840-1922), was the leader of the realistic school, and at the same time one of its outstanding regional writers. His most important novels are *The Malavoglia* (1881) and *Mastro Don Gesualdo* (1888); the only completed parts of a series (*I Vinti*, *The Conquered*) he intended to write portraying life among the lower and middle classes of Sicily. Of his short stories, the best known is *Cavalleria Rusticana* (*Rustic Chivalry*, 1880; made an opera with music by Mascagni). Verga's observation is exact and detailed, his analysis of character penetrating, and his style firm and sober, not without Sicilian dialectal influence.

A. Momigliano, *G. V. narratore* (Palermo), 1924.

R. A. H., Jr.

VERHAEREN, EMILE (Belgian, 1855-1916), was raised in a small Flemish village on the shores of the Scheldt. To French poetry he brought new accents and new themes. In harsh, tense rhythms he spoke of Flanders' great past and of the brutal beauty of the modern industrial landscape. He had the same sweeping power as Whitman, the same enthusiasm for life. In his latter years he wrote harmonious love poems. His dramas, *Le Cloître* and *Hélène de Sparte*, are eloquent and vital. His influence on European poetry and his fame among English-speaking readers were very great.

Amy Lowell, *Six French Poets* (N. Y.), 1915.

J.-A. G.

VERGIL. See Virgil.

VERLAINE, PAUL (French, 1844-96), represents the reaction against naturalism that took place in France in the late 19th c. Beginning as a follower of the Parnassian poets and later of Baudelaire, he soon carried the literary tendencies of the latter much further in the direction of symbolism. After the failure of his marriage and under the influence of the young Rimbaud he became a vagabond and fell into the most dissolute of lives, dying in poverty and abject misery. Verlaine's great contribution to French verse was his relaxing of the Parnassian manner to the point where music dominated, where the irregular replaced the sharply chiseled, where vague harmonies rendered the obscure impression. His *Saturnian Poems* (1866), *Gallant Festivals* (1869), *Songs without Words* (1874) and *Wisdom* (1888) contain the best of his work.

W. C. Thorley, P. V. (London), 1914.

R. J. N.

VICO, GIOVANNI BATTISTA (Italian, 1668-1744), was the author of various works on jurisprudence and history, of which the most important was the *Principles of a New Science of the Common Nature of Nations* (1725, 1730). In this work, Vico develops a theory of cyclical development in history, and posits the intimate inter-relation of a people's

linguistic, poetical, cultural, and political history. He establishes a tripartite series of cultural periods or stages of development: the age of gods (savage life), of heroes (barbarous or semi-civilized), and of men (civilized). Vico's intuition was far superior to the historical data at his disposal; his intellect was deep, intense, but narrow in scope and outlook. He is important primarily as a pathfinder and innovator, and a source of inspiration for later thinkers (Herder, Rousseau, Croce).

B. Croce, *La filosofia di G. B. V.* (Bari), 1911.

R. A. H., Jr.

VIEIRA, ANTONIO (Portuguese, 1608-97), one of the masters of Portuguese prose, excelled in sacred eloquence. A man of many facets, he was born in Lisbon, educated in Brazil, entered the Society of Jesus, played an active role in the political life of Portugal after the restoration (1640), was denounced to the Inquisition for certain prophetic writings, and returned to South America. The prose of this eminent Jesuit, which shows influences of *culteranismo* and in which paradox abounds, places him on a plane with the best men of letters of Portugal. His many sermons and letters have been widely read.

J. Lúcio de Azevedo, *História de A. V.*, 2 v. (Lisbon), 1931.

M. C.

VIGNY, ALFRED DE (French, 1797-1863), was the philosopher of French romantic verse. Although born to a noble family, he was almost constantly unhappy and his bitter view of the world is frequently reflected in his poems. His pessimistic inspiration is best seen in his *Poems Ancient and Modern* (1826), in the *Fates* (1864), and in the famous play *Chatterton* (1835), one of the great successes of the Romantic theatre. An excellent historical novel, *Cinq-Mars* (1826), and his *Poet's Journal* (1867), in which he reveals himself perhaps more completely than he intended, are his other important works. Unlike the other Romantics, he is rarely gay; but his seriousness has such sincerity, his pessimism rings so true that today his work is more rewarding than that of any of his Romantic contemporaries.

A. Whitridge, *A. de V.* (London & N. Y.), 1933.

R. J. N.

VILLON, FRANÇOIS (French, 1431-1465?), scholar, rogue and great poet, was one of the very few writers of pre-Renaissance days to choose his own real sentiments, not the formalized concepts of courtly love, as the matter of his poetry. His *Testaments* (*The Lesser Testament*, 1456, *The Great Testament*, 1461) are satirical legacies that give us, within the framework of the earthy Bohemian tavern life of the times, a believable portrait of a real man, with his fear of death, his love of good cheer, his dread of the dark unknown. Writing with wry

irony in language of intense clarity and realism, scorning the artifices of the courtly poets, he offers us a gallery of portraits, among which his own, unconsciously sketched, far transcends the personal and enters the realm of the universal.

D. B. W. Lewis, *F. V.* (N. Y.), 1928.  
R. J. N.

VINJE, AASMUND (Norwegian, 1818-1870), the principal "landsmaal" or native language author of the mid 19th c. He was in close touch with Ivar Aasen and did much to convince the Norwegians that the Aasen language reform held the promise of a great literary vehicle. Vinje eked out a very meager livelihood by contributing to the columns of various newspapers. He also published his own, the *Dølen* (*The Dalesman*), and associated himself in 1851 with Henrik Ibsen\* and Paul Bøtten Hansen in the *Andhrimner* publishing venture. He wrote excellent prose with a remarkable change of pace, giving the reader a feeling of constant surprise; but his greatest contribution was made in the realm of poetry, especially in a series of gripping nature lyrics. *Ved Rondane* (*At the Rondane Mountains*) and *Vaaren* (*Spring*) have taken their places by the side of the great Wergeland\* poems of the previous decade. Like Wergeland, Vinje passionately loved nature; especially the sublimity of the great mountains found expression in his poems. His style is not rich in color, but the lines are very melodious in the mood of the folksong.

O. Midttun, *A. V.'s skrifter i samling 5 v.* (Oslo), 1916-21; V. Vislie, *A. V., liv og dikting*, 2d ed. (Oslo), 1929.

T. J.

VIRGIL (P. Vergilius Maro, Roman, 70-19 B.C.) holds a place next to Homer in the field of heroic epic poetry. The legendary Aeneas appears only faintly limned in the extant epic cycle as represented by the Homeric *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Some of the legendary associations of Aeneas and his companions with Italy and the west had been developed by such Latin poets as Ennius and Naevius before Virgil decided to make this theme his own. The choice was further determined by the fact that the family of Julius Caesar laid claim to Aeneas as one of its ancestors. Encouraged by Augustus, Virgil set himself to the arduous task of co-ordinating and embellishing these traditions, so as to present a romantic and heroic background for the Roman state. In this difficult objective he has achieved a success that should be measured in the light of expectations rather than by the canons of the epic as established by Homer. The *Aeneid* is the first of a long line of literary epics. The tendency of the present day to estimate more highly the so-called popular epics should not blind us to the real purpose and achievements of epic poets such as Virgil, who are the heirs of a long period of introspective and profound thought. In his earlier and highly successful at-

tempts at pastoral and didactic poetry, Virgil had learned the art of expressing himself in verse of unusual distinction. The Theocritan pastoral is a more brilliant and significant work, but a tenderness and quiet humor pervade several of Virgil's *Eclogues*. This quality of tenderness, noted by Horace, is found preeminently in the famous fourth eclogue, with its picture of a child whose birth is to usher in a golden age. The patriotic fervour of the *Georgics* is sure to touch even the unsympathetic reader who may be irked by a didacticism somewhat alien to the modern mind.

T. Frank, V., a *Biography* (N. Y.), 1922;  
E. K. Rand, *The Magical Art of V.*  
(Cambridge, Mass.), 1931; H. W.  
Prescott, *The Development of V.'s Art*  
(Chicago), 1927.

J. J. S.

VOLTAIRE (François-Marie Arouet, French, 1694-1778) carried on through most of the 18th c. the mocking Gallic tradition, where wit clothes sober, penetrating thought. His long life was a crowded one. Son of a bourgeois family, the indiscreet wit early found himself in difficulties at court; he took refuge in England and later became a successful purveyor of English ideas in France. On his return he devoted himself to philosophy, to science, and to a vast literary output. Finding himself popular and widely read, he returned to court only to leave it again at the invitation of Frederick the Great to come live with him in Potsdam. After an intellectual honeymoon, the two fell out and Voltaire returned to France, to a literary production almost without parallel in French annals. He practiced with success nearly every genre: poetry, chiefly of an incidental character; tragedy (especially *Zaïre*, 1732; *Mérope*, 1743); history (*The Century of Louis XIV*, 1751; *Essay on Manners*, 1756); philosophy (1763; *Philosophical Dictionary*, 1764); the philosophical tale (*Zadig*, 1747; *Candide*, 1759). No other author has so thoroughly dominated his time. Although he is rarely profound or original, he is the finest of synthesists, an accurate and brilliant reflector of the *zeitgeist*; and in his long battle for tolerance and for the progress of liberal and scientific ideas Voltaire rendered his age a vital service. His style, even today a model of deftness and gaiety, was of great aid to him in his appointed task. He has been well called the 'first of the second rank.'

N. L. Torrey, *The Spirit of V.* (N. Y.), 1938.

R. J. N.

VONDEL, JOOST VAN DEN (Dutch, 1587-1679), Holland's greatest poet. He was born in Cologne, but his parents moved to Amsterdam when he was 10, and Vondel's name is intimately associated with that of his city. His first literary efforts were under the influence of French poetry. After 1625, he took an increasingly active part in civic life, and ex-

pressed his views in stirring lyrical verse: *Greetings; Songs of the prince*. Involved in the religious conflicts of his time, he published some satirical verse: *The Rumbler of the Roosters-run; The Curry-comb*. In deeply moving elegies he commemorated his wife and two of his children. In 1641 he was converted to Catholicism, the beauty and greatness of which he celebrated in *The Glory of the Church*. His plays are either historical or Biblical; they are lyrical and philosophical: *Lucifer; Adam in exile*.

J. G.

WACKENRODER, WILHELM HEINRICH (German, 1773-98), was an outstanding theorist of German romantic art. Together with his friend Tieck, he undertook several journeys to various centres of German mediaeval and Renaissance life and art, which culminated in two works written chiefly by Wackenroder: *Heart Effusions of an Art-loving Lay Brother* (1797) and *Phantasies on Art* (1797). In the former he celebrated the beauty of mediaeval and of Italian Renaissance art, and proclaimed the need for religious inspiration in art. In the latter the same spirit prevails, but music is given precedence over painting. Wackenroder's teachings had an important influence on Tieck and through him on the mediaeval art-cult of the German Nazarene artists, and on Ruskin in England.

E. H. Zeydel, L. Tieck, *the German Romanticist*, Ch. 6, 1935.

P. M.

WAGNER, RICHARD (German, 1813-83), wrote operas that represent a remarkable contribution to modern dramatic art, the music-drama, in which, as in Greek tragedy, all the arts are fused. His well-constructed plays embrace in their content folk legend, heroic traditions, and national attitudes. In form they are on the highest level of poetic expression, the later dramas being particularly interesting for their imitation of the verse form popular in the period of the play, for example, the use of assonance in the *Ring of the Nibelungs* (1853-74), or the rhymed couplet (*Knittelvers*) in *The Meistersingers* (1862-67). His development of the symbolic musical *leitmotif* has been imitated in contemporary literature, especially by Thomas Mann. Wagner's mellifluous verse, his vocabulary and imagery, the longings and loves of his characters, his medievalism and nationalism, the philosophical symbolization of the aspirations of both artist and folk, all unite to make his works the consummation of the aesthetic aims of the romanticists.

J. G. Robertson, *A Hist. of German Lit.* (N. Y.), 1930.

S. L. S.

WALLIN, JOHAN OLOF (Swedish, 1779-1839), was born in the province of Dalarna; he graduated from the University of Uppsala in 1803. Having received a prize from the Swedish Academy for a poem, *Uppfostraren* (*The Educator*, 1805), he was



ordained as a minister, and introduced in literary circles as the "coming man" in literature. His career in the church was successful, and in 1837 he was appointed archbishop. In his literary career he came into conflict with the representatives of the young neo-romantic school. This had an important influence on his development, which we can follow from a general moralism to a personal religiosity. In the religious field he was no creative thinker, but as editor of the *Swedish Hymnology* of 1819 he not only modernized old hymns but also wrote 128 new hymns in which he gives the thoughts and traditions of the Swedish Church a beautiful, often sublime, form. His position as one of the most important religious poets of Sweden was further established through his famous poem, *Dödens ängel* (*The Angel of Death*, 1839) which has four English translations. Among his other poems are *Skål för George Washington* (*A Toast to George Washington*); *Hemsjukan* (*Homesickness*); *Medborgarsång* (*Song of the Citizen*).

E. Liedgren, *W.s läroår som psalmdiktare*, 1916; 1929.

A. W.

WALTON, IZAAK (English, 1593-1683), a linen draper, showed his love of reading and fishing in his two books, *Lives of Donne, Wotton, Hooker, George Herbert, and Bishop Sanderson* (1670) and *The Complete Angler* (1653). His *Lives* are among the most charming pieces of portraiture that have come down to us, through their refined style, revelation of character, and humanity. His *Complete Angler*, a medley of personal reminiscences and a dissertation on the lore of angling, is a classic of its kind and one of the most delightful of English books.

Th. Zouch, *Life I. W.* (London), 1823;

Ll. Powys, 13 *Worthies* (N. Y.), 1923.

F. F. M.

WANG, SHOU-JEN (Chinese 1472-1528), better known as Wang Yang-ming in Chinese and Oyomei in Japanese, was the most distinguished statesman, soldier, philosopher, essayist, and poet of 16th c. China. He had the originality and courage to work out a philosophy that differed from that of the Neo-Confucian scholar Chu Hsi. According to Wang, truth is to be sought from within and intuition, or conscience, is the source of information concerning the moral law. He emphasized the importance of self-discipline and of action in accordance with knowledge. His prose is characterized by fluidity of expression; his verse, by fineness of feeling. His literary works were published under the title *Wang Wen Cheng Chuan Shu* (*The Complete Writings of Wang, the Cultured and Accomplished*).

Henke, F. G., *The Philosophy of W. Y.-m.* (London), 1916.

S. C. L.

WANG YANG-MING. See Wang Shou-Jen.

WEDEKIND, FRANK (German, 1864-1918), was a bitter critic of the naturalistic movement and an irreconcilable opponent of the bourgeois complacency of his period. Extolling the value of untrammelled erotic instincts and of a brutal frankness in human relationships, he became the chief herald of Nietzschean vitalism in German literature. *Frühlings Erwachen* (*The Awakening of Spring*; 1891), a moving tragedy of adolescent youth turning in vain for advice to unintelligent parents and ignorant teachers, remains Wedekind's truly constructive work, while most of his other plays—*Earth Spirit* (1895); *Pandora's Box* (1904); *Der Marquis von Keith*; *Franziska*—were more successful in preparing the way for primitivism and irrationalism than in conveying his romantic vision of a healthier civilization.

F. Kutscher, F. W. (München), 1924.  
H. B.

WELHAVEN, JOHAN SEBASTIAN (Norwegian, 1807-73), one of the trail-blazing spirits of the Norwegian renaissance. Great student leader in the young national university; champion of Dano-Norwegian intellectualism. Best known for the satirical poem, *Norges demring* (*The Dawn of Norway*). Loved for his national romantic songs based on themes from history and folk legend. Had a profound influence upon the development of poetic style. Universally acknowledged as one of the finest word artists in Norwegian literature. Prominent member of the Scandinavian movement of the mid 19th c. Always of a deeply religious nature in spite of his intellectualism and his noticeable tendency toward snobishness, he wrote in his later years the poem, *Diktets ånd* (*The Spirit of Poetry*), two stanzas of which have been made into the unforgettable hymn, *Lord of Spirits*.

A. Löchen, J. S. W.s *liv og skrifter*, 2 v. (Oslo), 1900; F. Paasche, Volume III, *Norsk litt. hist.* (Oslo), 1927.

T. J.

WERFEL, FRANZ (Austrian, 1890-1945); became after his escape from Nazi Germany a most successful playwright (*Jacobowsky and the Colonel*) and novelist (*The Song of Bernadette*) in the United States. For German readers his early lyrical phase of moderate expressionism holds a much greater attraction, proclaiming as it does the possibility of a better world (*Der Weltfreund*, 1911; *Wir sind*, 1913), in which mutual sympathy and universal understanding will prevail, and ringing with a sincerity that results in a perfect stylistic balance between rhapsodic enthusiasm and sober simplicity. In a war novel (*Barbara oder die Frömmigkeit*, 1928) he has given epic emphasis to his inveterate belief in the victory of kindness and regard for human life over destructive stupidity.

R. Specht, F. W. (Wien), 1926.  
H. B.

WERGELAND, HENRIK (Norwegian, 1808-45), the greatest lyric poet and the most significant national leader of the renaissance in Norway. Between 1825, when he together with Welhaven,\* became a student leader at the young university, and his death in 1845, he exhibited a phenomenal activity, writing poetry, dramas, stories, at the same time that he edited journals in the interest of popular education. He was influential in politics, in the planning of national enterprises, in the building of patriotic institutions. Wrote the ambitious religious epic poem, *Creation, Man, and the Messiah*. Best known for his love and nature lyrics, especially the group he wrote while on his last sickbed. *To Spring, To My Golden Flower, and To My Little Rabbit* are characteristic of a large group of verse showing intense love for the growing life of this world, but also a sublime resignation to the will of an all-loving God. Wergeland, in contrast to his rival Welhaven, was known as a people's champion, a genuine democrat, and a deep-dyed Norwegian patriot. His farces were used in the political discussion of the times rather than on the stage; his numerous public orations were glowing and surging with an hitherto unknown intensity of spirit. His style was uneven, but in his most inspired works he attained to a sheer poetic beauty unsurpassed in the history of Norwegian letters.

H. Jaeger and D. A. Seip, *H. W.s samlede verker, trykt og utrykt*, 22 v. (Oslo), 1918-27; and G. M. Gathorne Hardy, J. Bithell, and I. Gröndahl, *Poems by H. W.* (Oslo), 1929.

T. J.

WESSEL, JOHAN HERMAN (Norwegian, 1742-85), one of the two leading Norwegian writers of the 18th c. The other is Ludvig Holberg,\* considered also a Danish dramatist. Wessel was the son of a pastor near Oslo, but he too did most of his literary work in Copenhagen, the capital of the western Scandinavian United Kingdom. He was the stimulating spirit of the Norwegian Society at the university, but also a vagabond enjoying an indulgent life in the alehouses. He wrote the celebrated parody, *Love, But no Stockings*, in which he ridiculed certain clumsy imitations of the French classical tragedy. Loved for his genial humorous narrative poems, as *The Smith and the Baker, The Murder of the Dog*. In the more serious *Ode to Sleep*, he shows depth of feeling and true poetic sensitiveness. In grace and elegance his style is unsurpassed in the 18th c. literature of his country.

A. Winsnes, *Det norske selskap* (Oslo), 1924; J. Levin, *J. H. W.*, 2d ed. (Oslo), 1878.

T. J.

WHARTON, EDITH [NEWBOLD JONES] (U.S.A., 1862-1937), Jamesian realist in prose fiction, is noted for her perfectly controlled selection, restraint, and clarity within the traditional style and design, and

for her insistence (*The Writing of Fiction*, 1925) that "every great novel must first of all be based upon a profound sense of moral values." From *The House of Mirth* (1905) to *The Gods Arrive* (1932) her novels are marked by the non-didactic interplay of morals, social conventions, and false values, generally on the tragic level; the same is true of such novelettes as those in *Old New York* (1924) and the eleven volumes of collected short stories, where her method is that of representation rather than presentation. The rather narrow and sometimes dated scope of her matter has tended recently to decrease her standing, despite her polished style and sense of human values.

R. M. Lovett, *E. W.* (N. Y.), 1925.  
E. C. S.

WHITMAN, WALT (U.S.A., 1819-92), emerged in 1855, after an undistinguished though politically radical journalistic career, as a conscious culmination of the romantic faith in the individual and race, and revolt against convention. Discarding usual rhyme, meter, stanza form, allusions, and diction, he created a deeply rhythmical, alliterative, and culminative free verse of his own to match the amplitude and frankness of his new themes—the sensuous beauty of physical life, the cosmic evolution of democratic comradeship, and the mystic unity of individual Personality with the whole. His five major lifetime revisions, rearrangements, and expansions of *Leaves of Grass* reveal the gradual growth of his concept of verity in unity and spirituality, transmuted from his early egoism and celebration of passion. *Democratic Vistas* (1871) is Whitman's realistic prose criticism of America's failure to fulfil the democratic mission he envisaged for her.

G. W. Allen, *A W. Handbook* (Chicago), 1946.

E. C. S.

WHITTIER, JOHN GREENLEAF (U.S.A., 1807-92), was the most famous 19th c. poet of New England romantic provincialism and reform. His earliest work, inspired by Burns and aided by William Lloyd Garrison, is represented by the romantic *Legends of New England in Prose and Verse* (1831). *Voices of Freedom* (1846) shows his natural opposition as a Quaker to slavery, and *Songs of Labor* (1850) reveals his creed of sympathy with the working classes. His later poems of religious centrality and of the countryside remain his most mature and memorable work. With little formal education, Whittier developed well his natural assets of truthfulness and sincerity, despite a certain journalistic obtuseness toward technique and a tendency toward diffuseness and too obvious moralizing.

G. R. Carpenter, *J. G. W.* (Boston), 1903;  
W. Bennett, W., *Bard of Freedom* (Chapel Hill, N. C.), 1941.

E. C. S.

WIELAND, CHRISTOPH MARTIN (German, 1733-1813), one of the spiritual fathers of modern Ger-

man literature, began as a Klopstockian seraphic singer in tune with the hollow sentimental literature of the virtuous age (*Sympathies*, 1755), translated Shakespeare rather poorly into prose (22 plays, 1762-66), wrote a number of verse tales of a sensuous and fanciful nature (*Musarion*, 1768; *The New Amadis*, 1771), and a series of cultural romances with a background of ancient Greek life, the Orient, or the Middle Ages. These novels revolve, however, around the ideas and problems of the period: in *Agathon* (1766-67), Platonic love and rationalistic hedonism, Wieland's own creed; in *The Golden Mirror* (1772), enlightened despotism and statecraft; in *The Abderites* (1774), provincialism and fanaticism. His most famous work is *Oberon* (1780), a verse romance in ottava rima, showing the poet's characteristic facility, his humorous persiflage, and his delight in voluptuous attitudes and scenes. Wieland became the tutor of Duke Karl August of Weimar in 1772 and thus a member of the illustrious group of poets and scholars in the German Athens. Here he published and edited the *Deutscher Merkur* (1773-1810), the first modern review devoted to *belles lettres* in Germany.

S. L. S.

WILLIAMS, EDWARD, "Iolo Morganwg" (Welsh, 1746-1826), was intensely interested in the traditions of Wales, and especially of Glamorgan; he preserved every fragment he could discover, but his treatment of his sources is so uncritical as to impair the value of his whole collection. Parts of it have been published as *Cyfrinach Beirdd Ynys Prydain*, *The Iolo Manuscripts*, and *Barddas*, but much still remains in manuscript. Through the Gwyneddigion Society he became acquainted with Owain Myfyr and William Owen [Pughe], collaborating with them in publishing the *Myvyrian Archæology*. To their edition of the poems of Dafydd ab Gwilym he contributed a number, but the text has been so tampered with that they represent largely his own work. He possessed considerable poetic ability, but he liked best to take a few suggestions from an old manuscript, weave a poem about them, and pass it off under another name. That is the origin of the poems long credited to Rhys Goch ap Rhiccert.

*Gwaith Iolo Morganwg*, Dan olygiaeth Cadrawd (Llanuwchllyn), 1913.

J. J. P.

WILLIAMS, WILLIAM, "Pantycelyn" (Welsh, 1717-91), under the influence of Howel Harris became one of the leaders of the Methodist revival, travelling about 150,000 miles in 55 years. He is best known as a writer of hymns, of which he has left over 800; these have been immensely popular in Wales, and some like "Guide me, O thou great Jehovah" have had considerable circulation in English translation. Among his longer poems, *A View of the Kingdom of Christ* (*Golwg ar Deyrnas Crist*, 1756) is an ambitious survey of the whole scheme

of human salvation, and *The Life and Death of Theomemphus* (Bywyd a Marwolaeth Theomemphus, 1764) is a sort of Pilgrim's Progress in verse. It represents the spirit of the revival, and much of it is undoubtedly autobiographical; Saunders Lewis has called it one of the first documents in the Romantic movement. The poem is full of crudities, and its narrow asceticism is displeasing to some, but the author's sincerity justifies it. Williams also wrote a number of prose works, the most ambitious being *Pantheologia*, a history of all the religions of the world, written in dialogue form.

*Holl Weithiau Pryddawl a Rhyddietol y Diweddard Barch*, W. W., Pantycelyn (London); 1867.

J. J. P.

WOLFE, THOMAS [CLAYTON] (U.S.A., 1900-38), unique, energetic giant of lyrical expressiveness in the modern novel, was profoundly moved by the contrasts between his native North Carolina background, New York City, and Europe. Professedly influenced by Joyce and Dostoevski, he literally forced from himself thousands of pages of sprawling, intense, detailed, and grandiose manuscript (see *The Story of a Novel*, 1936) which—pruned and tumbled into novel-form (*Look Homeward Angel*, 1929; *Of Time and the River*, 1935; *The Web and the Rock*, 1939)—revealed chiefly his own lust for experience and self-fascinated feeling of incompleteness, reconciled in the end by a kind of mystic belief in the vitality of America. His faults, like his virtues, were gigantic; but his style has undoubtedly influenced much recent fiction.

E. C. S.

WOLFF, ELIZABETH (1738-1804), and AAGJE DEKEN (1741-1804), Dutch novelists. Elizabeth Bekker married (1759) Parson Wolff. As a parson's wife she busied herself with the study of literature and theology. In 1772 she published a volume of poems which show her as a lively and progressive woman. In 1776 she met Aagje Deken, who had been educated in an orphanage, and had also published a volume of verse. The two women became fast friends. In 1782 their novel *Sara Burgerhart* was published, in 1783, *Willem Leevend*. In 1788 they went into political exile, living in France until 1798, thereafter at The Hague.

J. G.

WORDSWORTH, WILLIAM (English, 1770-1850), was the foremost nature poet of the romantic school. His close friendship with Coleridge was one of the most striking alliances in our literary history, and the most brilliant and prolific work of both was done while it endured. Wordsworth chose to write about commonplace objects and experiences, and sought to utilize the temporal actualities of the outer world to express the inner spiritual life. In his *Preface* to the *Lyrical Ballads*, poems by both

Coleridge and Wordsworth, the latter states his poetic ideas and ideals.

F. W. H. Myers, W.  
F. F. M.

WUMKES, GEART AEILCO (Frisian, b. 1869), has for many years been prominent in the circles of the Kristlik Frysk Selskip, which he helped to found with the Rev. S. Huisman in 1908. His greatest single contribution to Frisian literature is his translation of the Bible, of which the *New Testament* appeared in 1933 and the entire canon in 1943. In his *The Frisian Awakening*, 1911, he presents a history of the orthodox religious revival in Friesland in the 19th c. His *Toilers in the Frisian Field*, 1926, and *Pathways of Friesland*, 2 v., 1932-34, are standard works on the history of Frisian culture. Wumkes writes a creative and virile style, sometimes marred by careless figures of speech and other defects of apparent hastiness. His *Days and Years* is the engaging autobiography of an outstanding national leader.

D. Kalma, *De Fryske Skriftekennisse fen 1897-1925* (Dokkum), 1928.

B. J. F.

WYNNE, ELLIS ("Elis Wyn"; Welsh, 1671-1734), was a clergyman; he published in 1710 a new and revised edition of the *Welsh Book of Common Prayer* at the request of the Welsh bishops, and a translation of Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living* (*Rheol Buchedd Sanctiaidd*) in 1701; but his fame rests upon his *Gweledigaethau y Bardd Cwsc* (1703). This is based upon the *Sueños* of Quevedo, through the medium of Roger L'Estrange's rather free English version, but it is so thoroughly adapted to the Wales of Wynne's own day that it is almost an original work. Several poems are included in Wynne's version, and he also wrote a number of carols and hymns, including the well-known one beginning "Myfi yw'r Adgyfodiad mawr (I am the great Resurrection)."

J. Morris Jones, *Gweledigaethau y Bardd Cwsc gan E. W.* (Bangor), 1898; R. G. Davies, *The Visions of the Sleeping Bard* (London), 1897.

J. J. P.

YANKEV BEN YITSKHOK. See Ashkenazi, Yankev ben Yitskhok.

YAZIJI, AL-, NASIF (Arab, 1800-71), a Christian Lebanese, heard the enchanting voices of medieval Arabic literature, becoming its foremost representative among Moslems and Christians alike. Born in Kafarshīma, near Beirut, from his puristic study of the Arabic classics he drew his unique linguistic erudition. His 12 years as secretary to the Amir Bashir—autocrat of Lebanon—won him prestige and self-reliance. When in 1840 he moved to Beirut, there sprang around him a school of devotees

held together by the single-eyed vision of literary revival as the safest way to national emancipation. On grammar, logic, rhetoric, and prosody he wrote books, intended primarily for use in the schools of the American mission, that became standard in the teaching of Arabic. His stature as a man of letters makes him an apostle of Arab awakening.

George Autonius, *The Arab Awakening* (Philadelphia), 1939.

E. J. J.

YEHOASH (pseud. of Solomon Bloomgarden; Yiddish, 1871-1927), one of the greatest poets of the new Yiddish poetry. Born in Lithuania, he migrated to America in 1895, and was the first to render American poetry into Yiddish (*Hiawatha*). He introduced a great variety of forms, and a very complicated technique of tonality, into Yiddish poetry. Yehoash was a devotee of the Apollonian trend in art, his poetry springing from the intellect rather than the feelings. He has very subtle nature poems and tender, partly symbolic, expressions of moods. He exerted a profound influence upon the development of Yiddish poetic diction. He also translated the Bible into Yiddish.

Y. M.

YUAN MEI (Chinese, 1716-1797) native of Jen-huo, Chekiang province, scholar of independent mind and charming personality, had an original style of thought and writing; his prose and verse are still widely read and much admired. As a man of culture, he is typical of the intellectual aristocracy of 18th c. China. In some respects he was a radical, as concerning education of women. Desiring to develop the literary talent of young women, he undertook to teach a group of them the art of verse-making. Of those who had studied under him, 18 became noted poetesses. He wrote numerous witty and amusing letters, later collected and published under the title *Hsiao-ts'ang-shan Fang Chih-tu* (*Letters from the Hsiao-ts'ang-shan Studio*). Like the philosopher-poet Li Li-wang of the 17th c., he was not only a brilliant man of letters but also a great epicure. With his inventive mind, he wrote much on house and garden, clothing and food, particularly on the philosophy and enjoyment of food. His gossipy little book on culinary art was published under the title *Sui Yuan Shih Tan* (*The Menu of the Sui Garden*). All his writings were published as *Sui Yuan San-shih Chung* (*Thirty kinds of Literary Productions from the Sui Garden*).

A. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ching Period*, Vol. II (Washington, D. C.), 1944; H. A. Giles, *Hist. of Chinese Lit.* (N. Y. & London), 1929.  
S. C. L.

YUNUS EMRE (Turkish, d. 1307) was a mystic of the dervish type, whose hymns, written in the late 13th or early 14th c., are still loved by Turks

today. Writing in the Turkish of the people and in Turkish metres at a time when classic writers used Persian, he is regarded today as the first great national poet. His poems are to be found in a *Divan* (or *Collection* of poems arranged in alphabetic order of the last letters) which has been repeatedly printed in recent years.

J. K. B.

ZAR'A YA'QOB, KING (Ethiopic, 1438-68), whose throne-name was Constantine I, the fourth son of David I, became one of the greatest kings of Ethiopia. He was pious, learned, and a lover of literature; many books were ascribed to him. The *Chronicles* of his reign state that he took 14 years to write 7 of his books. He had the reputation of being a second Solomon; was the first king of Ethiopia to open negotiations with a Pope (Eugene IV). He was a lover of art; for him Francisco di Branca-Leone of Venice painted the famous picture of the Madonna and Child that caused considerable trouble in Ethiopia, because the Virgin was represented with the child on her left arm: in Ethiopia the left hand is the "hand of dishonour."

S. A. B. M.

ZAR'A YA'QOB (Ethiopic, 17th c.) was the son of a peasant farmer. As a boy in school he was brilliant and original. He refused to accept the Roman faith, and suffered considerable persecution, for his free-thinking pleased neither orthodox nor unorthodox. He asserted that Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism were equally good or bad. He viewed religion and life as a realist and philosopher. As a boy in school he learned by heart many books of the Bible, which in part accounts for his fine style. The only biographical works in Ethiopia of any great literary worth are those written by him and his pupil, Heywat, each in a book called *The Enquiry* (ed. Littman, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Series Prima*, xxxi).

S. A. B. M.

ZAYDAN, JURJI (Arab, 1861-1914), a Syrian born in Beirut, made Egypt his home. He composed a score of historical novels, a 5 v. history of Islamic civilization, a 4 v. history of Arabic literature, and was editor of the progressive monthly *al Hilāl* (*The Crescent*). His works, written on a variety of subjects unmatched in any modern literature, sought to disseminate Western ideas, grounded in admiration of classical Arabic history and literature. Christian though he was, his leadership ranks second to none in the Moslem-Arab world.

Martin Hartmann, *The Arabic Press of Egypt* (London), 1899.

E. J. J.

ZOLA, EMILE (French, 1840-1902), founded the naturalistic school of literature in France. Attracted

by the new scientific concepts, he determined to employ the methods of the laboratory in the creation of a group of novels, the *Rougon-Macquart* series, which should be the "natural and social history of a family during the Second Empire." Like Balzac, he set out to transfer all classes of French society to the pages of his novels, but unlike him he attempted to employ his works in the proof of a theory of heredity. His pseudo-science is the weakest portion of his work, but he has the great merit of having opened to the novelist a whole new field of observation, the proletariat. Although he is often prolix and pedestrian, he nevertheless frequently rises to real mastery, as in *L'Assommoir* (1877), which created his success, *Germinal* (1885), and *La Débâcle* (1892).

Matthew Josephson, *Z. and his Time* (N. Y.), 1928.

R. J. N.

ZOROASTER (Zarathushtra; Iranian, 660-583 B.C.), the Prophet of Iran, was of the Spitama family and a descendant of Haëcat-aspa. His message is given in the Avesta, the only surviving monument of ancient Iranian literature, of which the *Gāthās* (hymns) are supposedly his own words. The *Gāthās* reveal valuable information concerning the original nature of Zoroastrianism and are easily distinguished from the other portions of the Avesta by style, language, and form. Zoroastrianism, often referred to as dualistic, is essentially one of the earliest monotheistic religions. It teaches that Ahura Mazda (the Lord of Wisdom) is the creator of heaven and earth and the Supreme God. He created man to help him fight against Angra Mainyu (the Evil Spirit), who is not coordinate with him, but is inferior to him at all times. This evil spirit is known in the *Gāthās* as the *Druj* (the Lie). He is always the enemy of the good, and seeks to destroy it and its followers. The reward for good and bad is a dominant feature of Zoroaster's teaching; it appears throughout the *Gāthās*.

A. V. Williams Jackson, *Z. the Prophet of Ancient Iran* (N. Y.), 1919.

M. A. S.

ZORRILLA Y MORAL, JOSE (Spanish, 1817-1893), is the purest Spanish romanticist. Keeping clear of imitation of the French, he is closely bound to Spanish tradition and national popular taste. Thus he concentrated on the rejuvenation of the ballads, and on a *Don Juan* drama with a happy ending—winning even more popular favor than Tirso de Molina. His style is colorful, his technique gathered widely from the modes of Spain.

N. Alonso Cortés, *Z.*, 3 v. (Valladolid), 1916-20.

H. A. H.